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H. M. Queen Victoria
1887

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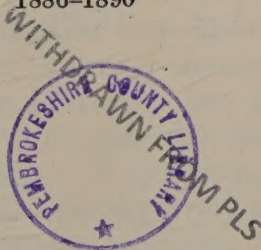
PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF
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EDITED BY GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE
EDITOR OF THE SECOND SERIES

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I

1886-1890



LONDON

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1930

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PREFACE

THIS volume begins a Third and final Series of *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, selected, under the authority of his Majesty the King, from the vast stores of the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, and supplemented under the same authority by extracts from Queen Victoria's Journal. The last fifteen years of her Majesty's reign were so full of events of general and national importance, and the amount of material relating to them in the Archives is so overwhelming; the Queen herself, despite her age, took such a remarkably active part and interest in affairs down to within a few days of her death; the period is so comparatively recent, and, although the principal actors, with one exception,¹ are dead, so attractively fresh in the memory of the older generation, that it has been found advisable, in this Third Series, to allot five years, instead of an average of eight, to each volume. The present volume, accordingly, carries us down to the close of 1890; two more volumes, bringing the scheme to an end with the Queen's life, are in active preparation. It will be noticed that the correspondence of the opening year, 1886, occupies two chapters, the first a very long one. The reason is, of course, that the year is of quite exceptional importance, as all the domestic politics of the period 1886–

¹ The Emperor William II has kindly expressed his willingness that a selection from his correspondence with the Queen during the years 1888 to 1900 should be included in this Third Series of *The Letters of Queen Victoria*.

1900, and the relations therein of the Queen to her Ministers, were governed by the new departure in Irish policy taken in that year by Mr. Gladstone. Chapter I contains by itself the story, as told in the Royal correspondence, of the first Home Rule Bill and of the short-lived Government which proposed it.

The nature and scope of the whole undertaking of *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, as conceived under King Edward's authority by Dr. Arthur Benson and the 2nd Viscount Esher, and continued by the present Editor under the authority of King George, are by this time generally understood and appreciated. But, to prevent any possible misapprehension, it may be pointed out that, throughout each Series, the documents and extracts are chosen with the view of illustrating the character and achievement of the great Queen ; her influence upon, and her reaction to, the public events and social movements of her time ; and her relations with contemporary rulers abroad, and with the eminent men who became in succession her chief Ministers at home. The documents are left to tell their own tale, without comment or criticism ; Introductory Notes and Footnotes being supplied merely to assist the comprehension of readers with no special knowledge of the period.

Every effort is made to bring out all Queen Victoria's distinctive qualities and opinions ; not only those which manifest her greatness, but also those which reveal her limitations. Incidentally, fresh light of course is thrown on the character of her correspondents. The letters which passed between her Majesty and her Ministers are treated in one and the same fashion, whether the Minister was a man in whom she had especial confidence or one of whose policy she disapproved. In every case, while docu-

ments already published are not as a rule reproduced, a representative selection is given from the letters of the Minister as well as from those of the Queen; and in many cases it is the letters of the Minister which are presented in larger number and at greater length. Moreover, the present Editor, like his predecessors, has hitherto had the satisfaction of feeling, when the documents under his control are silent or conditions of space prove inexorable, that there exist, in regard to almost every statesman concerned, standard and easily accessible works (often referred to in the notes) in which the statesman's point of view is fully explained. For the period on which we are now entering books of this character are not as yet so numerous; but in any case *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, First, Second, and Third Series alike, must inevitably concentrate on depicting the personality of Queen Victoria.

The conditions of her Majesty's life during the final period did not differ materially from those described in the Preface to the Second Series. Though her excursions to London were more frequent and longer, they were still only occasional; and—with the exception of the substitution (after 1886) for the spring visit to Osborne of a regular sojourn for about a month in the South of Europe—her yearly routine of residence between Windsor, Osborne, and Balmoral scarcely varied. The approach of old age did not lessen her steady, day-by-day application to her duties as a Constitutional Monarch; while the maturity of her judgment and the wider range of her experience gave increased weight and authority to her decisions. Moreover, in spite of a growing tendency to rheumatism, which ultimately caused her, even indoors, to be ordinarily moved about in a chair,

she accomplished, to her people's gratification, a larger number of Court ceremonies, State visits, and public functions than in her middle life. Though all her sons and daughters were married, and one daughter and one son were dead, a new domestic circle, in which she delighted, sprang up around her in the children of Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, who, in accordance with her wish, made her house their home. The years brought many grievous family sorrows; but they brought also a steadily increasing popularity and affection, and immense public confidence in her Majesty's sagacity and goodness, not merely throughout Great Britain, but very conspicuously among the peoples of the outer Empire—popularity, affection and confidence which culminated in two unprecedented celebrations, the Jubilees of 1887 and 1897.

EDITORIAL NOTE

AMONG those to whom the Editor's thanks are due for assistance in preparing this volume, the outstanding name is once more that of Lord Stamfordham, who steadfastly carries on under King George the traditions learnt under Queen Victoria; his constant support and discriminating criticism have been invaluable. Since the issue of Volume III of the Second Series there has been a change in the direction both of the Royal Archives and of the publishing house of John Murray; but the Editor is equally indebted to the Rev. Albert Lee, who has retired from the Recordship of the Royal Archives, and to his successor, Miss Mackenzie, for ever-ready and expert aid; and Lieut.-Colonel Murray has shown the same keenness and helpfulness over the proofs as his lamented father, Sir John Murray. The death of Lord Esher, following upon that of Sir John Murray, has severed the last personal link between the First Series and its successors; but both men lived long enough to give valuable counsel by which readers of the Third Series will profit.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTERS I AND II

THE new Parliament, with a House of Commons consisting of 334 Liberals, 250 Conservatives, and 86 Irish Nationalists, was opened on 21st January by the Queen in person. Mr. Bradlaugh had been permitted to take the oath and his seat without question,¹ as the whole political world was in convulsion over Irish policy. It was widely believed that the veteran Liberal leader, Mr. Gladstone, though he kept his own counsel, had determined to adopt Home Rule—a policy which both historic parties had hitherto opposed, and to which Lord Hartington, his principal lieutenant, had just emphasised his objection. Lord Salisbury's Conservative Ministry were divided as to immediate measures to strengthen authority in Ireland. Lord Carnarvon, a Viceroy inclined to Home Rule ideas, had already tendered his resignation; but it was only at the last moment that the government of Ireland was entrusted to Mr. W. H. Smith as Chief Secretary. He paid a hurried visit to Dublin, and his intention promptly to introduce a "Coercion" Bill was announced in Parliament on 26th January. On that same evening Mr. Gladstone, supported by the bulk of the Liberal Party and by the Irish Nationalists, took advantage of an amendment to the Address about agricultural allotments to expel the Ministry from office. The amendment was carried by 331 votes to 252, Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, and fifteen other Liberals voting with the Conservatives. Lord Salisbury at once resigned; and the Queen, after a little hesitation, entrusted the formation of a new Government to Mr. Gladstone.

The Prime Minister declared the Ministerial policy to be one of examination into the practicability of complying with the Home Rule demand. This formula, while it enabled him to secure Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan temporarily for his Cabinet, was too ambiguous to satisfy Lord Hartington and his friends, especially as Mr. John Morley, an early convert to Home Rule, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. Among Liberal ex-Cabinet Ministers, Lord Granville, Lord Spencer, Lord Kimberley, Lord Ripon, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Childers, and Lord Rosebery (as Foreign Secretary) entered the Cabinet; Lord Hartington, Mr. Bright, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster (who was ill, and died in

¹ See Second Series, vol. iii, p. 62.

April), Lord Selborne, Lord Derby, Lord Northbrook, the Duke of Argyll, and Sir Henry James (ex-Attorney-General) either definitely refused or stood critically aside—to be joined in March by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan. On 8th April the Prime Minister introduced his Home Rule Bill. A separate Legislature, with a separate Executive responsible to it, was to be set up in Ireland with ample powers to deal with Irish as distinct from Imperial affairs; and the Irish Peers and Irish Members of Parliament were no longer to sit in the British Parliament at Westminster. By another Bill, which he introduced in the following week, he proposed, through the employment of British credit on a large scale, to set up machinery for the purpose of buying out the Irish landlords, who, he recognised, could not rightly be left at the mercy of an Irish Legislature.

The production of the Home Rule Bill definitely split the Liberal Party in two. It was vigorously attacked in debate by both Liberals and Conservatives, the Liberal dissentients taking the most prominent part. But it was accepted by Mr. Parnell on behalf of the Nationalists; and Mr. Gladstone, supported by Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt, put forth all his remarkable powers in its defence. On 14th April, Liberal and Conservative leaders, Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Rylands (a prominent Radical M.P.) appeared on the same platform at an enthusiastic meeting at the old Opera-House in the Haymarket, in order to protest against Home Rule. The Liberal dissentients began to organise themselves into a “Liberal Unionist” Party under Lord Hartington, while a smaller group of Radical Unionists drew together under Mr. Chamberlain—a process which was hastened by the general disposition shown by the Liberal Associations throughout the country to range themselves behind Mr. Gladstone.

When, on 10th May, the Second Reading was moved by the Prime Minister, Lord Hartington took the lead of the opposition forces, and at once moved its rejection. Towards the close of an intermittent debate, which produced many striking speeches and was spread over a month, Mr. Gladstone, with a view to secure waverers, declared that a vote for the Second Reading merely involved acceptance of the principle, and that the measure would not be further proceeded with till the autumn. Probably this had less effect than the announcement that Mr. Bright would vote against the

Bill. The division was taken on 7th–8th June, and the Bill was rejected by 343 votes to 313, 93 Liberals voting in the majority. The Queen granted immediately the dissolution for which the Cabinet asked, and after a short but bitter campaign the electorate in July confirmed and emphasised the decision of the House of Commons. There were returned 316 Conservatives and 78 Liberal (and Radical) Unionists—394 in all, against 191 Gladstonians and 85 Nationalists—276 in all; a majority of 118 against Home Rule.

Mr. Gladstone resigned, and the Queen sent for Lord Salisbury, who, having failed to persuade Lord Hartington to form a Coalition Ministry, undertook the task of forming a Conservative Ministry, with promises of cordial support from the Liberal Unionists. Lord Iddesleigh became Foreign Secretary and Lord Randolph Churchill Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. The Government postponed their Irish legislation till the next year; but the short autumn session was marked by Mr. Gladstone's abandonment of his Irish land purchase scheme, and by a Tenants' Relief Bill which, on the plea of a coming economic crisis, Mr. Parnell introduced, suspending proceedings for the recovery of rent on payment of half the rent and arrears. The Bill was rejected, but the policy was put in force by the National League on several estates in Ireland through the "Plan of Campaign"—a system under which the tenants on an estate were to meet and settle for themselves the rents they could pay, and, if the agent refused to accept these as payment in full, to pay the money into a fund to be used to support dispossessed tenants. The Government took legal action against Mr. Dillon and others, but without much effect. Just before Christmas Lord Randolph Churchill suddenly resigned, because the Cabinet would not support him in enforcing drastic reductions in the Naval and Military Estimates. Again Lord Salisbury offered to serve either under or with Lord Hartington. Though Lord Hartington again refused, he supported Lord Salisbury in the last days of the year in pressing Mr. Goschen to take Lord Randolph's place.

British Foreign Policy was not a subject of dispute between parties in 1886, as Lord Rosebery, who was favourably regarded by Prince Bismarck, preserved strict continuity with Lord Salisbury. This steadiness finally succeeded in June, after five months' effort in conjunction with the other Great Powers, in restraining and disarming Greece, which,

owing to the Bulgarian complications, had threatened war on Turkey. An arrangement was come to between Turkey and Bulgaria, by which Prince Alexander was to be Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia for five years certain. He was popular in both provinces ; but, in both, Russian agents were active in spreading the belief that, with the Tsar hostile, neither province could have settled government. Accordingly, on 21st August military conspirators kidnapped the Prince by night in his palace, forced him by threats of death to sign his abdication, took him down the Danube in his own steam yacht and put him ashore at Reni, whence the Russian authorities conveyed him across-country by rail to Lemberg. Public opinion throughout Europe was shocked ; the Prince made a triumphal return, and was warmly welcomed by his people and by a Regency (with M. Stambouloff at its head) which had overthrown and imprisoned the leading conspirators. But the Tsar showed himself quite implacable ; the European Governments (with the exception of the British) followed Prince Bismarck's lead and withheld sympathy ; and Prince Alexander found that the conspiracy against him was much more widespread than he thought. So on 7th September he resigned the throne, appointing Regents. General Kaulbars, sent by Russia as Special Commissioner to Bulgaria, adopted such tactless and bullying methods that he united the whole country against him, and had to leave after a couple of months. A deputation from the Regents started in December to make a tour of the principal European Courts.

In June Russia announced her intention of terminating the arrangement in the Treaty of Berlin by which Batoum was constituted a free port. As Lord Rosebery found that the other signatories of the Treaty were prepared to acquiesce, he could do no more than enter an emphatic protest. The year was marked in France by the expulsion of the leading Bourbon and Napoleonic Princes, and by the rise of General Boulanger, Minister of War, to popularity and power. Queen Maria Christina gave birth in May to a posthumous son—Alphonso XIII, King of Spain.

A Colonial and Indian Exhibition was held in London, and was opened in May by the Queen in state. Her Majesty's interest in politics throughout the year was absorbing ; so strong was her sense of the peril of Home Rule, so deep her detestation of the Tsar's treatment of Prince Alexander and of Bulgaria.

CHAPTER I

1886

JANUARY TO JULY

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1st Jan. 1886.—May God help me on in this new year full of political difficulties, and preserve all most dear to me! May He guide me aright!

Mr. Goschen¹ to Queen Victoria.

SEACOX HEATH, 3rd Jan. 1886.—Mr. Goschen . . . begs to express his sincere thanks for the gracious permission to submit some further remarks on the present political crisis.

Mr. Goschen has gathered that, among the most important of Mr. Gladstone's late colleagues, there is not only no desire to force on any motion or to take any step which might compel the Government to resign, but that they will use their utmost efforts to prevent his embarking on such a course. So far, then, it would appear that the danger which your Majesty apprehends is less imminent. But what is possibly to be feared is that the Government, though not assailed by any form of vote of censure, may

¹ Who had held Cabinet office in Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry (1868-1874), but had not joined his second Ministry (1880-1885), and now occupied an independent position in the Liberal Party. On account of that independence the Queen frequently consulted him, from December 1885 (see Second Series, vol. iii, p. 709 to end) through the critical months of 1886, till in January 1887 he consented to fill the gap caused by Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation.

endeavour to force on some debate and division, which would imply a positive vote of confidence. Such a course would place many Liberals who are sincerely anxious to treat the Government with the utmost fairness, and without any party spirit at all, in a position of most serious embarrassment. Many Liberals declare that, coming fresh from their elections, they cannot vote *confidence* in the present Ministers under any circumstances, though quite prepared and even anxious to abstain from any actual attack.

It would appear, then, to be a matter of extreme importance from the point of view of avoiding that immediate change of Government which your Majesty so strongly deprecates in the present crisis, that every influence should be used to prevent the Conservative leaders from directly or indirectly *challenging* the Liberal Party, in such a way as might be interpreted to mean a vote of confidence, either through a passage in the Address in answer to the gracious Speech from the Throne, or otherwise. . . .

Mr. Goschen feels convinced that your Majesty's words with reference to the conduct of the Prince of Bulgaria,¹ in the trying circumstances through which he has just passed,² would be echoed by the immense majority of your Majesty's subjects. . . .

Lord Salisbury's First Ministry at the beginning of 1886.

Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary

<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>	• • • • •	MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	• • • • •	EARL OF IDDESLEIGH.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	• • • • •	LORD HALSBURY.
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	• • • • •	VISCOUNT CRANBROOK.
<i>Home Secretary</i>	• • • • •	EARL OF HARROWBY.
<i>Colonial Secretary</i>	• • • • •	SIR RICHARD CROSS.
<i>War Secretary</i>	• • • • •	HON. SIR FREDERICK STANLEY.
<i>Indian Secretary</i>	• • • • •	WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.
	• • • • •	LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

¹ He was Prince Alexander of Battenberg, brother to Prince Louis of Battenberg (afterwards Admiral the Marquis of Milford Haven), a distinguished officer in the British Navy, and to Prince Henry of Battenberg, husband of Princess Beatrice.

² See Second Series, vol. iii, p. 589, and from p. 690 onwards.

<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer and</i>	
<i>Leader of the House of Commons</i>	SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	. LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.
<i>Viceroy of Ireland</i>	. EARL OF CARNARVON. ¹
<i>Lord Chancellor of Ireland</i>	. LORD ASHBOURNE.
<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	. DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	. LORD JOHN MANNERS.

Queen Victoria to Mrs. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 4th January 1886.

DEAR MRS. GLADSTONE,—Pray accept my best thanks for your kind letter announcing to me the intended marriage of your daughter Mary,² which I hope will prove a happy one, and I would ask you to wish her joy from me and to accept for yourself and Mr. Gladstone my congratulations. You must both rejoice at Mr. Gladstone's rest—which he so often spoke of as his *great* wish and which is essential at his time of life, when *overwork* and excitement are always detrimental to health. Trusting that you are well. Believe me, yours sincerely, V. R. I.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 5th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully addresses your Majesty on the question of opening Parliament in person, in consequence of a letter he has received from Sir William Jenner.³ Lord Salisbury is very sensible of the sacrifice any such effort would impose upon your Majesty; for the fatigue is necessarily severe, and, but for Sir William's letter, he would not have ventured to write on the subject. But, as representing the Ministry, he cannot forget the very great advantage and assistance which such a step on your Majesty's part would render to them in the performance of their difficult task; and therefore he learns with great satisfaction from Sir William

¹ Lord Carnarvon tendered his resignation early in January, but was asked to continue until the appointment of his successor.

² Who, on 2nd February, married the Rev. Harry Drew, afterwards Rector of Hawarden. She died in 1927.

³ The Queen's physician.

that, under favourable circumstances, it can be undertaken without prejudice to your Majesty's health. Lord Salisbury also feels bound to add that, in view of the fact that a very large number of your Majesty's subjects are directly represented in Parliament for the first time on this occasion, it will be taken as a very gracious act on your Majesty's part, if this particular opening were honoured by your presence. If, at the last moment, any unfortunate impediment should arise which will make it inadvisable for your Majesty to make the effort, there will be no serious difficulty in substituting an opening by Commissioners. Lord Salisbury trusts that the interests of the Ministry and the country may be sufficient excuse for making a recommendation, which, he is well aware, will impose serious exertion upon your Majesty, if it is graciously accepted.¹

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.*

OSBORNE, 7th Jan. 1886.—I thank you sincerely for your kind letter and frank reply. I lost no time in informing Lord Salisbury of its contents, and I can assure you that my Ministers do not propose to ask of Parliament a direct vote of confidence, nor is it their intention, by challenging the Liberal Party in any way, or by any departure from the usual practice, to raise the question of confidence. Yours truly, V. R. I.

The Duke of Edinburgh to Queen Victoria.

CLARENCE HOUSE, 13th January 1886.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—My best thanks for your kind letter received yesterday. I am afraid that you must feel a pang that both Arthur and myself should be going away to such a distance at the same time,² more especially as our dear brother Leopold is no

¹ The Queen consented.

² The Duke of Edinburgh had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Squadron, and the Duke of Connaught had a military command at Rawal Pindi, in India.

longer near you. I hope indeed that my duties will make it possible for me to be at hand for your Jubilee, if it is only for a few days.

As at present arranged, I am to leave England on the 20th February, together with the new officers and men of the *Alexandra*, which is to be my flagship, in a troopship, the *Tamar*. Prior to leaving, it is my intention to take a run over to Germany to wish all good-bye; first to Berlin, then to Gotha to see Uncle Ernest,¹ and so by Coburg and Darmstadt home again. . . .

I am so glad that you will undertake the to you of course very tiring duty of opening Parliament in person. Your decision to do so has given the most lively and universal satisfaction. . . .

With Marie's best love, Ever your dutiful and affectionate son, ALFRED.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 15th Jan. 1886.—Have just had cypher from Berlin² that Prince Alexander [of Bulgaria] should come to a direct understanding with the Porte as speedily as possible, as there was danger impending. Have let him know.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HATFIELD HOUSE, 15th Jan. 1886.—. . . The Cabinet met to-day and sat for a long time discussing the Irish question. The variety of opinions was very great; and no settlement was arrived at. The Cabinet meets again to-morrow.

The Irish Government and Lord John Manners were for no action at all beyond vigorously enforcing the existing law. Lord Salisbury and some others were for an immediate secret Committee, as in the Westmeath case, to ascertain where the existing

¹ The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, whom the Duke of Edinburgh succeeded in 1893.

² No doubt from the German Crown Princess.

law fell short. Lord Iddesleigh and some others were for a bill directed against the National League ; while Lord Cranbrook, Lord R. Churchill and Lord G. Hamilton were for suppressing the League by executive action without a Bill and trusting to Parliament for an indemnity. . . .

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.*

OSBORNE, 17th Jan. 1886.—Tho' I have not heard from you since my last letter, I am anxious to say how well I think the Duke of Westminster¹ has spoken, and how I *hope* many others will follow his example, and that Lord Hartington is remaining true to his declarations, and will have the courage of his convictions. I can only *repeat*, true loyal patriotism must go before party. I hope and think Mr. Forster is better.² Yours truly, V. R. I.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[*Cypher Telegram.*]

17th Jan. 1886.—Humble duty. Great differences in Cabinet to-day. Sir M. Beach, Lord R. Churchill, Lord G. Hamilton, and Viceroy were against measures for suppressing National League : the other twelve in favour.

Discussion adjourned to Monday.

[? HATFIELD], *Sunday morning*, 17th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully returns the cypher and the very interesting and striking letter from Prince Alexander. He evidently sees clearly what he is about and is the victim of no illusions.

On the whole, Lord Salisbury thinks the recommendation from Berlin contains the wisest policy to follow—agree with Turkey rather than with

¹ The 1st Duke (1825–1899), a prominent supporter of philanthropic movements, and a leading figure among owners of racehorses.

² Unfortunately, Mr. Forster's illness proved fatal. He died on 6th April.

Russia. But it is not free from doubt ; for, though submission to Turkey is a much more transient evil than submission to Russia, on the other hand Russia is much more formidable than Turkey. The danger of simultaneous occupation by Austria and Russia of Servia and Bulgaria respectively is a much more serious one than an occupation of E. Roumelia by Turkey. But it is better to secure the Union now, and risk the more distant danger. The two great Empires bent on such schemes of plunder are pretty sure to quarrel.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

19th Jan. 1886.—. . . In the hope of preventing outbreak of war, and putting the Sultan under an obligation which will dispose him to come to terms with Prince Alexander, Cabinet propose, in concert with Germany and any other Power that will join, to prohibit a naval attack by Greece upon Turkey.¹

It is ascertained that Prince Bismarck is willing. Does your Majesty approve ?

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 19th Jan. 1886.—Entirely approve proposal respecting Greece. Wish it could be applied to Servia also.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 20th Jan. 1886.—Breakfasted early, and with Beatrice and Liko² started for London. Drove in an open landau, with an escort of the Blues, from Victoria Station to Buckingham Palace. Great crowds out, who cheered very

¹ On the previous day, the 18th, Lord Salisbury had, in a secret despatch, instructed Sir H. Rumbold, British Minister at Athens : " Respectfully, but clearly, make his Majesty understand, if he goes to war, he must expect no sympathy from England, whatever party is in."

² Prince Henry of Battenberg, Princess Beatrice's husband.

much. Lunched at once on arriving, Arthur and Louischen¹ joining us. Alix² and little Louise³ came to tea. At half-past six saw Lord Salisbury, who was going to have his big dinner as usual before the opening of Parliament. He said at once that he must speak about Ireland and his desire to send Mr. Smith⁴ there as Chief Secretary, being by far the fittest man they have, and leaving the Viceroyalty in abeyance for a little while. Lord Cranbrook would temporarily go to the War Office. Lord Salisbury thinks this would be the wisest plan for a few months. Lord Harrowby or Lord Carnarvon to be President of the Council. Then talked of Bulgaria and Greece. It was most important to get the former settled as soon as possible, as Russian interference was so dangerous, for which reason he had advised Sandro⁵ to accept the Turkish proposals.

21st Jan.—At twenty minutes to two started for the House of Lords. My dress was of black satin bordered with miniver, and train the same. Beatrice and Louise Buccleuch went in the carriage. The procession was as usual. A great number of people out. On reaching the House of Lords, Eddy and Georgie⁶ joined us below, Eddy helping me upstairs very nicely, and when I descended from the Throne, Beatrice, who stood on my right, helped me up. Liko was with Christian just above, where the Corps Diplomatique are seated. The people cheered more than ever, when I returned. The little Edinburgh girls, and little Alice⁷ and Charlie,⁸ were at the Palace to see me go and return, and stood in the Grand Hall.⁹

¹ Duke and Duchess of Connaught.

² Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Alexandra.

³ Afterwards Duchess of Fife and Princess Royal.

⁴ Mr. W. H. Smith, then Secretary for War, subsequently Leader of the House of Commons.

⁵ The Prince of Bulgaria.

⁶ Princes Albert Victor and George (now H.M. the King) of Wales.

⁷ Now Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone.

⁸ Afterwards Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

⁹ This was the last occasion on which the Queen opened Parliament in person.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 21st Jan. 1886.—. . . [Lord Salisbury] is quite of your Majesty's opinion that the intentions of the Government with respect to Ireland ought to be stated without delay. Their bill is in fact drawn. The present line was only adopted to prevent the secession of the two leading Members of the House of Commons; though what it was that made them take that idea Lord Salisbury is still wholly puzzled to conjecture.

Lord Salisbury earnestly hopes your Majesty has not suffered by this three days' exertion. He is convinced that it is very much appreciated by your Majesty's subjects both in and out of Parliament, and has given the greatest satisfaction. . . .

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

CALCUTTA, 29th Dec. 1885.¹—The Earl of Dufferin presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and cannot refrain from troubling your Majesty with a line to thank your Majesty for the two extremely kind telegrams in which your Majesty was pleased to express your approval of the way in which the Burma expedition had been organised and conducted. General Prendergast undoubtedly deserves the very greatest credit for the skill and humanity with which he has managed the whole of this business. As Lord Dufferin has already told him, it is one of the qualities of success to withdraw from public observation the many chances of failure which existed, had the management of matters been entrusted to less able hands. There is no doubt that, if we had not struck quickly and decisively, or if we had suffered ourselves to be amused by evasive replies, not only would the loss of life have been much greater, but the ultimate conquest of the country would have placed us in a

¹ Endorsed by the Queen, "Received 20th Jan. 1886." Upper Burma had been conquered by General Prendergast in the late autumn of 1885.

far more embarrassing situation than that which we now occupy. Fortunately, we began the operations at the very commencement of the healthiest season of the year, and continued to make our way up the river before King Thebaw and his Government had time to obstruct the channel or get their batteries into position.

Although Lord Dufferin would not willingly have attacked Burma unless forced to do so by circumstances, he cannot help feeling a certain amount of pride in thus placing a New Year's gift at your Majesty's feet in the shape of a kingdom whose acquisition by the Crown of Great Britain at one time or another was already fated; and it gives him additional pleasure to think that this end should have been achieved with so little cost of life either to your Majesty's troops or to your new subjects. . . .

Sir Michael Hicks Beach to Queen Victoria.

[21st Jan. 1886.—. . . [In the debate on the Address] Mr. Gladstone [made] a very remarkable speech. He had little but favourable comment on the paragraphs of the Address relating to foreign affairs; particularly praising Lord Salisbury's policy in the Eastern Roumelian question, and expressing a singular hope that he might remain in office to complete that work. The important part of his speech related to Ireland; and was an apparent bid for the support of the Irish Members, holding out to them some vague and entirely indefinite hope of a reform of Local Government which should meet Irish desires, but yet be consistent with your Majesty's supremacy, with the unity of the Empire, and the authority of Parliament, so far as that authority might be necessary to maintain the unity of the Empire. His principal comment on that paragraph in the Address which referred to the social condition of Ireland was a demand for full information as to the reasons for any fresh legislation to repress crime; and he concluded with a strong objection to the proposal which Sir M. Hicks Beach

had made, that the time of the House of Commons should be directed, as soon as the debates on the Address were over, to the discussion of new Rules for the amendment of its Procedure.

Sir M. Hicks Beach replied to Mr. Gladstone, apparently to the satisfaction of the Conservative Party. He concluded with a strong appeal for support to your Majesty's Government, irrespective of party division, if the House desired that they should retain office; and a challenge to the Opposition to defeat them, if they did not.

There were subsequently some amusing exchanges between Messrs. Brodrick¹ and Saunderson,² representing the Loyalist Party in Ireland, and Messrs. Harrington and Healy.³ Mr. Parnell spoke, evidently in agreement with Mr. Gladstone. The debate seemed to languish, and Lord R. Churchill endeavoured to conclude it with a quiet and sensible speech; but it was adjourned. Mr. Albert Grey⁴ spoke strongly against Mr. Gladstone's speech; and the Liberal Party generally received it almost in silence: the applause came from the Irish Members.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 23rd Jan. 1886.—. . . Mr. Smith leaves for Ireland to-night, and will communicate his views as soon as he has been able to satisfy himself on the course to be pursued. Lord Salisbury fears that a bad impression has been produced by the delay in dealing with Irish lawlessness; but, as matters stand now, it is impossible to proceed further until

¹ Hon. St. John Brodrick, afterwards Secretary of State for War (1900–1903) and for India (1903–1905); succeeded his father as 9th Viscount Midleton in 1907; created Earl of Midleton in 1920.

² Col. the Right Hon. Edward J. Saunderson, a Unionist leader in Ulster.

³ Eventually 1st Governor-General of the Irish Free State.

⁴ Son of General Grey, the Queen's Private Secretary; succeeded his uncle as 4th Earl Grey in 1894; Governor-General of Canada (1904–1911).

the new Chief Secretary is able to furnish the requisite information.

Count Hatzfeldt¹ was with Lord Salisbury yesterday and to-day. He has been very earnest in pressing the necessity of a speedy conclusion of the negotiations between the Prince [of Bulgaria] and the Sultan, intimating that the Prince is running a great danger by delay. Lord Salisbury has telegraphed in this sense to Mr. Lascelles.² He has also followed a suggestion of Count Hatzfeldt by warning the Greeks of the danger they would incur if they attempted to forestall the action of the Powers by any hurried act of war. It seems doubtful whether France will concur in the proposed action; but the other four Powers have done so; and therefore it is to be hoped that any danger of an attack by Greece on Turkey is removed. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.

[Copy.] *Confidential.*

OSBORNE, 24th Jan. 1886.—The Queen thanks Mr. Goschen for his letter,³ which was very satisfactory. But she hears disappointment expressed by outsiders at the silence of himself and Lord Hartington; and trusts that this discouraging and doubtful impression, which the continuation of what is called (pray forgive the expression) “want of moral courage” would produce, will soon be dispelled.

Mr. Gladstone’s speech was very unsatisfactory. While speaking for the *union* under the Crown of the two countries, he did not speak out, or retract any of his ambiguous utterances, which have caused so much alarm; and the way in which the Irish cheered him *shows* what his real leanings are supposed to be.

¹ German Ambassador in London.

² Then Consul-General at Sofia, afterwards Sir Frank Lascelles, and Ambassador at St. Petersburg and finally at Berlin.

³ In this letter, dated 20th January, Mr. Goschen stated that in no quarter did he discover any desire to overthrow the Cabinet, and that there was a stronger feeling in the country generally against tampering with the legislative union with Ireland.

To show that the moderate Leaders of the Liberal Party do *not* lean that way, becomes now a *duty* of *all true patriots*, and the Queen cannot for a moment *doubt* that this *is* their intention. Still, it must not be long *delayed*.

If Lord Hartington does *not now* come *forward* and *speak out*, his position will be for ever damaged ! Mr. Gladstone is supposed to wish to make an attempt to drive the Government out very shortly. The Queen trusts that, at this moment, he will not be supported. These are not times for mere party attacks. Pray let Lord Hartington know the Queen's views.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 24th Jan. 1886.—. . . The recalcitrant members of the Cabinet have changed their minds about Coercion, under party pressure, and a Bill will probably be introduced in two or three days.

Lord Salisbury hears that the apprehension which keeps Mr. Gladstone from attacking us is the fear lest your Majesty should send in that case for Lord Hartington.

[*Same day.*].—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that he spoke to Mr. Smith with respect to the acceptance of the Grand Cross of the Bath. Mr. Smith desires him to lay before your Majesty his deep and earnest gratitude for this mark of your Majesty's favour ; but after reflection he is of opinion that for the purpose of serving your Majesty, in his peculiar position with respect to his extraction and the original avocation of his family,¹ it would diminish his usefulness *at present* if he were to seem to the outside world to be too anxious for a decoration which, until recently at all events, has only been given to men of his social standing for very distinguished services. Lord Salisbury thinks Mr. Smith's scruple is exaggerated, but is deserving of respect ; and there is no doubt that

¹ W. H. Smith & Son. See Second Series, vol. iii, p. 503.

the kind of influence he enjoys is a very peculiar kind, and might be destroyed by any suspicion of self-seeking. He intimated that any mark of your Majesty's favour, when his political career closed, would be very gratefully accepted.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 25th Jan. 1886.—There seems great anxiety as to action respecting Ireland being speedily brought on. Hope Mr. Smith will report as speedily as possible. Could not the Procedure Measure be delayed for the Irish one?

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

25th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Sir H. Rumbold reports that Greek fleet has left Salamis Bay for an unknown destination.¹

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 25th Jan. 1886.—This is very outrageous of the Greeks. Won't our fleet be ordered to Athens or Crete? We are sure of the help of the Italians and Germany, though they can't send ships. Austria is also well disposed. The Greek fleet is not formidable.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

25th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Directions were sent on Saturday in the morning that the fleet should go to Crete at once.

The Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs has been also asked to send squadron to the Ægean Sea.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

OSBORNE, 25th Jan. 1886.—Am delighted at energetic action about Greece and the Porte.

¹ See Introductory Note.

Suggest your letting the Prince of Wales know at once what our action must be towards Greece. He is quite sensible : she greatly the reverse.

26th Jan.—Just hear from Berlin that Bismarck is determined to act with us this time and is sending out an ironclad. Speedy vigorous action on our part most important. Greek fleet easily rendered powerless without fighting.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 26th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully sends back the Crown Princess's letters and the telegram. He has caused the Admiral to be directed to use the utmost expedition; but the fleet was unfortunately scattered, and will hardly be at Crete before Sunday.

With reference to Ireland Lord Salisbury deeply laments the appearance of vacillation which was imparted to the conduct of the Government by the omission to announce coercive measures in the Royal Speech. To-day he obtained the assent of the Cabinet to repair that grave error; but it is too late to be of any use. Lord Salisbury has little doubt that the debate on Mr. Collings' motion,¹ which is now going on, will either to-night or to-morrow end in a division adverse to the Government; and an adverse division on the Address is equivalent to a vote of censure.

Lord Salisbury doubts whether in any case Mr. Gladstone could have been prevented from ejecting the Government, when once he had made up his mind to give the Parnellites what they wanted. But the circumstances have been more unfavourable than they need have been, and to some extent discreditable, owing to the events in Cabinet of which your Majesty is aware.

¹ The text of this amendment appears in Sir M. Hicks Beach's letter on p. 20. In the political slang of the day it was described as one to give the agricultural labourer "three acres and a cow." Mr. Jesse Collings, the mover, was a Radical M.P., a follower of Mr. Chamberlain.

Lord Salisbury has done his utmost to keep the Cabinet in office, because of the inconvenience to which, he is painfully aware, a change of Ministers will expose your Majesty. But the difficulties attending such an attempt with a Party in a large minority are very great, especially if the Prime Minister is a Peer; as he cannot be directly answerable for the work of the House of Commons. He intreats your Majesty not to lend an ear to those who have suggested that he has wilfully thrown away any chance.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach to Queen Victoria.

26th Jan. 1886.—Sir Michael Hicks Beach presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and regrets to state that your Majesty's Government were defeated to-night in the House of Commons by 329 to 250, on Mr. J. Collings' amendment to the Address. The amendment was to this effect: "That this House humbly expresses its regret that no measures are announced by her Majesty for the present relief of the suffering classes in trade and agriculture, and especially for affording facilities to the agricultural labourers and others in the rural districts to obtain allotments and small-holdings on equitable terms as to rent and security of tenure." Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Sir H. James, and about ten other members of the Liberal Party voted with your Majesty's Government: the great bulk of that Party, and the Irish Nationalist Members, followed Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain.

Early in the evening Sir Michael Hicks Beach gave notice of the intention of your Majesty's Government to ask leave to introduce a Bill on Thursday for the suppression of the National League and other illegal associations, for the prevention of intimidation, and for the preservation of public order in Ireland; to postpone the debate on the Address for that purpose; and to proceed with the Bill *de die in diem*. Also, that it would be followed by a measure

for dealing with the Land Question, pursuing in a more extensive sense the policy indicated by the Land Purchase Act of last session.

Mr. Collings then moved his amendment, after some little discussion as to the business which should be taken on Wednesday. His speech was replied to by Mr. Chaplin. Mr. Finch-Hatton spoke well from the Conservative side; and Mr. Arch¹ made an interesting, though by no means argumentative, speech from the labourer's point of view. Mr. Goschen followed with a very able exposition of the fallacies of the allotment and small-holding schemes of Mr. Chamberlain, in support of which the amendment was ostensibly moved. Mr. Balfour explained, to some extent, the proposals for legislation on the subject which would be submitted by your Majesty's Government, if they were allowed to introduce them. Mr. Gladstone, who spoke before dinner, warmly advocated the amendment; eliciting the sarcasm from Mr. Goschen that it had not been embodied in the "authorised programme" of the Liberal Party before the election, and the question why, and when, it had been included in that programme. Mr. Chamberlain replied shortly to Mr. Balfour, admitting that the amendment was no question of allotments, but a party move to turn out the Government. Sir Michael Hicks Beach pressed this admission home, and pointed out that the issue was not only the existence of the Government, but the policy to be pursued towards Ireland; and Lord Hartington, in a manly, sensible speech, concluded the debate, confining himself to the terms of the amendment, and declining to accept so vague a proposition on so difficult a subject. When the numbers were announced after the division, it was remarkable that the cheering came almost exclusively from the Irish Nationalists and a few extreme

¹ Joseph Arch (1826-1919), agricultural labourer and agitator, founder of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, M.P. for N.W. Norfolk 1885-1886 and 1892-1900.

Radicals. Sir Michael Hicks Beach at once moved the adjournment of the House until Thursday.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegrams.] Private.

26th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty. He did not know till quite recently that Mr. Jesse Collings' amendment would be pressed, but he always knew that any amendment on the Address would be fatal: no Government for the last half-century has accepted an amendment on the Address without resigning. It was treated as a vital question by the Opposition speakers, and Sir M. Beach, by the direction of the Cabinet, announced to the House of Commons last night that the Cabinet took that view of it. An amendment to the Address is one of the well-known forms of ejecting a Ministry.

Lord Salisbury deeply regrets the inconvenience to which your Majesty is put, and is most sincerely grateful for the uniform support and indulgence your Majesty has extended to him.

27th Jan.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits that in consequence of the vote of the House of Commons last night the Cabinet are unanimously of opinion that it is their duty to tender their resignation to your Majesty, which Lord Salisbury does on their behalf.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Cypher Telegram.]

OSBORNE, 27th Jan. 1886.—Received your telegram with much concern. Cannot accept your resignation till I have seen you. Hope you can come to-morrow and remain the night; do not see what other Government can be formed.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.*

OSBORNE, 27th Jan. 1886.—You will not be surprised if I am startled at the unfortunate vote of last night, which has come like a thunderbolt.

You have kept your word and so has Lord Hartington, though not so boldly as you have—others also. You said no one except Mr. Gladstone and those of his most violent followers had any wish to displace the Government, as no other strong one could be formed! What does this therefore mean? An upset of everything is very serious, and very alarming. Lord Salisbury has managed Foreign Affairs so wisely that he has obtained even the acknowledgment of Mr. Gladstone, and just now to change the Government will be very disastrous. I hope and think Mr. Gladstone could not form a Government. Lord Hartington we know won't join him, nor we believe Mr. Trevelyan and others.

The Dukes of Westminster and Bedford¹ have expressed themselves strongly, as many others. I am terrified for the country, and at my age, after all I have gone through, I feel this great anxiety and worry will affect my health.

Why can you, moderate, loyal and patriotic Whigs, not join, and declare you will not follow Mr. Gladstone, and not support him? He will ruin the country if he can, and how much mischief has he not done already! Pray let me hear from you, for I am very anxious and worried. I shall see Lord Salisbury to-morrow. Yours truly, V. R. I.

We have had all the Powers to act with us about Greece, and England stands very high abroad. I fear that all this will be changed again, and all confidence lost. . . . The effect of a change of Government may be enough to bring on a war and upset everything.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 28th Jan. 1886.—Saw Lord Salisbury at half-past seven this evening. . . . I lamented greatly what had occurred, and feared it was caused

¹ The 9th Duke (1819–1891). The Duke of Bedford as the head of the Russells, and the Duke of Westminster as the head of the Grosvenors, were leading Whigs.

by the unfortunate omission of announcing measures to repress lawlessness and refusal to obey the law—as he had already on Saturday or Sunday written to me that he feared it had made a bad impression; upon which I telegraphed, earnestly urging a speedy announcement of measures, which—as well as sending Mr. Smith to Dublin as Secretary—took place at once; but as both Lord Salisbury and Mr. Goschen¹ wrote this morning—“it was too late!”

Lord Salisbury said it was quite true. Sir M. Beach and Lord Randolph [Churchill], by their opposition to this announcement before the opening of Parliament, had done the mischief and Lord Randolph owned it. Sir M. Beach wanted to resign *after* the election and disliked remaining on in a minority.

Lord S. . . . and I both hoped that Mr. Gladstone could not form a Government. He heard he was greatly changed. . . . There must be an early dissolution. The House of Commons, Lord Rowton² told me, was quite unmanageable.

I expressed a wish to talk to Mr. Goschen to hear what he could suggest, as I did not wish to rush into a sudden act without knowing how matters stood. Lord Salisbury entirely agreed, thought it right, and wished that it should be done *by his advice* to *relieve me from all responsibility*—very kindly. In former days old Lord Lansdowne and the great Duke of Wellington had been consulted in this way, in '51 and in '55.

Said if Mr. Gladstone came in I would refuse objectionable people. Sir C. Dilke, of course, I must and would never accept on account of his dreadful private character³; Mr. Chamberlain Lord S. advised

¹ Mr. Goschen had written, 27th January: “The despatch of Mr. Smith to Ireland at the last moment, and the hypothetical language used by the Cabinet with reference to measures for restoring order in Ireland produced a painful impression and gave a severe shake to the stability of the Government. The announcement made yesterday came too late.”

² The Queen had seen Lord Rowton, who had been Lord Beaconsfield's secretary and friend, earlier in the day.

³ He was at this time being cited as a co-respondent in a divorce case.

me *not* to refuse, for it would not be understood and make him a martyr ; nor Mr. Morley, a clever and extreme man ; but, on observing I did not wish, and meant to object to, Lord Granville as Foreign Secretary, he said I should be “ perfectly justified ” in doing so, and thought Lord Rosebery would do very well—tho’ he was inexperienced ; Lord Kimberley would not do. . . .

At Mr. Gladstone’s age it was very unwise to undertake such a task, considering that he had repeatedly expressed a wish to resign. He said the House of Lords must take strong action, should Mr. Gladstone carry any violent measure about Ireland, and then a dissolution must take place. But I said *he* could *not* carry it, for all moderate men would go against him.

He was afraid for some little time I should have a good many changes. The person he really felt for was *me*, who ought not to be exposed to such trials and troubles. He was most *kind*. The Greek affair he thought would be settled, and he hoped *all* the other part too. But he saw clouds gathering relative to Afghanistan.

After dinner he again talked of Ireland, and said he heard Lord Carnarvon had managed very badly and had let the reins go entirely latterly. Lord Ashbourne had also neglected affairs terribly. Lord Carnarvon’s conduct had done great harm to the Government and Party, and he never could be entrusted with any post of importance again. Sir M. H. Beach had also not been a success ; and, if he came in with the Conservatives again, he thought Lord Randolph would be the best Leader. What he was anxious for, and which I have wished for some time, was that the moderate parties should draw together. If the Duke of Argyll had not been absent, he would have been the person for me to consult.

I omitted to state that he said I naturally would object to Mr. Labouchere¹ as a Minister (if Mr. Glad-

¹ A prominent Radical M.P., proprietor and Editor of *Truth*.

stone *dared* propose him) and to any Separatist (Home Ruler).

What a dreadful thing to lose such a man as Lord Salisbury for the country, the world, and *me* ! V. R. I.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 28th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits that the constitutional rule is that your Majesty can never be without a Minister ; for, as your Majesty can do no wrong, there must always be somebody whom the House of Commons can impeach. From this Lord Salisbury would deduce that a resignation of a Prime Minister can never be accepted till the successor is definitely designated. Lord Salisbury has no alternative to suggest on the draft,¹ which appears to him quite suitable.

[Draft.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.*

OSBORNE, Thursday Night, 28th Jan. 1886.—The Queen has seen Lord Salisbury this evening—and by his advice wishes to see Mr. Goschen here to-morrow (Friday) in order to consult with him on the present momentous crisis and very difficult state of affairs.

Perhaps Mr. Goschen would dine and sleep here and telegraph by which train and boat he will arrive ?

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

[Cypher Telegram.]

29th Jan. 1886.—I humbly but most respectfully beg to represent to your Majesty that in my opinion my visiting Osborne would expose the action of your Majesty to much misconstruction and misinterpretation, and might further compromise present most critical situation.

I would earnestly entreat your Majesty to send for Mr. Gladstone. I am of course entirely at your

¹ The following letter to Mr. Goschen.

Majesty's service and deeply grateful for the confidence shown in me, but venture to wait before starting.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, 30th Jan. 1886.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby¹ had the honour of conveying to Lord Salisbury your Majesty's message; and he said that, had Mr. Gladstone announced the Irish policy attributed to him, there might have been some grounds for not calling upon him to form a Government. But no public authorised statement had appeared, and he felt compelled to advise that your Majesty should send for Mr. Gladstone. Sir Henry Ponsonby should, however, first see Mr. Goschen, who in Lord Salisbury's opinion ought to have gone to Osborne, but "he was afraid of what might be said in a parcel of newspapers." He knew Mr. Goschen would advise Mr. Gladstone being summoned, and therefore thought Sir Henry Ponsonby might with the Queen's approval go to him that evening.

Mr. Goschen was out when Sir Henry Ponsonby reached the house, and did not come home till twelve. He begged Sir Henry Ponsonby not to lose a moment, but to see Mr. Gladstone at once, and if possible to have it announced in the newspapers. There was a disagreeable cry getting up that the delay was caused by the Queen being at Osborne; and he also feared that some trouble might ensue if it were known that any hesitation arose from the circumstance of your Majesty consulting Mr. Goschen. He therefore asked Sir Henry Ponsonby to call upon him [Mr. Goschen] again to-day, but now to catch Mr. Gladstone at once.

Sir Henry Ponsonby found Mr. Gladstone at Lady Frederick Cavendish's house just going to bed, and informed him that, Lord Salisbury having resigned,

¹ Sir Henry Ponsonby had been sent up on the previous day, the 29th, after the receipt of Mr. Goschen's telegram, "to see Lord Salisbury, Mr. Goschen, and then, if necessary, Mr. Gladstone."

your Majesty had sent to ask if Mr. Gladstone could form an administration. That your Majesty had understood, from his repeated expressions of a desire to retire from public life, that he would not accept office, and therefore in sending this message she left him free to accept or not.

Mr. Gladstone first asked if the Queen had sent any letter, or whether he might consider the message, as verbally delivered, an official one. Sir Henry Ponsonby said the words he brought were your Majesty's ; and Mr. Gladstone, saying that was quite sufficient, answered that he would undertake the duty of forming an administration. That he was very grateful for your Majesty's gracious consideration for his declining years. Had the Liberal Government remained last year in office he would no doubt have availed himself of your Majesty's permission to retire into private life. But grave events had happened since then. Lord Spencer's policy was producing good fruits, and Mr. Parnell had intended to have accepted a large Local Government scheme. But, when Lord Spencer's programme was discredited and reversed, Mr. Parnell returned to his demand for independent Parliamentary Government, and the proposals which were possible last summer were now impracticable.

The situation therefore had become most grave. He would have been willing to have entered into a conference with Lord Salisbury's Government upon the question ; but that proposal failed. In these circumstances he felt that age might bring some claim for respect, where younger men would not be listened to. He therefore felt it his duty to place his services at the disposal of your Majesty, and would see his friends without loss of time.

Sir Henry Ponsonby said that your Majesty could not accept Sir Charles Dilke. Mr. Gladstone replied he presumed that meant if he were guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and not if the Judge and jury declared there was no stain on his character ? How-

ever, at the present moment he agreed that, before the trial, it would be impossible to select him, and he very much feared that he would not be cleared of blame. Mr. Gladstone did not hesitate from confiding to Sir Henry Ponsonby that, as Mr. Chamberlain must be offered a seat in the Cabinet, which there was every reason now to believe he would accept, he very much preferred Mr. Chamberlain without Sir Charles Dilke to Mr. Chamberlain with him.

Sir Henry Ponsonby began to give your Majesty's message about foreign policy when Mr. Gladstone said: "As far as I can judge I think Lord Salisbury's foreign policy has been good; and I certainly back him up about Greece." Sir Henry Ponsonby then mentioned what your Majesty had said, not without personal regret, about Lord Granville. Mr. Gladstone clasped his hands and said: "This is most painful. I know the general feeling; it is most unjust towards my best colleague; but I cannot say the Queen's views come unexpectedly upon me. He is the man I should have at once sent for with Lord Spencer on the construction of the Government. I cannot do so now." He asked Sir Henry Ponsonby to speak to him again on the subject to-day.

Sir Henry Ponsonby has to apologise for this long letter.

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

67 PORTLAND PLACE, 29th Jan. [1886] (2.30).—Mr. Goschen . . . sees no possible alternative except for your Majesty to entrust Mr. Gladstone with the formation of a Government; and he ventures to think that any sign of hesitation on the part of your Majesty, such as an invitation to me to visit Osborne would be interpreted to mean, would lead to an excitement amongst a great portion of the public which he humbly thinks it very important to avoid.

Mr. Goschen will explain in a further letter why an amalgamation of parties would at the present moment be impossible. He has thought over this

idea with extreme care, and has talked it over at length with Lord Hartington. Lord Salisbury, as Mr. Goschen understands, shares the view that any *immediate* action in this direction could not be carried out. . . .

Mr. Goschen is, however, able to assure your Majesty that Lord Hartington would not be a party to any Government which contemplated giving a separate Parliament to the Irish. He, like myself, would stand aside, and remain in an independent position. It is, however, generally thought that the great bulk of the Liberal Party would stand by Mr. Gladstone, and that he would find no difficulty in forming a Government, though it would be of a somewhat Radical colour. . . .

[*Same Day.*]— . . . 1. The influence of Mr. Gladstone over the Liberal Party is still so strong that, even if Lord Hartington were to become Prime Minister, a fraction only of the Party would follow him. Mr. Goschen has heard the number put as low as 50, and 100 would be a large estimate.

2. Members have only just returned from their elections, and most of them, having denounced the Conservatives and declared their confidence in Mr. Gladstone, are not prepared for so abrupt a transition as an immediate junction with their opponents.

3. Members contend that there is no evidence as to Mr. Gladstone's intention with regard to Ireland. It is believed by many that Mr. Gladstone would do nothing which would really endanger the substantial legislative Union. It is alleged that he has only declared that the demands of the representatives of Ireland demand respectful consideration and examination.

Mr. Goschen believed a few days ago that public feeling was running against Home Rule, and as regards the country that may still be the case; but, since the assembling of the House of Commons, it has become apparent that there is an intense un-

willingness among Liberal Members to separate themselves from Mr. Gladstone. . . .

If Mr. Gladstone should fail in his proposed conciliatory policy, the country would then be compelled to recognise that stern steps must be taken, and possibly would rally round any group of statesmen who would grapple with the difficulty. At present they underrate the difficulty and overrate Mr. Gladstone's powers to deal with it. Mr. Goschen is but too persuaded of the imminent risks of loss of time and of possible dangerous legislative attempts; but he will certainly not abandon the hope that, besides the Conservative Party, a sufficient number of independent men will stand aloof, to frustrate any proposals which may strike at the legislative union of the two countries, or to enforce the adoption of measures for maintaining order, should the present miserable state of affairs continue. . . . Mr. Goschen thus entreats your Majesty not to be too much disheartened. . . .

[*Draft.*] *Queen Victoria to Lord Salisbury.*

OSBORNE, 29th Jan. 1886.—. . . Tho' the Queen will see Lord Salisbury again and trusts that a very short time (if any) will elapse before she sees him again in office, she writes to say how great her admiration has been of the admirable manner in which he has conducted public affairs and of the triumphant success of his conduct of foreign affairs, by which he has in seven months raised Great Britain to the position she ought to hold in the world. Personally it has been a pleasure and a comfort to the Queen to transact business with him, and she has felt the blessing of having a Minister in whom she could thoroughly confide, and whose opinion was always given in so kind and wise a manner.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 30th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully

tenders his most earnest and grateful thanks to your Majesty for the exceedingly gracious and kind language of the letter he received this morning. He will always remember with deep gratitude and pleasure the confidence with which your Majesty has been pleased to honour him, and the encouragement he has received in his humble attempts to serve your Majesty. He hopes that sufficient has been done in the last few months to prevent any great damage occurring to the foreign policy of this country in the immediate future. . . .

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 30th Jan. 1886.—Received a telegram early (at 9.30) from Sir H. Ponsonby saying Mr. Gladstone had “accepted” (alas!), and soon after came another telegram saying that Mr. Gladstone thought he *could form* a Government, that Lord Hartington would *not* join and Lord Spencer was impossible (which turned out to be a mistake in the cypher, as I learnt in the evening to my great disappointment); that Mr. Gladstone was disappointed but not surprised at my objection to Lord Granville at the F.O.

Heard by letter from Sir H. Ponsonby by messenger and saw him at near eight. . . . [He told me] Lord Spencer is Mr. Gladstone’s great support!! He [Lord S.] was for coercion, but, that time having passed, he was for an Irish Parliament; and this, under a complete union with the Crown, is what Mr. Gladstone thinks of proposing, imagining thereby to avoid Revolution!! . . . About Lord Granville, he was greatly distressed, tho’ not unprepared; he [Mr. Gladstone], however, called his old colleagues together, and they were unanimous in agreeing with my views, that he [Lord Granville] should *not* return to the F.O. The difficulty was how to break it to him, “his best colleague and friend?” Either Mr. Leveson[-Gower] or Lord Spencer must do it. But what should he do if he declined to join? Then who

should be the F[oreign] Minister? Lord Kimberley Sir Henry told him I would never agree to, and at length named Lord Rosebery as the person I should prefer. He did not object, but thought he was rather young. . . . There will be great difficulty in filling up the Court places, Sir Henry said, as so many would object to this Irish policy. . . . V. R. I.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.*

OSBORNE, 31st Jan. 1886.—I have to thank you for two very interesting letters.

I can fully understand the difficulty of a Coalition *at present*, as well as the effect of the unfortunate omission in the Speech of any mention of measures of repression or decision for Ireland. This was *not* Lord Salisbury's wish, but the very reverse.

I regret *very* much that you did not come down for me to talk fully to you. I think there should never be hasty action when a crisis of this kind takes place; and, considering the peculiar circumstances and the very peculiar and objectionable views which Mr. Gladstone holds, it was but natural and right that I should not instantly or willingly send for him. In '51 and '55 I consulted the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lansdowne. Had the Duke of Argyll been at hand, I might have sent for him.¹

Mr. Gladstone really intends to bring forward Home Rule, and I trust that the line you and Lord Hartington and other influential people will take will soon bring a good many Liberals to their senses and open their eyes.

In fact, Mr. Gladstone is *in the hands* of Mr. Parnell without his knowing it. You must be strong and courageous and show publicly *what* your views are, and you *will* be supported. Yours truly, V. R. I.

¹ In the course of his reply, on 7th February, Mr. Goschen pointed out that the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lansdowne were much older men, and were freer in respect of Party struggles than he, an M.P., could be. But he "entirely recognises that your Majesty is constitutionally entitled to consult anyone on an occasion such as this in whom your Majesty places confidence."

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 31st Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully returns the two letters from Mr. Goschen. They are very interesting and valuable. If Lord Hartington remains firm and does not join Mr. Gladstone, a coalition is certain to take place before long, though it is not possible at this moment.

Lord Salisbury shares Mr. Goschen's hope and belief that (if Lord H. does not join) the forces outside Mr. Gladstone will be strong enough to prevent any lasting mischief from being done; and it may be hoped that, by the time his tenure of power ends (and for him individually it cannot be very long), the agricultural labourer will have found out the hollowness of Radical promises, and will range himself with the rest of the rural community. He, therefore, sincerely joins in hoping that your Majesty will not be disheartened. Except Mr. Gladstone, the forces of subversion have no very dangerous champion. Lord Spencer's conduct is indeed inexplicable. It is the personal influence, amounting in some cases to infatuation, exercised by Mr. Gladstone.

Lord Salisbury is most deeply grateful for your Majesty's offer to confer on him a Dukedom. But his fortune would not be equal to such a dignity, and he would with deep respect crave your Majesty's permission to decline it, very sensible as he is of the gracious feeling which had induced your Majesty to suggest it. The kind words in which your Majesty has expressed approval of his conduct are very far more precious to him than any sort of title.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1st Feb. 1886.—Saw Mr. Gladstone before luncheon. He looked very pale when he first came in, and there was a momentary pause, and he sighed deeply. I remarked that he had undertaken

a great deal, to which he replied he had and felt the seriousness of it. I must try and give shortly the substance of what he said.

1st.—That he had received a letter from Lord Hartington¹ after having seen him, part of which Mr. Gladstone read out, and left the rest with me. It is friendly in tone, but very decided, and strongly opposed to anything like a Legislative Assembly in Dublin, which, there is no doubt, is Mr. Gladstone's proposal. Lord Hartington points out that there are only two things to be done—to try conciliatory measures by yielding to the demands of the Irish Party—or to govern by force. The former he would not be a party to, and it would not be assented to by England or Scotland. He could not in honour support a policy opposed to all his declarations, which would add to the impression already existing, that he had surrendered his judgment too much.

2ndly, Mr. Gladstone referred to Lord Granville, which had been a most painful business—that Lord Spencer as well as others had spoken to him. That at first Lord Granville had declined to join, but that now he had consented, Mr. Gladstone believed, to take the Colonies. The latter said he had purposely kept my name entirely out of the question, but the feeling was so strong amongst all those he had consulted, that it would have been impossible for Lord Granville to have returned to the Foreign Office; besides, no one of his age had ever been Foreign Secretary. Mr. Gladstone said this might recoil on himself, but that, when the Government did not see their way to settling the question of Ireland, which he would have wished they should, he felt bound to try and see if he could not accomplish it, or examine what means could be devised to meet the wishes of the Irish people.

I told him, I feared his proposal of a Central Legislative Assembly in Dublin would never succeed, he would be considered to be acting by Parnell's

¹ Printed in full in Holland's *Duke of Devonshire*, vol. ii, pp. 122–125.

advice, and that all the loyal Irish would rise against such a thing, and there would be Civil War! He answered, he might fail, it was 49 to 1 that he would, but he intended to try. Lord Spencer, whom he spoke of in glowing terms and as "his great comfort," had been formerly in favour of coercion, but that now the time for that had passed away and that Lord Spencer leant towards this proposal (inconceivable after what he told me in May!). Mr. Gladstone continued to say that one could not doubt the opinion of Ireland, when 86 Members were returned by the Irish people in favour of it. I observed that these were mostly low, disreputable men, who were elected by order of Parnell, and did not genuinely represent the whole country. Mr. Gladstone read me a paper,¹ a copy of what he had given Lord Hartington, which explained his policy, which, I again told him, I felt sure he would have great difficulty in carrying through. He owned that he quite felt it, and if it should fail, then there was nothing left but to employ force, which would be dreadful, and which he could only compare to the loss of the American Colonies! He then reverted to people, saying that Lords Selborne and Derby had felt the same objection, and Sir H. James too, who to a great extent shared Lord Hartington's views on the Irish policy. Mr. Gladstone proposed to take the Solicitor-General, Sir Farrer Herschell, as Lord Chancellor, a very able, agreeable man. Sir Wm. Harcourt would not do as Chancellor, as he was not a good lawyer. Lord Sydney, I with pleasure agreed to, as Lord Steward, though he is eighty!

The audience was interrupted by luncheon, but I saw Mr. Gladstone again afterwards. He thinks it is best to take in Mr. Chamberlain, though he is not quite certain of him, as he had spoken strongly against Mr. Gladstone's policy in Ireland. But he would not be dangerous, and his land plan would be discussed, if it came forward. Sir Charles Dilke

¹ The short memorandum which immediately follows this extract.

he naturally spoke of as out of the question. Mr. Morley, whom he proposes as Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Gladstone described as certainly an advanced Radical but not "of the Chamberlain type." He is a gentleman and an agreeable man. The proposals for Ireland Mr. Gladstone considers as quite independent of other Radical views, and said that he thought as compared with his late Government this one would be less Radical! He struck me as being less Radical himself than he used to be, and as intensely in earnest, almost fanatically so, in his belief that he is almost sacrificing himself for Ireland. He wishes it to be understood that his colleagues and followers will be at liberty to disagree with his plan, when he proposes it, which of course I also could, when it was laid before me. He agrees with the Greek, and entirely with the Bulgarian, policy of Lord Salisbury, and had let the Greeks know that they could not count on him. I suggested Lord Rosebery or Lord Spencer for the Foreign Office, and Lord Ripon for War and Lord Northbrook for India. Mr. Gladstone said it would be impossible to hold a Council till next week, as nothing would be ready before. He was going to leave directly, and seemed dreadfully agitated and nervous.¹

Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone.

Secret.

30th Jan. 1886.—I propose to examine whether it is or is not practicable to comply with the desire widely prevalent in Ireland, and testified by the return of 85 out of her 103 representatives, for the establishment by Statute of a legislative Body, to sit in Dublin, and to deal with Irish as distinguished from Imperial affairs; in such a manner as would be just to each of the three Kingdoms, equitable with reference to every class of the people of Ireland, conducive to the social order and harmony of that country, and calculated to support and consolidate the unity of the

¹ The Queen sent off the same day "in strict confidence" an abbreviated account of this conversation to Lord Salisbury.

Empire on the combined basis of Imperial authority and mutual attachment.—W. E. G.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

2nd Feb. 1886.—Mr. Gladstone humbly transmits to your Majesty a duplicate of the Memorandum which he had yesterday the honour of placing in your Majesty's hands at Osborne.

This Memorandum exhibits the fullest intent, and so to speak the outside possible result, of the examination which it is proposed to institute; but, as Mr. Gladstone had yesterday the honour of stating, the ground upon which the Cabinet are asked to unite is more generally to examine into the possibility, on the basis indicated in Mr. Gladstone's address dated Sept. 18th, 1885, of meeting the wants of Ireland and Irish society by some method safer and more effectual than a recurrence to the method, so heavily damaged by recent events, of special and restrictive criminal legislation. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Prince of Wales

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 1st February 1886.

SIR,—I am very grateful for your Royal Highness's letter¹ and the suggestion it contained about Campbell-Bannerman was very valuable. I fear, however, that he is not to be in the Cabinet, though I think the Queen would have been glad if this arrangement could have been carried out.

Mr. Gladstone proposed Childers, and her Majesty commanded me to let your Royal Highness know that she positively refused this, so positively indeed that Mr. Gladstone eventually promised to reconsider the question.

Lord Granville will go to the Colonies, Sir F. Herschell is to be Lord Chancellor, and Mr. John

¹ Sir Henry Ponsonby by the Queen's desire had given the Prince information about the crisis, and in a letter dated 31st January (summarised and in part quoted in Lee's *King Edward VII*, vol. i, pp. 525, 526) the Prince had suggested Lord Rosebery for Foreign Secretary and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman for War Secretary.

Morley to be Chief Secretary for Ireland. The Queen desires me to mention that she is very anxious Lord Lorne should have employment, and it has been suggested he should be Under-Secretary for the Colonies, but this of course must depend on his coming into Parliament.

At one moment the Queen seemed to think it doubtful whether a Ministry could be formed; and, anticipating in that case a long and more serious crisis, she wished me to suggest to your Royal Highness that it might be as well not to go abroad at present.

I have ventured to hint that an early return to the neighbourhood of London would be advisable, but the Queen does not regard this in the same light as I do.¹ I have the honour to be, Sir, your Royal Highness' most obedient humble servant, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Prince of Wales to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 2nd February 1886.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I must send you a few lines to thank you for your letter received this morning. Mr. G. seems hard at work making his Government! He told me after his daughter's wedding, at which we assisted, that he had made it all right with Lord G. I should have thought that President of the Council would have been less of a "come down" than the Colonies after the Foreign Office.

I am so glad the Queen is firm about Childers.

¹ On one of the last days of January or first days of February the following telegraphic messages passed between the Prince and Sir Henry Ponsonby: From the Prince—"I hope you will be able to induce the Queen to come up soon to Windsor. The inconvenience to ingoing and outgoing Ministers whilst she is at Osborne is obvious. People are much astonished that she has not come up at once, and most unfavourable criticisms are made on the subject. A. E." From Sir Henry Ponsonby—"I suggested H.M. going up, but was told by Jenner I had made H.M. quite ill with such a proposal, and that I must not do so, as her health would suffer."

He really would never do at the War Office. How would Spencer do? with a strong Under-Secretary in the House of Commons? I hear Chamberlain is talked of for the Admiralty! With regard to Lorne, I hardly think the Queen's son-in-law should form part of her Government, no matter what party is in power; and how could he form part of a "Home Rule" Government? Fortunately he is not in the House of Commons and he ought to be made a peer. I am very strong on that point, and equally so that he ought not to join the present Government or any other Government. He would be in an utterly false position, and I can hardly imagine that my sister would wish it.

With regard to my postponing my going abroad, I should not think of leaving here till the Government is formed. I had thought of starting on 11th, but shall certainly put it off till 15th or 16th. My going to Cannes on this occasion is really not for amusement. I have two reasons for doing so. The first to lay the foundation-stone of the church which is to be erected to the memory of my poor brother.¹ I have received *no* assistance from any of my family, but have collected the necessary funds through the kindness of friends. The Bishop of Gibraltar has also been waiting for weeks to take part in the ceremony with me, and he has prepared a ceremonial which will be worthy of the occasion.

The second reason is to take my son² out when [he] will be met by Stephenson, who takes him from Villafranca to Malta to join his ship. The reasons I have given are I think good ones, and will not bear much later postponement than the dates I have mentioned. *Entre nous* I cannot see how I can be of any use to the Queen and her Government, much as I should like to be so.

Excuse this scrawl, but I am writing in haste to secure the post. From yours very sincerely, ALBERT EDWARD.

¹ Prince Leopold.

² Now H.M. the King.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 2nd Feb. 1886.—. . . Mr. Gladstone requested to see Lord Salisbury this afternoon about Greece. He questioned him minutely, carefully writing down Lord Salisbury's answers. His object, he said, was to ascertain how far England was bound by absolute engagement in the matter; and he came to the conclusion that the "thing was done," and that the engagements were complete. Lord Salisbury thinks he must have been negotiating with some colleagues who objected to become responsible for any policy adverse to the Greeks, and that he was glad to find the responsibility was entirely ours. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

18 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, 2nd Feb. 1886.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to offer his warm and respectful thanks for your Majesty's kindness in writing to him—a kindness which has never failed him.¹

Lord Granville is still of opinion that, under the present exceptional circumstances, he could have been more useful to Mr. Gladstone out of office, rather than in it.

Sir Richard Cross² to Queen Victoria.

ECCLE RIGGS, 2nd Feb. 1886.—Sir Richard Cross presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs leave to tender his thanks for your Majesty's most gracious letter, which reached him this morning.

Your Majesty has bestowed the highest reward which a subject can receive in so graciously making use, for the second time, of the word "friend." Sir Richard Cross can only say, whether in official life

¹ Mr. Gladstone, when he was at Osborne, had suggested to Sir Henry Ponsonby that it would soften the blow to Lord Granville if the Queen wrote herself to him.

² Afterwards Viscount Cross.

or not, his life is entirely devoted to your Majesty's service. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S, 3rd Feb. 1886.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby went direct to Mr. Gladstone on reaching London, but had to wait, as Mr. Childers was with him. Mr. Gladstone strongly urged that Mr. Childers should go to the War Office, and enquired what were the reasons your Majesty disliked him. Sir Henry Ponsonby could only say he was much disliked at the War Office and Admiralty, and that your Majesty could not possibly consent to his going to either Department again.

After some discussion Mr. Gladstone said he wished to please your Majesty to the best of his power, and therefore at a great sacrifice would give up Mr. Childers and would select the gentleman named by your Majesty, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,¹ for the War Office. He was also ready to obey your Majesty's wishes as regards Lord Rosebery. . . .

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 4th Feb. 1886.—The Queen was so hurried yesterday that she had not time to write to Mr. Gladstone as she wished to do with respect to the Memorandum he sent her yesterday. She must say that it is absolutely necessary for Mr. Gladstone to *state explicitly what* his "examination" would lead to, for it would not be right that the country should be led step by step, as he himself would be, to approve a measure which Mr. Gladstone *knows* the Queen cannot approve, and which has deterred four² highly

¹ "A good honest Scotchman," the Queen called him in her Journal of this date. The Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief, expressed, on 9th Feb., his gratitude in the interests of the Army to the Queen for insisting upon the appointment of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman rather than Mr. Childers as Secretary for War.

² Presumably, Lord Hartington, Lord Selborne, Lord Derby, and Lord Northbrook. For other Liberal leaders who parted finally from Mr. Gladstone over Home Rule see Introductory Note.

respected and influential Cabinet Ministers from joining his Government. Mr. Gladstone *must* be aware that the want of explicitness on his part, both as regards Ireland and the Church Establishment, has produced many of the complications from which we are suffering now.

He *must now* let the country see what is likely to occur, or else there would be no object in turning out Lord Salisbury's Government.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 4th Feb. 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and has to acknowledge your Majesty's letter of this day.

Mr. Gladstone is not able to reproach himself with a want of explicitness towards your Majesty; but in the difficult position of affairs before him there are of necessity many contingencies which he is not able accurately to forecast, as they depend partly on the possession of knowledge respecting the South of Ireland, which he has not yet been able to set about collecting, and partly on the conduct and views of many persons in various positions which it will require time to ascertain and much care to weigh.

In his letter of the 3rd [? 2nd] Mr. Gladstone humbly apprised your Majesty that the basis on which he could attempt to form a Cabinet would be an endeavour to find some other and better method of dealing with the present case of Ireland than the proposed recourse to what is commonly and roughly termed coercion. That is, he believes, an accurate and full description.

In the brief Memorandum he asked, and he fully believed he had obtained, liberty to examine, subject to certain conditions, an expression of desire from Ireland, which he understands to be supported by an overwhelming proportion of her representatives. But he has no foregone conclusion on that subject. In his own mind he is not prepared to affirm that that desire can be complied with. The subject is mixed

up with difficult and complex problems as to land and otherwise ; and it is absolutely beyond his power to anticipate the close of an investigation which as yet he has had no power effectually or practically to institute.

He entirely disclaims the idea of leading on the country step by step to a given conclusion, as he has no such conclusion before his own mind to which to lead them, and there is nothing he would so much deprecate as that your Majesty should, through any act of his, be taken by surprise.

In order to add all he can to your Majesty's information, he encloses his Address to his constituents in the original, which will bind him before the world, and in which he has endeavoured to describe with accuracy and fulness the ground, and the whole ground, which forms the basis of union in the present Cabinet. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

4th Feb. 1886.—With humble duty. Would your Majesty approve of an offer of the Viceroy of Ireland to Lord Lorne ? If so, it will be made.

Note by Queen Victoria :

I declined its being offered on account of expense ostensibly, but really on political grounds. V. R. I.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 5th February 1886.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—I am very glad indeed that Lord Rosebery is appointed to the Foreign Office !

I saw Herbert Bismarck yesterday evening at a party, and he was quite delighted, and said his father was immensely pleased, and hoped and trusted Lord Rosebery would walk in Lord Salisbury's footsteps. That his father had great confidence in *Lord Rosebery's* abilities, intentions, and energy. This was *quite sincere*, and it was not difficult to see that Prince

Bismarck *really* desires to be *well* with England and really approved Lord Salisbury's Eastern policy. . . .

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 8th Feb.—I saw Lord Salisbury at twenty minutes past twelve on Saturday morning, 6th inst.¹ We talked generally of the appointments, and I never saw anyone fairer or more impartial as regards public men of different parties or wiser in his general advice. He feels so much for me and my being so alone, so cut off. He assured me that, in whatever position he was, he would do anything to help me. I gave him an enamelled photograph of myself, and promised him a bronze bust which was not quite ready. When I expressed a wish to have his likeness he offered to give me a copy of Watts's portrait of himself.

Lord Salisbury said that they must force the new Government to *speak out at once* on the Irish policy, and that they would have to organise and encourage meetings of the loyal Irish in Ireland and England.
V. R. I.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 6th Feb. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty will obey your Majesty's commands as to his interview with Lord Rosebery. The only point of immediate importance is the one mentioned in the Crown Princess's telegram, to prevent the Greeks from going to war. The Sultan has come to this agreement with Bulgaria under the belief that England is protecting him against Greece. If England should falter, or loiter, he will turn to Russia again, and will throw the Prince of Bulgaria over. That once done, Russia will give him every assistance in crushing the Greeks. If the new Government makes it understood, without ambiguity,

¹ The Queen had had a conversation with him on the previous day, in the course of which he said, as recorded by her Majesty, that "Lord Rosebery ought to bring as little before the Cabinet as possible, and settle it with Mr. Gladstone and [the Queen]. Nothing was ever settled satisfactorily in the Cabinet."

that they will not allow any naval attack by Greece, and act accordingly, the danger will pass away : the Sultan will adhere to England, and Russia, being isolated, must give in. But it is evident that the moment is critical ; for the telegram, which Lord Salisbury returns herewith, shows that Prince Bismarck is already " hedging " and preparing to take Russia's side if the new English Government hesitates.

Lord Salisbury is deeply conscious of the difficult position in which your Majesty is placed ; and earnestly regrets that it is not in his power to render any useful service at this juncture. But his most sincere and devoted exertions will always be at your Majesty's disposal whenever they can be of any use in your Majesty's judgment, whether in office or out of office. He earnestly prays that your Majesty may be supported in the difficult times that lie before this country. . . .

Mr. Gladstone's Third Ministry.

<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>	. WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	. LORD HERSCHELL.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	. EARL SPENCER.
<i>Home Secretary</i>	. HUGH C. E. CHILDERS.
<i>Foreign Secretary</i>	. EARL OF ROSEBERY.
<i>Colonial Secretary</i>	. EARL GRANVILLE.
<i>War Secretary</i>	. HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.
<i>Indian Secretary</i>	. EARL OF KIMBERLEY.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	. SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	. MARQUIS OF RIPON.
<i>President of the Board of Trade.</i>	A. J. MUNDELLA.
<i>President of the Local Government Board</i>	JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (after March J. STANSFELD).
<i>Chief Secretary for Ireland</i>	. JOHN MORLEY.
<i>Secretary for Scotland</i>	. GEORGE O. TREVELYAN (after March, not in the Cabinet).

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 6th Feb. 1886.—Held a Council in the Drawing-room, at which the outgoing Ministers gave up their Seals. Affie had come down on purpose to be with me. After taking leave of all my kind friends, went upstairs and rested a little, lunched, and then held my second Council. First saw Lord Spencer,

who seemed nervous and embarrassed. I began by saying he had undertaken a great deal, in which he agreed, but that his opinions and views had entirely changed since last June. I said I thought the new Government must be very explicit as to their intentions, and that they must be very careful in what they did; that I considered Lord Aberdeen, who had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a very weak man, which Lord Spencer answered was better, as then all could be left in the hands of Mr. Morley. It is quite clear that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Spencer are of one mind now about Ireland. All the new Ministers received their Seals.

Had some conversation with Lord Rosebery, who seemed much impressed with the difficulties of his new office of Foreign Secretary and said: "It was too much." I spoke anxiously of the Eastern question, and that I knew both Greece and Russia were waiting to see whether the new Government, especially Mr. Gladstone, would not alter their course, and that it was of the utmost importance that Lord Rosebery should at once state that there was going to be no alteration whatever in the British policy, as well as that the Admiral should act according to his previous instructions. Lord Rosebery answered, that he quite agreed, and wished no change, but that he thought it right to speak first to Mr. Gladstone, and as the latter was coming to him to spend Sunday at Mentmore, he meant to ask the Greek Minister to come down there. This would enable Mr. Gladstone to tell him clearly, Greece could expect no support from England. Lord Rosebery thinks the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia a great safeguard against Russia, that Sandro had behaved wonderfully, but hopes that he is not Russian. I spoke to Lord Rosebery about his Under-Secretary, Mr. Bryce,¹ whom I did not know

¹ Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, and M.P. for Aberdeen; afterwards British Ambassador at Washington, and ultimately Viscount Bryce, O.M.

much about. He was a Scotch Professor. Lord Rosebery said he would insist on Mr. Bryce writing down every word he was to say, and his being told to say nothing more on his own account.

I urged Lord Rosebery not to bring too many matters before the Cabinet, as nothing was decided there, and it would be far better to discuss everything with me and Mr. Gladstone. Lord Rosebery is very friendly towards Germany, but is now aware that his friend, Count Herbert Bismarck, is not to be trusted. He does not very much care for France. I said I was ready to see him often, and to help him, and that I frequently had intelligence of a secret nature, which it would be useful and interesting for him to hear, and which came from a reliable source. Lord Rosebery is very anxious that there should be a continuity of foreign policy, which I naturally approved of, as I thought continual changes were very bad and dangerous. . . .

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[Copy.] Confidential.

7th Feb. 1886.—. . . On receiving the first intimation that *England* might possibly *abandon* her *energetic policy towards Greece*—the *German Ironclad* received telegraphic instructions to stop in the first instance at an Italian port to wait there for the clearing up of the situation.

If, however, England *continues to pursue* the policy of the late Cabinet, the German ship will entirely *co-operate with the action of* England. This is positively certain !

At *Berlin* they think that a firm and *threatening* attitude towards Greece is the *only means* to preserve the peace. If *England* does no more than declare that she will not assist Greece and Servia in their aspirations, this will NOT be sufficient to keep them under control. Also *Italy* has declared to dissociate herself from co-operation, in case England should [? not] stick to her previous programme.

To *prevent*, therefore, an entire *dissolution* of the "entente," an outspoken and unmistakable *declaration on the part of England* appears to be urgently required.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

MENTMORE, 8th Feb. 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

After seeing your Majesty on Monday last, moved by the urgency of the case as possibly a question of human life, he thought it right to obtain an interview with Lord Salisbury,¹ and to learn at once the exact state of British engagements with respect to Greece and the tranquillity of the Levant.

He has to state that, before he had the honour of receiving on the 29th–30th ult. a message from your Majesty, M. Gennadius² had invited communication with him, and made a statement on the subject of Greece, which Mr. Gladstone simply reserved for consideration.

But on Tuesday, the 2nd, when he was the only person qualified in any manner to represent the incoming Administration, after the interview with Lord Salisbury, and after being made aware at Osborne of your Majesty's views, he deemed it right to address a letter³ to M. Gennadius.

Thinking your Majesty might desire to have a copy of this letter, he has the honour to enclose it, together with a copy of the brief reply from M. Gennadius.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

8th Feb. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that he has had a long interview with Lord Rosebery, which

¹ See above, p. 41.

² The Greek Minister.

³ In the course of the letter Mr. Gladstone said: "From engagements I need hardly say it is impossible for us to recede. . . . From the result of my enquiries I cannot rationally doubt that her Majesty is engaged to the other five Powers . . . in the terms of the recent Note as to the course to be pursued . . . in the event of an attack by Greece upon Turkey." Lord Rosebery told Sir Henry Ponsonby he considered the letter "eminently satisfactory."

appeared to him satisfactory.¹ Lord Rosebery expressed several times his intention of maintaining the continuity of English policy in foreign affairs—of following the path which has recently been pursued. He had seen M. Gennadius, and had told him distinctly that England under the present Government would act up to the declarations made under the last, and that there would be no change of instructions or of policy. He seemed to be entirely alive to the folly of the Greeks in thinking they could make head against the Turks, and the great dangers of allowing any Greek war. He was also fully aware of the aims of Russia—her desire to overthrow Prince Alexander, and to use the Greek folly for that purpose. Lord Salisbury did all that he could to complete Lord Rosebery's information on these points, and to impress upon him the extreme importance of a decided policy in regard to Greece; and of rapidity of decision in these questions, especially where Germany was concerned; and he explained to him (Lord R.) his own view, that Prince Bismarck's leaning to England was now largely due to his resolution to continue in office after the death of the Emperor; and his consequent recognition of the necessity of propitiating the Crown Princess.

His general impression is that Lord Rosebery is really sincerely desirous of continuing the policy hitherto pursued, both in Bulgaria and Greece, and also in Egypt; but that he is rather nervous of Mr. Gladstone's interference. He is very fully alive to the defects in the procedure of Lord Granville and Lord Derby. He seems very properly disposed in respect to your Majesty and fully inclined to defer to your Majesty's views. . . .

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.*

10th Feb. 1886.—The Queen thanks Lord Rosebery very much for his kind and satisfactory letter received to-day.

¹ "Lord Salisbury showed himself, as usual, most kind and helpful," Lord Rosebery reported on the 9th Feb. to the Queen.

Since she has got his letter, she has seen the telegrams received to-day from Mr. Scott and others, and has likewise received more private and perfectly reliable intelligence, the substance of which she encloses, which points to the same, and will require *extreme vigilance* and *firminess* on our part. . . .

The Queen thinks that Sir Edward Thornton had better go now to Constantinople, where his position, his great knowledge of Russian intrigue (and she must add wickedness) will make him very useful; and at the same time Sir William White will be of great use at Bucharest from his complete knowledge of the whole question.

Queen Victoria to the Dowager Duchess of Roxburghe.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 11th February 1886.

DEAR DUCHESS,—I must at once write to thank you for your letter, and to tell you how much I admire your son's conduct which I consider more loyal to me, and of far more importance, than if he supported this incredible Government; tho' I am very very sorry not to have dear amiable Annie¹ back again. I will write to her to-morrow.

I think your son might put into the papers that the post had been offered to Annie, and, tho' she was greatly honoured and would willingly have accepted it, the Duke felt he could not support Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, and she had therefore declined it. Something of this kind I should like to appear.

I am very tired, very *hard-worked*, but not ill. I am so *sure* that good will come out of this, and rouse and rally the country, that I don't mind the trouble and worry. . . . Ever yours affectionately, V. R. I.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 11th Feb. 1886.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter of the 8th, enclosing the

¹ The Duchess of Roxburghe, who had declined the Queen's offer to be Mistress of the Robes because the Duke did not feel he could conscientiously support Mr. Gladstone's Government on the Irish Question.

copy of his letter to the Greek Minister. Surely his words and the firm tone of Lord Rosebery must convince these reckless and infatuated Greeks that they have nothing to hope from a Liberal Government. The Servians are equally, if not far more, culpable, as they attacked Bulgaria without a particle of reason, and caused the loss of thousands of innocent lives. The Powers *must* prevent a recurrence of such iniquities merely prompted by personal motives. To think that in these days such a wicked policy as that Russia is secretly pursuing can be attempted seems incredible. The telegrams received to-day show the necessity of great *vigilance* and *firmness* on our part.

The Queen cannot sufficiently express her *indignation* at the monstrous riot¹ which took place the other day in London, and which risked people's lives and was a *momentary* triumph of socialism and disgrace to the capital. If steps, and very *strong ones*, are not speedily taken to put these proceedings down with a high hand, to punish *severely* the REAL ring-leaders, and to "probe to the bottom," as Mr. Gladstone has promised, the whole affair, the Government will suffer severely. The effect abroad is already very humiliating to this country; and that this should take place *just* when a Liberal-Radical Government comes in, and so many of Mr. Gladstone's most respected adherents have refused to join or support him, will make a very painful impression. The police seem to be greatly to blame.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 12th Feb. 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty, and has to acknow-

¹ On 8th Feb. a meeting of unemployed was held in Trafalgar Square and heard violent speeches from Mr. Hyndman, Mr. Burns, and Mr. Champion. Afterwards a portion of the audience marched by Pall Mall, St. James's Street, and Piccadilly, to Mayfair and Hyde Park, breaking the windows of clubhouses and private residences, and wrecking and robbing numerous shops, causing damage and loss to the value of £50,000. The reserve of police, owing to a mistake, were in the Mall, instead of Pall Mall.

ledge your Majesty's gracious letter which reached him this morning.

Since writing to your Majesty, he has had the honour of receiving through the Turkish Ambassador a communication from the Sultan in warm acknowledgment of Mr. Gladstone's effort to obviate mischief in the direction of Greece.

Mr. Gladstone entirely accepts your Majesty's view as to the attitude and conduct of Servia, the first source of the mischief. He is inclined to believe that, while in Greece a national and public feeling has acted upon the King and Government, in Servia it is the King whose unwise personal action has long made him sink in the estimation of his subjects, and may probably have disposed him to seek a factitious source of strength in stimulating then by unwarrantable schemes of territorial aggrandisement. His conduct, as Mr. Gladstone fears, must greatly favour whatever ambitious views the military party in Russia may cherish with regard to the Balkan Peninsula.

Mr. Gladstone yesterday conversed very fully with the Home Secretary on the deplorable and disgraceful riots which might so easily have been prevented, but which, as he feels, have, besides the immediate mischief produced, stained the reputation of this country in the eyes of the civilised world. He feels with Mr. Childers, that enquiry into the sad miscarriage was properly to be postponed until order and security were completely restored; but not a moment longer; and arrangements, which seem judicious, have been made upon this basis and will be resolutely prosecuted. The occurrence, however, must at best remain a subject of the keenest pain and regret. It is consolatory to bear in mind that it imports no disparagement to the general efficiency of that admirable force, the London police.

As the first duty of the Ministry in connection with Ireland is to examine the state of that country with reference to social order, Mr. Gladstone, with Lord Spencer, spent much time yesterday in a preliminary

examination of the facts with Sir Robert Hamilton, the very able permanent Secretary at Dublin Castle. The tendency of the conversation was to exhibit a state of circumstances in many particulars much to be lamented, but by no means presenting that breadth of basis on which Parliament proceeded in 1881, although worsened since the retirement of Lord Spencer from the Viceroyalty. If your Majesty should desire to see some of the more illustrative facts, Mr. Gladstone would cause them to be prepared accordingly.

Mr. Childers to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 12th Feb. 1886.—Mr. Secretary Childers with his humble duty to your Majesty has the honour to report to your Majesty that, having to-day received the opinion of the Attorney-General as to the sufficiency of the evidence against Hyndman, Burns, Champion, and Williams, for instigating the riot on Monday last, he has directed proceedings to be taken against them. They will probably be tried in March.¹

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Childers.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 13th February 1886.

MY DEAR CHILDERS,—The Queen is pleased with both your announcements that there is to be an *enquiry* and a *prosecution*.

Her Majesty believes that, strictly speaking, a public meeting in Trafalgar Square is illegal; and, if so, asks whether after the recent riot you would not be justified in forbidding tumultuous assemblages in that place? ² Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir Henry Ponsonby

Secret.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th February 1886.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,— . . . I have had an hour and a half with the German and half an hour with the

¹ They were all acquitted.

² In replying next day, Mr. Childers wrote: "To withdraw a permission, granted or recognised by successive Governments, would be a very grave step."

Turkish Ambassador. The latter entirely agreed with me about the clause for giving mutual armed assistance. If the Prince and the Porte remain friends, he said, it is unnecessary: if they do not remain friends, an article in a treaty will not make them help each other.

The German Ambassador thinks that the reason the Greeks (and consequently the Servians, who depend on them) do not yield is that some people are under the impression that we are not very ardent in our continuance of Salisbury's policy. The Chancellor was anxious to know as to this, whether we follow it because we are compelled by Lord Salisbury's engagements, or because we enter into the spirit of it. I told him that for myself I was most strongly and irretrievably pledged to it, and as for Mr. Gladstone, I referred him to Mr. Gladstone's speeches delivered when he could have no object in supporting Salisbury's policy, but quite the reverse. . . . Yours sincerely, AR.¹

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.*

OSBORNE, 13th Feb. 1886.—. . . The Queen is delighted to be able to assist Lord Rosebery in his very difficult task, which he has begun so well.² She has nearly fifty years' experience, and has always watched particularly and personally over foreign affairs, and therefore knows them well.

The Queen thinks Lord Rosebery will like to read this portion of a letter which she received from her daughter in Berlin the other day.³

¹ When Lord Rosebery did not append his title to a letter, it was his custom to put the initial of his Christian name, Archibald, and of his title together, as a monogram "AR."

² Lord Rosebery had written on the previous day: "The guidance given by your Majesty to Lord Rosebery's inexperience at this crisis is quite invaluable, and he cannot be sufficiently grateful for it." It is unfortunately impossible to find room for more than a few samples of the numerous letters and telegrams which passed between the Queen and Lord Rosebery in these early days of his at the Foreign Office.

³ The Crown Princess wrote on the 10th that "the name of Gladstone both in Russia and in Greece has reawakened the conviction that he will resume his former passive attitude, and it will be necessary to prove the contrary."

All the Powers are very suspicious of a Government at the head of which Mr. Gladstone's name appears. But Lord Rosebery has done much to dispel this already. . . .

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 14th Feb. 1886.—Lord Rosebery with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits his gratitude for the gracious approbation conveyed in your Majesty's letter just received. Your Majesty's great experience and Lord Rosebery's absolute inexperience in foreign affairs do indeed represent the opposite extremes, and he can only congratulate himself and the country on the fact that the one is used to correct the other. With such guidance and the absolute devotion to the service of your Majesty and the country which is the only quality he claims, he hopes that these delicate and complicated negotiations may be brought to a successful issue. . . .

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 13th February 1886.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—The Duke of St. Albans has given me permission to send you the enclosed letter. Since seeing it I have seen him, and he told me of his interview with Mr. Gladstone yesterday. Although he put forward as one reason which deterred the Duchess¹ from accepting the post of Mistress of the Robes, as [? that] she is so often absent from London in the spring and summer, yet the principal reason was that, as an Irishwoman, she felt so strongly against Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy (although he endeavoured to deny it to the Duke) that she could not accept an appointment under his Government. I am told that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville offer appointments right and left, not for the sake of

¹ The Duchess was the daughter of Mr. Bernal Osborne, a leading figure among Irish landowners and in London Society, and for many years a Member of Parliament.

“party” or “country,” but for Mr. Gladstone’s sake. In fact, he looks upon himself as a kind of Dictator. . . .

The celebrated Dilke trial is over. But if Sir Charles is innocent of the grave charges brought against him, why did he not go into the witness box? The law does not admit alone of a woman criminating herself or accusing anyone else; but surely there ought to have been some defence on the part of the incriminated person! The whole business is as deplorable as it is scandalous. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 14th February 1886.

DEAREST BERTIE,—I have just received your letter and return the enclosed, of which I have kept a copy. Tell the Duke¹ that I was *sure* of the real reason, though Lord Granville never *mentioned* it . . . ; and that, while I much regret not being able to have the Duchess in my Household, I honour her for what she has done. The Duchess of Roxburghe *also* declined with deep regret, as the Duke felt he *could not* “conscientiously support the Government in their policy with regard to Ireland, which must evidently be something approaching Home Rule, or at any rate of concession to the Irish Nationalists.”

Lord Fife’s letter is admirable, and I have let him know how patriotic and loyal I think it. No less than seven Lords have refused to enter the Household, viz.: Lords Breadalbane, Chesham, Wenlock, Montague, Arran, Powerscourt, and Suffolk! *I know* it is NOT meant out of *want of respect for me*, but of a *sense of patriotism* which *ought always to be above party*. Still it is atrocious of Mr. Gladstone, or Lord Granville even more, to expose *me* to having only half a Household. Lords Kenmare and Cork only accepted on the condition that they could resign as soon as any objectionable measure was proposed.

Now Lord Granville wants the Duchess of Leinster (who is in very bad health and has seizures)

¹ Of St. Albans.

to be asked, *for the name*—*my three Duchesses* (including the Duchess of Bedford who is an *Extra Lady*) acting for her! *I* want the office to remain in *abeyance* and the three Duchesses to take the duty in turn! Lord Granville wanted me to take a Marchioness—but this has never been done, in my time or in Queen Adelaide's.

I wish YOU would ask and speak loudly about the whole thing. I hear that the Moderates and Conservatives will *act* together, and, *if so*, we may look to *good coming out of evil*—SOON. The *only* really good appointment (and that is *my* doing, for *I* asked for him and *insisted* on having him) is Lord Rosebery. He is doing extremely well, and I am doing all I can to help him, for which he expresses great gratitude.

I have written and *telegraphed* very strongly daily to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Childers about the disgraceful Riots on Monday last. I fear the Home Office are not strong enough. I am not gloomy *at all* as to the ultimate result, for the people will *not* stand it; but in the meantime it lowers us in the eyes of the world; as Mr. Gladstone himself wrote to me. I hope the Government will be forced to show their colours the very first night.

I quite agree with you about this atrocious trial and the *result*. Everyone looks on Sir C. Dilke as guilty, though he has got off *without* punishment.¹ Altogether there never was such a state of things. *You* may well speak out. . . . Love to all, Ever your devoted Mama, V. R. I.

Earl Granville to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

18 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, 15th February 1886.

DEAR PONSONBY,—I feel the Queen must be annoyed at the delay in filling up the Lordships.

¹ Though the general public considered that the facts and circumstances of the trial and of the subsequent appeal demonstrated Sir Charles Dilke's guilt, nothing was legally proved against him, and his intimate friends, like Mr. Chamberlain, stood by him. But, though after a time he was re-elected to Parliament, and did good work there, he never regained office.

It is not unreasonable that some Peers should be afraid of committing themselves to support a Government until the Government policy is known.

But, considering the state of the Irish question which Gladstone has inherited, the difficulty of coming to a sound decision and of carrying out that decision whatever it may be, it seems desirable that the matter should be fully considered before any announcement is made. . . . Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Note by Sir Henry Ponsonby :

16th Feb. 1886.—The Queen replied : “ He inherited it because he wished it. He insisted on inheriting it and now complains of what he found.”
H. P.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 16th Feb. 1886.—. . . M. Gennadius called, apparently much agitated by a telegraphic account he had received from M. Delyannis of the firm language used by the German Minister on the previous day. Lord Rosebery’s account of this interview will be at once forwarded to Windsor, and the language used by him will, he trusts, meet with your Majesty’s approval. He has discovered, as he suspected, that the Greek Minister has been endeavouring to intrigue to some extent with individual members of the administration.

Captain Victor Montagu, who has intimate personal relations with Greece, wrote yesterday to Lord Rosebery to express his alarm, in the interests of Greece and of her dynasty, at the course Lord Rosebery was pursuing. To this communication Lord Rosebery only rejoined a question as to whether Captain Montagu in the interests of Greece wished that country to engage in a single-handed conflict with Turkey.

At the same time Lord Rosebery cannot conceal from your Majesty the harassing nature of his position. If war be not restrained, Lord Rosebery

will be blamed ; and, if it be necessary to use actual force against the Greek fleet, the outcry in the country will be so great as to overwhelm him for the moment. Nothing in this crisis, so trying to so young a Minister, sustains him but the consciousness of trying to do his duty, and of your Majesty's gracious sympathy and approval.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th Feb. 1886.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for the letter she received this morning giving an account of the Cabinet. She fears there will be a great deal of discussion when Parliament meets about the disgraceful riot on the 8th and above all as to the reason why it was not stopped at once, which from what she hears from many quarters might so easily have been done, had the police *tried* to do so. This is very unsatisfactory, and will have to be thoroughly investigated.

The Queen perceives a great deal of agitation and excitement in Ireland and England with respect to Mr. Gladstone's policy with regard to that unhappy country.

Though Mr. Gladstone speaks of examination as the first thing to take place, *no one* on either side will be satisfied unless he states clearly what examination may *lead to* and how far he is prepared to go. The Queen thinks the country had a right to expect a direct statement to this effect on the very first opportunity ; and she thinks it would not be fair to anyone, including herself, if the state of uncertainty continued. Lord Spencer said to the Queen that there would have to be great concessions, which is a very serious thing.

The Queen hopes Greece will be advised, or rather will yield to the united desire of the Great Powers.

Mr. Gladstone should take an opportunity of publicly condemning the mad career of that country in going to war ; for abroad people still cling to the hope that he will favour the Greeks, and this encourages the Greeks.

Lord Rosebery displays great firmness and tact and [is] doing remarkably well.

*Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone.*¹

Secret. 17th Feb. 1886.

1. In 1841, the general election was fought upon the Corn Law. Sir Robert Peel declared that he would in substance maintain it. His amendment of it was a very simple one; but he took five months, from September to February, for preparing and producing it.

2. We have an infinitely more complex subject before us; and the first meeting of the new Ministry was held on Monday, 15th Feb.

3. We have already, I think, in substance, arrived at our first conclusion, namely, that it is not our duty to propose *at the present juncture* a recurrence to repressive legislation as the means of restoring social order in Ireland.

4. In passing, I must express my personal conviction that, had the last Ministers remained in office, and proceeded with their proposed plan of repression, and even had that plan received my support, it would have ended in a *disastrous Parliamentary failure*.

5. Two other main questions confront us in Ireland:

i. The land.

ii. Local self-government or autonomy.

6. The second of these *cannot* be approached without considering the first on the way to it.

7. But of the land question, *as now raised*, it may be said, without doubt, that—

(a) It involves a vast financial operation, in all likelihood the largest ever known in this country.

¹ This memorandum was apparently drawn up in consequence of the Queen's letter of the 16th, and was submitted by Mr. Gladstone to her Majesty; but perhaps not at once, as the acknowledgment appears to have been written on 15th March. See below, p. 83.

(b) No Act on an adequate scale can be passed, unless subject to two conditions: first, the impartial public must be satisfied that it is equitable to the Irish landlords; secondly, it must have the assent or acquiescence of the great body of the representatives of Ireland.

How is it possible to devise in a few days such a measure? To frame it at all may be found impossible: to attempt it at a moment's notice would be absurd.

8. Supposing, however, that, by using the utmost care as well as boldness, such a measure can be framed, I am disposed to believe, as far as I have yet examined the subject, that for the security of British finance, and *altogether apart from* the demand of the Nationalists for Home Rule, it might render necessary the creation of some Irish Authority, sufficiently strong to bind the country, and pledge to us, in an effectual manner, its whole revenues and resources.

9. While this is my personal opinion, I am not at this moment entitled to speak for my colleagues.

10. In 1868–1869, the Queen desired me to submit to her my plan respecting the Irish Church (if I remember right) *before* its adoption by the Cabinet. This was done. Perhaps her Majesty might be pleased now to lay upon me the same command.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 18th Feb. 1886.—After breakfast gave Affie the military K.C.B., which he particularly wished to have, and also the last new photograph of myself in a case. He goes so far away, and always sad things seem to happen when he is absent. God bless and guard him! He goes to command the Mediterranean Fleet, which is now at Suda Bay. He will return D.V. for my Jubilee next year.

Had a letter from Lord Rosebery, saying that he thought it right to ask me if, in case of active measures against Greece, Affie would wish to be relieved of his

command. I felt this would not be the case, but telegraphed to ask him, receiving directly the following answer: "I will of course undertake all the duties suggested, independent of all private feelings, not only now, but at all times."

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Rosebery.

[Copy.]

18th February 1886.

MY DEAR ROSEBERY,—The Queen thinks it was not wise to have consulted Sir R. Morier¹ about the secret treaty.

It was not ours, and we are placed in an awkward position now that he has condemned it. Besides which, the circumstance may get known. H. P.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 18th February 1886.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I was quite appalled when I got Morier's didactic telegram this morning. The fact is I had no idea that the other telegram from Lascelles had been transmitted to him. But the further fact is that there is a rule, and a very bad rule, in the office that all the Embassies receive all these telegrams. I have put a stop to it for the present. It is quite enough if Berlin and Paris, and occasionally Constantinople, get them. Under the present rule there are five Ambassadors and one Foreign Secretary who know all, consequently six Foreign Secretaries, which is more than even Great Britain wants: not to speak of the Cabinet. . . .

Of course, on receiving the Queen's telegram, I at once telegraphed to Morier to keep silent if possible. The fact is, if you cannot trust the Ambassador at St. Petersburg to keep an obvious secret, the question occurs, why is he Ambassador at St. Petersburg?

I received the Queen's telegram about the Duke of Edinburgh at eleven, and let the Admiralty know at once. I had no doubt on the point myself, or

¹ British Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

very little, but thought it right to call her Majesty's attention to the fact. Yours sincerely, AR.

Mr. Childers to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 23rd Feb. 1886. 10 a.m.—Mr. Childers with his humble duty to your Majesty has the honour to report that the Committee which he had appointed to enquire into the disturbances on Monday the 8th instant, and into the conduct of the police in connection with those disturbances, sat daily from Saturday the 13th instant until yesterday afternoon, when the Report was settled and signed. . . . The Report points out the grave mistakes committed by the police authorities, and states in what respects the enquiry shows that the police system is imperfect ; and it concludes with a recommendation that a thorough enquiry should be instituted into the administration and organisation of the Force.

Mr. Childers approved and signed the Report ; and, as he promised in the House of Commons on Thursday last, he has appended to the Report a Memorandum in which he states that he proposes to undertake this enquiry, and that he will also investigate the relations between the police authorities and the Home Office.

After the settlement of the Report and his Memorandum, Mr. Childers saw Sir Edmund Henderson, the Chief Commissioner, and communicated to him the general conclusions of the Committee, and the words of his Memorandum. On this Sir Edmund Henderson tendered his resignation of office, which Mr. Childers accepted. Mr. Childers is able to inform your Majesty that Sir Edmund Henderson, in taking this course, was aware that the use of the word "organisation" in the description which Mr. Childers gave of the character of the enquiry which he was about to make would be favourable to Sir Edmund Henderson in the settlement of his pension, as he would be retiring in connection with a contemplated reorganisation of his department. Considering the

long and faithful services of the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Childers will urge upon the Lords of the Treasury the propriety of granting him a pension, on a liberal scale. . . .

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd Feb. 1886.—Sir Henry should tell Mr. Childers¹ that the Queen is much surprised and indeed shocked that a man who had been so long in such a very responsible position, in which he had to provide for the Sovereign's *personal* safety so often, should have had his resignation summarily accepted and in such a way without her having been first duly informed of it.

But the House of Commons comes *long* before the *Sovereign* with these Radicals. Surely Mr. Gladstone cannot approve such want of respect towards herself, or of consideration towards Sir E. Henderson. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Childers.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd February 1886.

MY DEAR CHILDERS,—The Queen thanks you for your letter.

Her Majesty hopes that political views will be ignored in any reorganisation of the police, and that you will consult former Secretaries of State, both Liberals and Conservatives. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Childers to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 24th Feb. 1886.—Mr. Childers with his humble duty to your Majesty desires humbly to assure your Majesty that no political considerations whatever will enter into the arrangements which he hopes to make for the better organisation and administration of the Metropolitan Police. In the higher and original sense of the word the duties of

¹ On reconsideration the Queen directed Sir H. Ponsonby to write to Mr. Gladstone, instead of Mr. Childers, on the subject. See his answer below, p. 66.

the Home Department are eminently political; but Mr. Childers has always endeavoured to exclude party politics from administration, in every department the charge of which your Majesty has confided to him; and to none should this principle more apply than to the Home Office.¹

Mr. Childers showed his strong sense of this principle when he requested the assistance of two Conservative, and one Liberal, Member of Parliament in conducting the recent enquiry; and he will endeavour to obtain the advice of experienced Statesmen, regardless of Party, in arriving at a decision as to the reforms necessary in the organisation of the police.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, 24th February 1886.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—I am very sorry that there should have been any omission to inform her Majesty at the proper moment respecting Sir E. Henderson. But I feel quite sure it was unintentional. A Secretary of State, coming for the first time to his office, usually has quite enough to do for a time in taking up the threads of ordinary business. Mr. Childers found himself confronted within a few hours by an extraordinary occasion, which of itself demanded nearly all his time. And it unfortunately so happened that simultaneously with all this I was compelled to make rather special calls upon his aid in matters more connected with the Treasury than with his actual duties as Secretary of State. Such things cause the head to whirl, and lead to a miscarriage now and then. Sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

¹ Mr. Childers told Sir Henry Ponsonby on 4th March that he thought the best of those eligible for the office would be Sir Redvers Buller, but it was nearly certain he would decline. After him the best were Sir Charles Warren, Lord Charles Beresford, and Mr. Monro (the Assistant Commissioner). Her Majesty would see, he wrote, "that I am not allowing political considerations to influence me." The Queen approved, and thought either Sir Redvers Buller or Lord Charles Beresford would be excellent. Sir Charles Warren was in the end appointed.

Sir Robert Morier to the Earl of Rosebery.

[Copy.] *Most Confidential.*

ST. PETERSBURG, 24th February 1886.

MY LORD,—I have had some difficulty in knowing how to deal with your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 50 of the 16th, and 60 of the 19th instant. It was clear to me, in comparing your Lordship's telegram No. 50 of the 16th with Sir William White's telegram to your Lordship No. 41 of the same day, that we had, in a sort of way, led the Porte to infer that, by giving in on the point of the military clauses, Russia might be induced to give in on the other two points, and that it was necessary *pour acquit de conscience* that some endeavour should be made to induce Russia to do so. But I knew from the first that the attempt was a hopeless one, and that it would be only wasting powder and shot to try seriously to move her to further retrograde steps; whilst the endeavour to do so, by rousing the latent sullenness of the Emperor, might do much mischief. There was moreover a very delicate point in connection with the part assigned me. It was clear from the wording of your Lordship's telegraphic despatch (No. 50), which recorded a conversation with the German Ambassador, that Germany would not be sorry if we gained the point. But I had every reason to doubt whether my German colleague would back me up, and, hopeless as the endeavour seemed in itself, I knew that, unless I was backed up by Germany, nothing at all could be done. Moreover, as I saw that Germany, Austria, and Italy were at one with Russia on the three points, and as I could not but regard the Russian objections, on the two still open, as reasonable, and in the interest of the European concert, I did not wish to make it appear that her Majesty's Government was the one Power pulling away from the rest.

German diplomatists are the closest and most impermeable of colleagues, and General Schweinitz,

though a very old friend of mine, is no exception to the rule. I saw, by the anxious enquiries which he made as to whether or not I had succeeded in extracting the concession from Monsieur de Giers, that his Government wished us to pull the chestnuts out of the fire, but I could not gather that he himself had done anything to assist the process. I have since learnt that it was left open to him to do so, but that, knowing the hopelessness of the case, and the mischief which would arise from disturbing the accord arrived at, he never used the permission given to him. Under the circumstances, I was very careful in the language I used. I told Monsieur de Giers¹ that her Majesty's Government, in common, as I believed, with himself and all those who honestly desired to prevent a general war, laid the greatest stress on a settlement being, at once and without loss of time, attained, and that the speediest way seemed to be to drop the two objections, in return for the victory obtained in reference to the third. But I did not say that her Majesty's Government made light of or disapproved of the objections, or that they urged this as a necessary consequence of Turkey having yielded on the most important of the three.

It was in connection with this that I elicited the important information in respect to the Rhodope Villages recorded in my secret telegram No. 29 of the 21st instant, which gave me the key to the entire situation, and showed to me, on the one hand, that it would be unwise to persist in urging further reductions, and, on the other, that Turkey was running a very great risk of losing the most brilliant portion of her victory by not at once closing with the Russian conditions. . . . I have, etc., R. B. D. MORIER.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir Henry Ponsonby.
Private.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 3rd March 1886.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,— . . . I am sending her Majesty a very pressing box. It contains a despatch

¹ Russian Foreign Minister.

to Morier, which I am compelled to send him, in view of his extraordinary proceedings, to-night, in view of the departure of the messenger. So it would be a relief to have it back as soon as possible. Yours sincerely, AR.

The Earl of Rosebery to Sir Robert Morier.

[Copy.]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 3rd March 1886.

SIR,—I have received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch No. 75, marked "Most Confidential," of the 24th ultimo, in which you explain the course taken by you upon receipt of the instructions contained in my telegrams Nos. 50 and 60 of the 16th and 19th ultimo.

The first of those telegrams contained the substance of a conversation with the German Ambassador, in which I had stated that if the Sultan took our advice to omit from the agreement with Prince Alexander the condition as to military assistance, the Russian Government would no longer have any serious ground for objecting to the agreement. Your Excellency was authorised to speak to the Russian Government in this sense, and informed that your German colleague would support you. To this you replied, in your telegram No. 21 of the 17th ultimo, that you would use your best endeavours to urge the withdrawal, or reduction to a minimum, of the demands of the Russian Government on the remaining two points.

In the second telegram I repeated the substance of a conversation with the Russian Ambassador, in which I had expressed the hope that as the Porte had consented to omit the stipulation as to military assistance, the Russian Government could see their way to abandon the other objections they had raised. You were instructed to take any opportunity that presented itself of urging this.

I regret that I cannot see, in the statements contained in your Excellency's despatch, any sufficient justification for not fully and efficiently carrying out

the instructions contained in my telegrams above mentioned. I must request, if on a future occasion your Excellency should see serious objections to the execution of any instructions you may receive, that you will communicate such objections to me by telegraph, and report the course which you are taking, or which you desire to take. I have, etc.,
ROSEBERY.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 3rd March 1886.—The Queen entirely approves of this draft, and is delighted to see that Sir R. Morier at last receives a severe reprimand.

Can the Queen keep these despatches, as she has not read them yet? ¹

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 3rd March 1886.—Pray write to Lord Rosebery expressing the Queen's great *fear* at Russian "devilry" at the bottom of all this peace, and that she trusts Germany, Austria, and Italy will join us in insisting on the immediate demobilisation of Servia. Bulgaria has had to yield everything, and this last refusal of Servia about "friendly relations," which the Prince has yielded to, almost *forces us* to SEE *that* there is *no* false play. Pray write strongly to Lord Rosebery. . . .

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 4th March 1886.—Lord Rosebery with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits the following points in grateful response to your Majesty's gracious letter.

¹ When returning the despatches next day, Sir Henry Ponsonby was instructed to say that the Queen thought Sir Robert Morier's "disobedient" despatch "well deserves the remarks you have addressed to him." In replying to Lord Rosebery, Sir Robert, while regretting the expressions in his letter which induced the Secretary of State to misunderstand his action, maintained that he had loyally obeyed instructions.

He thinks indeed that the peace signed yesterday is not satisfactory in its terms. But the great aim will be attained, and both sides will demobilise. Lord Rosebery ventures to think that it will not be easy to persuade these pacific populations to arm against each other in a hurry, when once they have left a warlike footing. He has also great confidence in the peaceful influences of a possible bankruptcy in Servia, while Prince Alexander is one who, in the words of the old Spanish proverb, while he never lays down the sword without honour, never draws it without cause.

Lord Rosebery thinks that the real danger lies in the Tsar's rooted hostility to Prince Alexander, and fears it will require all the latter's great qualities to hold his own.

With regard to the demonstration against Greece, Lord Rosebery can assure your Majesty that Mr. Gladstone's determination is as great as his own. A council of war was to have been held yesterday by Lord John Hay to decide on the best method of carrying out the blockade. Count Hatzfeldt has been kept informed of every proceeding, and, though he shows a more youthful ardour than Lord Rosebery, has never expressed himself otherwise than satisfied. He has seen Lord John Hay's telegrams and knows how genuine they are.

Lord Rosebery is deeply gratified by your Majesty's approbation of his despatch to Sir R. Morier. It cost Lord Rosebery much anxiety, but it was not less necessary for the interests of Great Britain than his own personal position. The latter would not have signified, though of course either Lord Rosebery or Sir R. Morier must have disappeared; for the Empire can only afford to have one policy at a time, and your Majesty would have had to choose between the two essentially different policies pursued by Sir R. Morier and himself. He cannot be sufficiently grateful for your Majesty's wise and timely hint, and trusts to your Majesty to see that his

conduct is not misrepresented. Sir R. Morier's despatches are expositions of Russian not British policy: witness his telegram of last night in which he refers to various despatches to vindicate Russian consistency; a matter of infinite importance to Russia, but which it is not the business of an English Minister to trouble himself about. Lord Rosebery was prepared to endure this; but when he received a despatch describing, not the way in which Sir R. Morier had carried out Lord Rosebery's instructions, but the reasons why he had decided not to carry them out, he perceived that it was impossible to pass over such conduct. For not merely did it represent an absolute contempt of the instructions of your Majesty's Government, but it made Lord Rosebery fail in a solemn engagement to the Sultan.

It is no consolation to Lord Rosebery to read in *The Times* this morning that Sir R. Morier has given one of the most successful balls of the season; or to hear from Sir R. Morier that the Tsar is greatly pleased with Lord Rosebery's method of conducting business, of which indeed, owing to Sir R. Morier's proceedings, the Tsar can know nothing.

He begs to apologise for the untoward length of this letter.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 5th March 1886.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that the debate on the House [of] Lords has been shorter (terminating before eight), and generally better, than could have been anticipated. Mr. Labouchere made a speech of which it is only just to say that, while pungent and sometimes grim in sarcasm, it put ably forward from his point of view a grave and serious indictment. Mr. Brodrick, from the Tory side, answered him with readiness, ingenuity, and ability. The partisans of each had reason to feel satisfied with the performances of their respective champions. One or two other Members spoke. Mr.

Gladstone had to explain the view which he took on the part of the Government. It could not, he said, be expected from Liberal Governments that they should be satisfied with the action of a persistently Conservative House of Lords, which even Mr. Brodrick had declared himself desirous to reform. But he could not give promises which he was not prepared to fulfil, and he would not undertake to fulfil the promise conveyed by voting for the Resolution, nor could he by a concurrence in its terms go so far as to pronounce in favour of the abolition of the hereditary principle in the House of Lords.

On a division, the minority was no less than 166 against a majority of 202 only. The Tory Party were thought not to attend in force.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6th March 1886.—The Queen, in thanking Mr. Gladstone for his report of what took place last night in the House of Commons, must say that she read it with deep and unfeigned regret.

Mr. Gladstone's speech appeared to support that wretched Mr. Labouchere's views while opposing his outrageous resolution; and such expressions from the Prime Minister, the Queen fears, will greatly weaken the power of all who are prepared and determined to uphold the Constitution.

The Queen is sorry and surprised that Mr. Gladstone gave her no idea, when he saw her barely half-an-hour before, of what was going to take place, or of the line he intended to take; for she would have urged him most strongly to desist from such a course.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 6th March 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and is concerned to find your Majesty has seen cause to be dissatisfied with his speech of last night against Mr. Labouchere's motion.

He is really not aware what more he could have

said in defence than he did say. Mr. Brodrick, an able but a young Member, was the sole serious antagonist to Mr. Labouchere. He declared that the constitution of the House of Lords required to be altered by a large infusion of Life Peers, and appeared to express a wish that the more unworthy members of that Assembly could be expelled from it. No strong argument was offered for hereditary Peerage by him, although his party have long had the House of Lords for their mainstay. Particularly since the deaths of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, and most of all since the death of the last Lord Derby, the House of Lords has been the vigilant and persistent foe of Liberal measures, as well as Liberal Governments. The Liberal Party would be untrue to all its professions if it could regard with lively satisfaction the present working and composition of a great Chamber which more than any other single force resists, postpones, and cripples the measures which, in eleven Parliaments out of thirteen, the constituency has returned it to promote. Mr. Gladstone doubts whether your Majesty is fully aware of the sharpness of this antagonism; which, in a slight degree, may be estimated from the recent threat of Lord Salisbury with respect to Ireland and his reference to "a taste of physical force in the background," which are the words supposed to have been used.

Last night, and on all occasions, Mr. Gladstone has declared his unwillingness to see the hereditary principle excluded from the House of Lords, and has done all he could to postpone an assault which, in perhaps a short, perhaps a longer, period may become formidable, and to promote that moderation of conduct on the part of the Lords which would really be their best defence.

Mr. Gladstone believes that his own opinions about hereditary Peerage are tolerated by a large part of the Liberal Party as the pardonable superstitions of an old man; and he doubts whether they are cordially shared by all or most of the members of

the moderate section. There is no more prominent member of that section on the back benches, perhaps, than Mr. Albert Grey. Last night he was absent, attending the dinner to Lord Hartington; but Mr. Gladstone has learned that he paired in *favour* of Mr. Labouchere's motion.

In cherishing a love of liberty, Mr. Gladstone has always desired to cherish also his sympathy with antiquity, and it is matter of grief to him to see that sympathy constantly declining in the Conservative as well as in the Liberal Party. While humbly offering these general remarks, Mr. Gladstone as humbly adds that, if your Majesty shall be pleased to point out anything favourable to the House of Lords which he could usefully have said, but omitted to say, he will seek for an early opportunity of redeeming his error.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 7th March 1886.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter received last night; and, though not prepared to criticise his speech in detail, she thinks he will expect some observations in reply to his communication. She cannot but think that he might with advantage have dwelt on the following points.

1. The benefit derived by the nation in possessing a chamber of the independent nature of the House of Lords, independent especially because, unlike the House of Commons, its members have not to solicit their seats at the hands of the people by holding out promises which are frequently regretted afterwards by those who made them.

2. The fact that any attack directed against the House of Lords as an integral part of the Constitution cannot fail to affect the stability of the other two, viz.: the Sovereign and the House of Commons—a consideration which it strikes the Queen does not seem to have been present to Mr. Gladstone's mind at the time he spoke.

3. The great importance (which the Queen is sure Mr. Gladstone must himself fully appreciate) of maintaining a power like the House of Lords in order that it may exercise a legitimate and wholesome check upon the great and increasing radicalism of the present day.

For these and other like reasons the Queen cannot but regret that Mr. Gladstone should, as Prime Minister, have made a speech which she is afraid may have the effect of encouraging the views shared by those who agree with Mr. Labouchere, and of increasing, rather than diminishing, in some minds that antagonism which Mr. Gladstone [deplores].

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 8th March 1886.—Mr. Gladstone . . . thinks it probable that the greatest assistance which Radicalism has received in these times has come from the unwillingness of the Conservative Party boldly to profess Conservative principles, and their preference in most cases for proclaiming a new creed of Tory democracy, and for tampering very freely indeed with the ideas and plans of Socialism.

But undoubtedly, in his opinion, Radicalism also derives very great strength from the presence of the Irish Members in the House of Commons. So long as they sit there, it is morally certain that they will form a large part of the Radical wing, because of the total opposition of the Tories to their views. Had the Irish Nationalists been absent from the division on Friday, the minority against the House of Lords would have been small, instead of being large and formidable.

And yet, upon a mere suspicion that the Ministers meditate some plan, which would wholly or substantially dismiss the Irish Members from Parliament, and without waiting for positive evidence of the fact, peer after peer, by letters to *The Times* and by other means, withdraws or threatens withdrawal from the Liberal Party, thereby weakening the

influence of that party in the House of Lords, which has always been the principal means of mitigating the opposition of that assembly to the House of Commons. . . .

The Duke of Edinburgh to the Earl of Rosebery.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

CANEA, 8th March 1886. No. 119.—Your unnumbered dated 7th. I immediately consulted with foreign colleagues, who unanimously agreed with me that no blockade of the Greek fleet can be undertaken if offensive measures are barred. These would especially take the shape of clearing mine-fields, to ensure safety of ships of combined squadron. As this would presumably not be permitted by batteries on shore, active collision must inevitably ensue. Blockade of Greek squadron cannot, moreover, be carried out without at the same time blockading Piræus.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 9th March 1886.—Lord Rosebery with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that, since the telegram of his Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh arrived yesterday afternoon, in which, as President of the Council of War, he represented that the unanimous opinion of that council was that it was impossible to conduct the blockade with common safety without taking offensive measures such as the destruction of forts and mines, the blockade question has entirely changed its character. The Cabinet would never consent to attack Greece; and, if it did, Russia would not; which would break up the European concert. Lord Rosebery at once communicated the result of the Council of War to Count Hatzfeldt, who confessed that the position was most complicated. But the unanimity of the Council of War (including it is to be presumed the Captain of the *Friedrich Karl*) makes the situation perfectly clear, for if no repre-

sentative of any Power thinks the blockade possible without attacking Greece first, none of the Powers can feel aggrieved at that decision.

Lord Rosebery is personally in favour of a simultaneous withdrawal by the Great Powers of the Representatives at Athens. But he was unable to persuade the Cabinet to consent to this yesterday, though he trusts to be more fortunate on a subsequent occasion.

It is, however, greatly to be regretted that the blockade should have fallen through, as it always appeared the most practical and efficient proceeding. But the presence of the Allied fleet in Suda Bay is none the less useful, as, in case the Greek fleet should be mad enough to attack Turkey, it could then take action; while in the meantime it represents a mysterious menace, which may at any moment be converted into a blow.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10th March 1886.—Trust you will press your proposal on Mr. Gladstone. If the blockade falls through, and the Powers do nothing, they will be in a very bad and ridiculous position, and Greece will be triumphant. What does Prince Bismarck say?

Lady Arnott¹ to Queen Victoria.

WOODLANDS, CORK, 9th March 1886.

MADAM,—I venture to address a few lines to your Majesty in the hope that something may be done before it becomes too late to save Ireland from a scene of turmoil. We read from day to day with the greatest alarm of Mr. Gladstone's schemes for conciliating the Irish desperados. If Home Rule is granted and an Irish Parliament established, the country will be plunged into a state of anarchy, and

¹ Lady Arnott, wife of Sir John Arnott, once Mayor of Cork, and in 1886 proprietor of the *Irish Times*, a Liberal-Conservative newspaper.

civil war will be the undoubted result. The lives of the Loyalists and Protestants will be in the greatest peril. We all earnestly plead now that your Gracious Majesty will kindly interfere and oppose Mr. Gladstone's outrageous policy.

The distress in Ireland is very great; but it has all been caused by the Parnellite faction, and if they are allowed the control of affairs the country will be reduced to a pitiable condition. "Home Rule" cannot benefit any class, and must only reduce things into a state of chaos and nobody's life or property will be safe. All the industrious people are most thoroughly loyal, and we all love our Queen and Royal Family, and we will not submit to any other rule. With many apologies for troubling your Majesty, I remain, Madam, your very loyal subject, EMILY ARNOTT.

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

69 PORTLAND PLACE, 10th March [1886].—Mr. Goschen presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs your Majesty to be assured that Lord Hartington's speech on Friday last¹ was decidedly stronger than the criticism in the newspapers would convey. Mr. Goschen has seen several gentlemen who were present, and were watching Lord Hartington with much anxiety with reference to the amount of resolution which he would display; and they have told Mr. Goschen that no parts of the speech were delivered with so much emphasis as those in which Lord Hartington claimed that the Liberal Party should exercise its independent judgment and not surrender to any leader, however eminent.

Lord Hartington's view has been throughout that, looking to what has taken place, it is best now that Mr. Gladstone's plan should come out, and that moderate men should not denounce it in anticipation; but Mr. Goschen would be very much disappointed indeed if, when the time comes, and a separate Par-

¹ Speech at the Eighty Club dinner on 5th March.

liament should be proposed, Lord Hartington should not take a decided and active part in opposing it.

So far as Mr. Goschen can judge, Lord Hartington is by no means in the attitude of mind of being indifferent to what is passing ; and, while disposed not to press his old colleagues prematurely, is quite alive to the necessity of decisive action when the moment shall have come.

Mr. Goschen thinks the present state of uncertainty very deplorable ; but constant enquiries as to the tone of those moderate men who would be likely to follow Lord Hartington shows conclusively that they are not prepared to break with the bulk of their Party, *till* they see whether or not Mr. Gladstone proposes Home Rule. At present many still profess incredulity. . . .

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th March 1886.—Lord Rosebery with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that Count Hatzfeldt came to see him to-day and read him a full translation of a despatch he had received from Prince Bismarck signed with his own hand, which, he told Lord Rosebery, is supposed to be indicative of special importance.

The despatch was of great length, and went over the points mentioned by Sir E. Malet¹ in the telegram of this morning. But they were stated not to be propositions, but ideas which were in the Chancellor's mind, which he wished to be confidentially conveyed to Lord Rosebery. Count Hatzfeldt asked what answer he should return to his Government.

Lord Rosebery replied in the first place he had to observe that the document was long and the suggestions numerous ; that he could not pretend to remember them all, or the various arguments discussed ; that therefore it would be extremely desirable that Prince Bismarck should allow some memorandum to be communicated, however confidentially, to him.

¹ British Ambassador in Berlin.

In the second place, he wished to emphasise his opinion that energetic measures should not be in any case proceeded with until after the signature of the convention at Constantinople; that then, and not till then, the Powers could occupy the impregnable position that Greece was the sole menace to the peace of Europe; and that there were strong indications in the Athens telegram of *The Times* this morning that the signature of the Convention would be taken by the Greeks as their excuse for withdrawing from their present position.

Thirdly, he wished to point out that any of the measures suggested might involve some danger to the concert of Europe, on the absolute maintenance of which Count Hatzfeldt had himself frequently said depended the present peace of the East. The Russians would certainly hold back, and the concert would then cease.

It seemed to Lord Rosebery that these were reasons for proceeding with caution. But so far was he from abandoning his firm resolve to maintain the engagements of this country with energy that, in his opinion expressed individually, and in strict confidence, and on the spur of the moment (not therefore definitively), even if the Allied fleet were to disperse, her Majesty's vessels would be bound to remain and carry out the declaration of 24th Jan. alone. But to that opinion he could of course pledge no one, not even himself. He could not share Prince Bismarck's view that the present position of the combined squadron was undignified; on the contrary, as a matter of fact it was blockading the Greek fleet effectually; and, moreover, was in strict accordance with the declaration of 24th Jan.

He ventures to hope that his language will meet with your Majesty's gracious approval.

15th March.—Lord Rosebery with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that he has seen Count Hatzfeldt, who read to him a telegram received from Prince Bismarck in answer to Count

Hatzfeldt's communication of Lord Rosebery's conversation of Saturday, when Lord Rosebery stated that speaking as an individual he was of opinion that, even if the Allied fleet dispersed, it would be the duty of the British ships to remain and maintain the engagements of Great Britain. In reply to this, Prince Bismarck has instructed Count Hatzfeldt to say that so long as the British ships remain the German ship shall also remain.

Lord Rosebery trusts that this will be satisfactory to your Majesty.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th March 1886.—The Queen thanks Lord Rosebery for his two last letters.

His report of Count Hatzfeldt's communication is most satisfactory. It is owing to Lord Salisbury's and Lord Rosebery's wise policy (and she thinks the Crown Prince and Princess have done much to promote it) that there is so cordial an understanding between the British and German Governments, which is of great importance for the peace of Europe. It was always her dear husband's earnest desire, and is that of the Crown Prince and Crown Princess, that this should be so.

The telegram 57 from Sir F. Lascelles is very distressing, as, unfortunately, it shows the strong feeling of Bulgaria at what certainly are very hard lines for the Prince and his country; and the distinction he makes about the five years, and the agreement with Turkey only, is doubtless a very strong argument. . . .

Still the Queen thinks there is nothing to be done but to yield under protest, as Lord Rosebery himself thought. We have therefore privately (Prince Henry has a private cypher) strongly urged him doing so, while sympathising with him.

If Lord Rosebery should wish at any time any private hint to be given to Prince Alexander, Prince Henry could easily convey it.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR, 15th March 1886.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for his two letters and enclosures on the proposed financial scheme for settling the Land question in Ireland.

The Queen refrains from making any observations on the ultimate effect of this plan, the details of which she will not pretend fully to understand as yet ; but she observes that it chiefly depends on the creation of a partially independent Irish authority, and she awaits with anxiety Mr. Gladstone's further exposition of this portion of the scheme.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 23rd March 1886.—I saw Mr. Goschen this evening, and thought his language very satisfactory. Lord Hartington was very firm and determined to oppose Home Rule very stoutly ; and he (Mr. G[oschen]) thought now that the measure would be defeated in the House of Commons ; which was of great importance, for if it passed and came to the House of Lords, where it would be thrown out, it might lead to great trouble and to a Dissolution which would be very bad *now*. A great change had come over people within the last three or four days. The newly elected Members had been reluctant to throw off their allegiance to Mr. Gladstone, for amongst the masses he still had a great hold. I observed it would crumble if he failed. The House of Commons, which he had not been in for some time, having had a very bad cold, was quite unmanageable ; with very clever and intelligent people, but utterly [un]disciplined and democratic. The twelve working-men M.P.'s were good men, but very ignorant. Ours was the only country in which such people had seats in Parliament. He thought it very important that Mr. Gladstone should bring his measure soon forward, so that [there] might be a good discussion before Easter.

Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan both meant

to resign; and he could not understand why they ever entered the Government, especially the latter, with his position and the opinions he entertained. He believed Mr. Chamberlain might be too vehement in his opposition to Home Rule, which would rather complicate matters. Considering his strong Radical tendency, I observed that this was very curious, and how could it be? Mr. G[oschen] replied that he was very authoritative, disliked disorder, and [was] very dictatorial. This I knew. Alfred told me, who sat with him on a Commission on ships (sending unseaworthy ones out). . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 23rd March 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty: and, mindful of your Majesty's desires to learn his intentions with regard to any advice to your Majesty respecting Irish policy, he has set forth his views in the form of a Memorandum enclosed herewith, which he humbly commends to your Majesty's gracious consideration.

He has promised that he will, during this week, name a day for bringing the subject of Irish policy before Parliament. So much is said in the public Journals on this matter, and so much exaggeration is apt to flow from prolonged uncertainty, that, although he may be unable to proceed in Parliament earlier than the week after next, he feels that he ought not to delay for more than two or three days consulting his colleagues in the Cabinet on the central part of the question, which relates to Irish Government as it may have to be conducted in the future. He proposes to summon the Cabinet for this purpose on Friday.

He is sorry to trouble your Majesty with so long a paper.¹

¹ The Memorandum, which occupies between thirty and forty foolscap folios, contains the defence of his new departure laid by Mr. Gladstone before the Queen. The most important passages are printed on the following pages.

Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone.

10 DOWNING STREET, 23rd March 1886.

Secret.

I. COERCION IN IRELAND.

1. For more than fifty years there have been but two or three full years in which Ireland has not been the subject of repressive criminal legislation applicable to her exclusively.

2. With all this, agrarian crime is not only not rooted out, but it has more and more become habitual, assuming at seasons of distress and irritation extraordinary proportions, and even at times threatening to break up the foundations of social order, and bring us to touch upon a state of things essentially belonging to civil war.

3. This agrarian crime itself is not so much the cause as the symptom of a yet more deeply rooted evil, that is to say, a want of sympathy with the criminal law in all that relates to or bears upon the holding of land. Directly, this affects more or less a majority of the population, and it produces a tendency to impair and vitiate the public feeling in regard to contracts generally.

4. Thus, then, while repressive measures are admitted to be in the nature of a temporary expedient, they have become habitual, and have at the same time failed of their end and aim, which is to do away promptly with the necessity for enacting them. . . .

5. The most grievous part of the whole case, perhaps, is this: that, being enacted in London, in the teeth of much Irish resistance, they have the character not of defensive action adopted against the ill-disposed by the self-preserving instincts of political society, but of impositions by a foreign authority; and they have in this way ineffaceably stamped on the Executive Government in Ireland the aspect of a Government essentially foreign. . . .

8. Upon the whole, there have for some time been symptoms that the method of repressive criminal legislation, imposed from London upon Ireland, was morally worn out.

9. In this state of things, a crisis was reached when the Tory Government of 1885, covered as it was by the avowed intention of the preceding Liberal Ministry to continue some amount of this special legislation, felt nevertheless that it was necessary to pass out of the beaten track, and to make the experiment of governing Ireland by the ordinary law.

10. Nothing can now deprive this remarkable determination of its historical significance and importance ; which were specially enhanced by the disposition which the new Government of last July exhibited in the House of Commons to break the executive tradition, and disparage the administrative acts of Lord Spencer.

10a. Unfortunately, a return to the ordinary law has no magic for the Irish people, since the result of our previous system has been to discredit, in the eyes of the majority of Irishmen, the general action of the criminal law, in the wide, all-pervading sphere of agrarian relations.

11. What seems to be required is that criminal law should come to wear a new face before the Irish people ; that it should command their sympathy ; that as in England the law is felt to be indigenous, to be English, and in Scotland to be Scotch, in its ordinary working, so in Ireland it should be Irish.

12. The drift of these observations is that Ireland should be allowed to administer, under a system of what is called autonomy, her own criminal law.

13. If she is incompetent to protect life and property within her own borders and to cause laws made by herself to be respected and obeyed within her own borders, then indeed, upon proofs of this terrible fact, she is a fit subject for coercion ; not, however, for a coercion intermittent, fitful, and professedly temporary, but for coercion permanent and systematic, imposed (as in such a case it might be) by the undivided power of this country, and of necessity striking at the heart of political freedom in Ireland.¹ . . .

¹ Paragraphs 14 to 18 argue that such permanent coercion would be unjustifiable, and must be, in the long run, impracticable.

II. REPEAL VERSUS HOME RULE.

. . . 5. During the last twenty years, that demand [for Repeal of the Act of Union] has been practically abandoned; the cry of Home Rule has been substituted for that of Repeal; what is asked is a statutory Parliament, deriving all its authority from the Imperial Parliament, and subject to vital limitations which it would have no more *right* to transgress than would a parish vestry, while its power to transgress them, supposing it so inclined, would be met by the repeal or alteration of the Statute, by the exclusive possession of the Military force, and by the over-conducting might of Great Britain against a country comparatively feeble.

6. From the jurisdiction of such a legislative body would be expressly excluded (with other matters) all that touched the Crown and its prerogatives, or the Military force and defence in any of its departments, or the Foreign and Colonial relations of the Empire. These restrictions, not found in the Canadian Act of 1867, would it is believed be cheerfully accepted in Ireland. As regards defence, they could not raise a Volunteer or Militia force except through and under Imperial authority. . . .

8. We are spared the necessity of weighing the risks that might attend the revival of an independent and co-ordinate Parliament; and we are most happily spared that necessity. . . .

10. The Irish nation, so far as it is represented in the demand of five-sixths of its representatives, has receded from its cry for Repeal, and has come a great part of the way to meet us. The question is whether by going some way to meet them we can also relieve ourselves from a very painful and seemingly otherwise hopeless situation.

11. It sometimes appears as if those, who associate local autonomy for Ireland with the disintegration of the Empire, were not aware that, until the days of the last generation, or last but one, Ireland had

always had a Parliament to exercise this local autonomy; that the great work of constructing the Empire during the last century went on along with, and was wholly unhindered by, the local autonomy. . . .

III. IRISH NATIONALITY.

1. It is felt that for over half a century England has laboured hard (although inconsistently and intermittently) to remove Irish grievances, and it is not unnatural that we should feel prompted to ask whether this is not enough. . . .

2. But the general intention to pass good laws, and even the passing of many good laws, is not always enough; and is never enough in cases where the strong permanent instinct of a people, and the distinctive marks of character, situation, and history, require that these laws should proceed from a congenial and native source, that they should be their own laws. . . .

5. In effect, after all our efforts, after doing away with so many, perhaps with all, of the palpable grievances of Ireland, we find ourselves face to face with Irish Nationality, and its demands.

6. Is Irish Nationality of necessity a thing unreasonable and intolerable? In my opinion it is not. I believe that Grattan said something profoundly true, when he gave utterance to the *dictum*, "The channel forbids union (*i.e.* Legislative Union); the ocean forbids separation." . . .

IV. PARLIAMENTARY RESULTS.

1. It may be right to advert in conclusion to some political effects which may be expected to follow if measures should be adopted which would set Irishmen in Dublin about the management of their own affairs, and, as is probable, release them altogether from attendance at Westminster. . . .

3. . . . A solution in favour of Home Rule would appear likely to check very materially the

onward movement of British Radicalism, as has probably been discerned by its leading promoter.¹

4. In the first place, after the exasperation of late years, it is probable that the removal of the Irish Members would have the effect of restoring the House of Commons to its ancient dignity and decorum in the transaction of its business, and would put an end to the system of working by appeals to passion and constant endeavours to excite the public mind, which is, whether pursued on Liberal, Tory or Nationalist Benches, so adverse alike to moderation and to stability of policy.

5. But there is a more direct and palpable result which is almost certain to work powerfully in the same direction. The Irish Nationalists, now eighty-six in number, must remain, while they are in the House of Commons, allies of the Radical contingent, from which they have in the long run greater hopes than from Tories or ordinary Liberals. They greatly increase the force of that contingent, and raise its numerical strength to a high figure, perhaps 200.

6. In an Irish Chamber, their association and tendencies would be altogether different. The Irish, especially the Celtic Irish, are not naturally Radical politicians. Charged with the responsibilities and necessities of Government, the Nationalists of to-day would in an Irish Chamber be to a great extent conservative. But they would leave the Radical Party in the House of Commons reduced by nearly one-half. It would have to fight its own battles with its own resources (as it ought to do), according to English and Scotch ideas; and would lose the aid of a factitious force which it now receives, not upon its merits, but upon grounds, and for purposes, wholly extraneous to them.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 24th March 1886.—A telegram from Lord Rosebery, that Italy proposes

¹ The reference, no doubt, is to Mr. Chamberlain.

the Governor-Generalship of Eastern Roumelia should be confided to the Prince governing Bulgaria for an indefinite period. Sir E. Malet telegraphs that Prince Bismarck was certain Russia would never agree to the Italian proposal. Sir E. Thornton telegraphs that Grand Vizier thinks we are bound to press Sandro to be satisfied with five years. Sir E. Thornton had answered that we had done all we could, but that Turkey had not followed our advice. Meantime, Sandro has gladly accepted Italian proposal. Lord Rosebery informs my Representatives that all but Russia agreed to the Italian proposal. Sir R. Morier telegraphs that Russia positively refuses to accept it, and that nothing would move the Emperor to further concessions, which I consider very wrong.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 25th March 1886.— . . . Lord Rosebery is still anxious that the Russian refusal of the Italian proposition should be placed on record in a formal manner. When however that has been done, he remains of opinion that Great Britain should sign, or be prepared to sign, with perhaps a declaration that we reserve ourselves the right at the end of the first period of five years of bringing under the consideration of the Powers the expediency of giving a longer tenure to Prince Alexander. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Rosebery.

[Copy.]

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 25th March 1886.

MY DEAR ROSEBERY,—The Queen does not much like giving in to what is simply Russian caprice, but H.M. is moved by your argument and gives her sanction to your urging the Powers to sign. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26th March 1886.—I saw Mr. Goschen at twenty minutes to eight, and had about three-quarters of an hour's conversation with him. I

told him I was much pleased with the speeches of Mr. Henry Brand¹ and others. He told me Lord Hartington is very determined to oppose this Home Rule; that amongst all well-informed and intelligent people the feeling was very strong. He had seen a Deputation from the Ulster loyalist Liberals, 500 in number, who were very strong in their determination to oppose Home Rule, which would be disastrous to Ireland, leaving them to the mercy of the Nationalists. That they were to be received by Mr. Chamberlain, which showed that he was going to resign almost immediately. He would very likely join Lord Hartington, which would rather complicate matters, on account of the combination with the Conservatives, which was so much wished. I said (in which he agreed) that the union should not extend further than this—to oppose Irish Home Rule. Another difficulty—at the next election how should they stand? As what? As Liberal and Tory would never do, if they were to be amalgamated; and I said they should call themselves Loyalists, or Constitutionalists. The great thing was to avoid an election for the present. There is to be a great meeting in the city of Liberals and Conservatives against Home Rule, and he thought that Lord Hartington might very likely attend.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 26th March 1886.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty, and reports to your Majesty that the Cabinet met to-day.

Mr. Gladstone again invited the attention of his colleagues to the Irish question. Your Majesty justly observed, on a former letter from him, that the principal point was the constitution of the Irish authority mentioned in the scheme for dealing with Irish land; and the Cabinet to-day wished to advise your Majesty that it is in their judgment expedient

¹ Son of Mr. Speaker Brand, 1st Viscount Hampden; afterwards Governor of New South Wales, and 2nd Viscount Hampden.

to ask Parliament to establish, by Statute, under provisions carefully framed, a Legislative Body in Dublin. This body would exist, like Colonial Legislatures, by authority of the Imperial Parliament, and would deal with Irish as distinguished from Imperial affairs.

Mr. Trevelyan, while disposed to make large changes, is not prepared to give to an Irish body the care of law and order through the magistracy and police. He therefore cannot concur.

Mr. Chamberlain in like manner wishes a body to be established, and does not object to calling it a Parliament, but objects to several provisions essentially belonging to the idea of a Legislative Body. He cannot consent to the removal of the Irish Members from Westminster, as he conceives that this would entail an excessive and unsafe amount of delegated power in the hands of the Irish body.

Each of the Ministers has definitely requested Mr. Gladstone to convey to your Majesty the tender of the resignation of their respective offices, which he does with great regret. He will hold himself in readiness to convey to them your Majesty's pleasure, and will lose no time in considering the steps to be taken, subject to your Majesty's sanction, for supplying the vacancies thus to be created.

On reperusal Mr. Gladstone finds his account of Mr. Chamberlain's objections rather meagre. He also took exception to any suspension of the taxing power of Parliament in Ireland, and was not willing to give to the local body a general control over Irish affairs, but only certain enumerated powers, among which, unlike Mr. Trevelyan, he included the police.

Mr. Gladstone, before concluding, must express his regret that your Majesty should have been subjected to a somewhat alarming annoyance by the act of an insane person.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th March 1886.—The Queen has received Mr. Gladstone's report of the Cabinet

Council of yesterday, and of the resignations of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, which she will accept. The Queen cannot deny that she looks forward with anxiety to the further development of a measure which does not appear to command the approval of the majority of her subjects in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 29th March 1886.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that the Cabinet sat to-day, and was of opinion that Mr. Gladstone should at once make known his intention to proceed with a plan relating to Irish land almost immediately after the plan for Irish government, probably on the 15th April.

The Cabinet considered some of the most important points connected with the Irish Government Bill. They were of opinion that representatives of Ireland should as part of the plan be withdrawn from Westminster, but without shutting the door against the future consideration, should it be found needful, of some method of giving to Ireland a voice in regard to our external relations.

They were also of opinion, with regard to dissatisfaction and apprehension existing in parts of Ulster, that, while no plan of separate treatment could at present be proposed, a willingness should be expressed, on the introduction of the scheme, to consider without prejudice any method of exceptional treatment which might be found compatible with considerations of principle and policy.

In closing this report, Mr. Gladstone cannot refrain from tendering his humble acknowledgments to your Majesty for the communications he has recently received, and for the despatch with which your Majesty was graciously pleased to expedite the business attaching to the recent resignations and the new appointments. . . .

Queen Victoria to Lord Rosebery.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th March 1886.—Just heard from Berlin that it would be fatal to Prince Alexander if anyone out of kindness urged him to yield.¹ This is strongly the Crown Prince's opinion. It is *our* interests which would fatally suffer if Bulgaria became Russian.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 2nd April 1886.— . . . The Cabinet met yesterday at two, and, after an interruption required by the opening of Parliamentary business, resumed at a quarter-past five, and sat till eight. Nearly the whole time was occupied in considering further the most important among the provisions of the Irish Government Bill, which have now been to a great extent disposed of. It is hoped that the drawing of the Bill may also advance with dispatch, so as to allow of its being presented in no long time after the opening statement on the 8th.

The Cabinet yesterday agreed upon the following capital points:

1. On the subjects to be excluded as Imperial from the control of an Irish Legislative Body. The chief of these were, all that touches the Crown—Army, Navy, and Defence in all its aspects—Foreign and Colonial relations—certain matters relating to contracts—Trade and Navigation, leaving intact the power of levying duties for Revenue, but excluding all power of protection and differential duties. Combined with these are some subjects fit to be treated as Imperial, but of a secondary order.

2. On the proportionate contribution of Ireland to the Imperial Exchequer; which the Cabinet desires to fix at 1/14 of the whole Imperial charge. It is expected that the Irish will claim to pay still

¹ Prince Alexander stood out till the eleventh hour against the limitation of his tenure of the Governor-Generalship of Eastern Roumelia to 5 years.

less ; but under this arrangement each inhabitant of Ireland will pay less than one-half what is to be paid, on the average, by each inhabitant of Great Britain. The arrangement, however, if carried through, ought to be economical for both the Islands.

3. The Cabinet considered at much length the proper composition of the Legislative Body. They think it should be subject, like Parliament, to all the prerogatives of the Crown ; should consist of two orders, sitting together, but with a power of separate vote, giving each a veto on the proceedings of the other—this veto, however, to be limited to a term of years ; each order to depend as a rule upon election, but the twenty-eight Irish representative Peers to be members thereof for life if they shall think fit. The elections of the two orders would be by different constituencies.

4. The Civil Government generally, it is proposed, should continue as it is, until altered by arrangement.

5. Much consideration was given to the position of the Judges, with a view to their independence and security, and to the certainty of their emoluments. Also provisions are suggested for the purpose of defending the interests of other persons, who have been connected with the administration of the criminal law on behalf of the Government.

Lastly, the Cabinet consider that, although the word Parliament is applied by Statute to the Legislative Houses of Canada (perhaps to distinguish them from the Provincial bodies), it ought not to be applied in the Statute to the Irish Legislative Body. . . .

Mrs. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 3rd April 1886.

MADAM,—I am venturing to appeal to your Majesty's kindness. My husband's throat, I grieve to say, requires so much rest, that I had arranged to take him a few miles from London, where he would have perfect quiet. The extraordinary effort upon the 8th being so great, Sir Andrew Clark has enforced

the utmost quiet and watching on my part, with all the special care a wife can give to contrive absence of talking and the rest.

Under these circumstances, I appeal to your Majesty, whose kindness is unbounded, to forbid my husband obeying your Majesty's gracious command just received to go to Windsor Castle.

I know you will forgive my writing, for no one will enter into a wife's anxieties so much as your Majesty can. I remain, dear Madam, your Majesty's humble and devoted servant, CATHERINE GLADSTONE.

Queen Victoria to Mrs. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd April 1886.

DEAR MRS. GLADSTONE.—I at once let you know that I would not expect Mr. Gladstone after receiving your letter. But I regret that he should for the second time have been unable to come here, as his absence may be misunderstood. His present work must be overwhelming, and you must be very anxious. Some quiet in the country will be very necessary for him. Ever yours very sincerely, V. R. I.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th April 1886.—The Queen thinks that the signature is the best thing that could have been done, provided it BINDS Russia not to interfere in Bulgaria. The Queen trusts that the proposals Lord Rosebery made to the other Powers with respect to Greece will be complied with. Can we not act without Russia, as Italy has been prepared to do? Turkey seems still to distrust us, and therefore to lean (suicidally) on Russia.

The Queen thinks it very important that it should be demonstrated that we will not join in any coercion of Bulgaria. On the 22nd October Lord Salisbury informed Sir A. Paget, "That if we entered the Conference we could not undertake to be parties to any course which would enable Russia to drive

Prince Alexander from the Throne, and put her own nominee in his place, which would put Russia in a position of command in the peninsula that would bring on at an early date a struggle for the dominion over Constantinople." Again, on 11th November Lord Salisbury telegraphed to Sir W. White: "I am anxious that the Conference should not break up, but that result would be *preferable* to our being dragged by the *three Empires* into sanctioning a policy of armed repression."

The Queen knows that Lord Rosebery is entirely of the same opinion; but she greatly fears that the perseverance of the Turks and Russians against the Bulgarian and E. Roumelian people, and our acquiescence in the signature which she thinks was *inevitable*, may enable our enemies to say that we had quite given up supporting the hardly-fought-for independence of a brave little nation, and will weaken our *position vis-à-vis* of Russia.

The Queen is of course (quite independent of her personal interest in and friendship for Prince Alexander) extremely anxious that nothing should weaken our high position, and that the *principle* in the passages above quoted should be maintained for the *real* peace of Europe and honour and power of England. What an absurd letter Sir R. Morier's last was, speaking of his "dignity," etc.!

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 5th-6th April 1886.— . . . The difference in the tone and atmosphere of the House [of Commons] generally, and the diminution or almost disappearance of the vehement, arrogant, and passionate interrogatories which were so rife in the last Parliament, is so marked that it can hardly fail to strike the eye of the ordinary observer. Circumstances abroad are perhaps more favourable to quietude; but this is not all. It may be that an absorbing interest in the Irish question and the coming discussions upon it may have the effect of

drawing off heats which in the ordinary circumstances would require some other vent.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, S.W., 7th April 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's very kind letter which he received late last night. He quite concurs with your Majesty in thinking that a coalition between the Conservatives and Moderate Liberals would be the best thing for the country; but he is assured that the resistance to this on the part of the Moderate Liberals would be very strong. Much, however, would depend on Lord Hartington's personal course. If this is not attainable, a Whig Government supported by the Conservatives would be best; for a Conservative Government, with this House of Commons, must lead to a speedy dissolution; and Lord Salisbury cannot but think that a dissolution, just now, by a Conservative Government, would be a great evil, for it would reunite all the Liberals of all shades. It is, however, much to be hoped that Lord Hartington will see his way to a coalition, as that may be the basis of a permanent arrangement of parties capable of carrying on your Majesty's Government under the circumstances of difficulty in Ireland, which are likely to prevail for many years to come.

Lord Salisbury's knowledge is too limited to justify him in offering any opinion about the Convention. It seems, on the whole, better that something should be signed, so as to allow time for Russia to cool down; but, on the other hand, there is danger that Russia may make Alexander's non-adherence the pretext for some hostile action at a later period. But on the whole, his prospects seem encouraging.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 9th April 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty and has

to report that all the circumstances of yesterday went strongly to support the observation he lately took upon him to make, with reference to the singular interest and even absorption of the public mind in the Irish question. Large crowds were gathered between Downing Street and Palace Yard in a state of great enthusiasm, though by no means all of one mind, and it required the exertions of the police, mounted and on foot, to secure a rapid passage to the House of Commons, and yet not arrest the ordinary traffic. The scene within the House itself, which was remarkable, bore testimony to the same state of feeling.

Mr. Gladstone rose soon after half-past four, and spoke until eight, in introducing the proposal he had to make respecting Irish Government. The House listened with wonderful patience, and, however severe the infliction, it would not have been possible materially to shorten the statement, which had to combine a long and complex argument for legislating at all in this particular direction (of the same character as that which he lately had the honour of submitting to your Majesty in writing)¹ with a somewhat minute exposition of the numerous and varied provisions of the Bill. Mr. Gladstone's impression was that the House received the statement as a whole with favour.

Like the House, he was a good deal exhausted, and at the kind instance of his friends he quitted the House for the remainder of the evening, after making the necessary arrangements for the course of the debate, which may possibly be continued until Monday.

His voice served him better than he anticipated.

After quitting the House it was reported to him that Mr. Trevelyan explained his resignation and that Mr. Parnell, on the part of the eighty-five representatives of Ireland (who were stated to have held a meeting in the interval), declared their willingness to accept the plan.

¹ See above, pp. 85-89.

Mr. Gladstone has not yet had time to read the speeches, and he is unwilling to delay this report.

9th-10th April. 1.14 a.m.— . . . The adjourned debate on the Irish Government Bill of to-night has been interesting and important, but the principal speeches have been of a character on which Mr. Gladstone finds it extremely difficult to comment, from their bearing on his colleagues and himself.

Mr. Chamberlain began the debate. He gave a lengthened account of his objections to the plan of the Irish Government Bill. He was beginning to enter on the subject of the coming Land Bill, when Mr. Gladstone felt obliged to say that he had not obtained or asked your Majesty's permission for any disclosure of discussions in the Cabinet on a measure not yet explained to Parliament. Mr. Chamberlain showed the anomaly involved in the absence of the Irish Members from Parliament conjointly with an exercise at Westminster of the power of taxation: and objected to the plans of the Government as threatening the subversion of the Empire. He developed his own ideas as involving a suspension for six months of the power of eviction, loans to landlords in lieu of rents lost, and a scheme of legislative power framed on the basis of federation. This was to be devised through a Commission, or a Committee, composed of men of all Parties. The power of eviction it appeared was again to be suspended if necessary for other half-years.

Mr. Healy replied to Mr. Chamberlain, supporting the plan of the Government in a speech of highly remarkable ability. With regard to Mr. Chamberlain, whom he very sharply attacked, he observed that the word federation itself implied that a local legislature must antecedently have been created in Ireland.

Lord Hartington spoke for an hour and three-quarters. He insisted that Mr. Gladstone had given no sufficient notice to the constituencies of this measure. He thought Parliament, especially at its opening, not qualified to deal with this subject,

except after such notice. He denied the historical analogies which had been quoted. He thought that self-government might be gradually extended in Great Britain, and this extension, with some mis-giving, he would extend to Ireland. He thought the modified Crimes Act projected in Lord Spencer's time (for two years only) should have been made perpetual. Mr. Gladstone may be prejudiced, but he did not think Lord Hartington's undoubtedly able speech came up to the terms of the letter which he wrote to Mr. Gladstone on the 30th January.

Mr. Morley replied on the part of the Government about midnight. His speech entirely fulfilled the expectations with which his name was submitted to your Majesty for the high office he now holds.

The debate was again adjourned.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.*

OSBORNE, 11th April 1886.—The Queen encloses a few lines for Lord Hartington, which she begs Mr. Goschen to give him. His speech was excellent, and must carry weight with it.

Mr. Chamberlain's struck the Queen as very good in part. The dispute between him and Mr. Gladstone was not very seemly. Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Queen as follows: "In his belief his late colleagues, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, desire your Majesty's gracious permission to state the points of difference between them and their colleagues on the Irish question, which emerged in the discussions of the Cabinet, and led to their resignation of office. Mr. Gladstone humbly prays that this permission may be given." To this the Queen merely answered that she "*granted the permission they asked for.*" As the Queen's name was mentioned by Mr. Gladstone, she would wish Mr. Chamberlain should know *exactly* the words used! Would Mr. Goschen kindly manage this? Mr. Trevelyan's declarations were very strong too.

Lord Cork has resigned.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.
[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 11th April 1886.—As this is no party question, but one which concerns the safety, honour, and welfare of her dominions, the Queen wishes to express personally to Lord Hartington, not only her admiration of his speech on Friday night, but also to thank him for it. It shows that patriotism and loyalty go, as they always should, before party. And she trusts, with certainty now, that these dangerous and ill-judged measures for unhappy Ireland will be defeated.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 12th April 1886.—Lady Ponsonby writes that “Albert Grey¹ has been hard at work running between Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington to organise the meeting on Wednesday to be held at Her Majesty’s Theatre, Lord Cowper in the chair, for the purpose of *denouncing the Home Rule Scheme.*”

Albert Grey says “He has nothing to do with coalition, but that both parties unite on this occasion to condemn the pitiful, cowardly acquiescence of Gladstone in misrule and anarchy.”²

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, 13th April 1886.—Lord Hartington with his humble duty begs to thank your Majesty very sincerely for the letter which he received yesterday. Lord Hartington thinks it very probable that the Irish Bill may be defeated on the Second Reading, but he looks with great anxiety to the future, whatever may be the result. The disintegration of the Liberal Party, which has been caused by the introduction of this measure, will he fears render almost impossible the formation of another Liberal Government; while on the other hand he does not think that party differences are sufficiently effaced

¹ See above, p. 15.

² See below, p. 150.



*The Marquess of Hartington
From a picture by Lady Abercromby
in the National Portrait Gallery*

to admit of anything in the nature of a permanent combination between the Conservative and Moderate Liberal sections.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 12th April 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has to acquaint your Majesty that Lord Cork has made known to him his inability to give support to the Irish Government Bill, but that he is anxious to time his action in such a way as may best meet the views of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues.

Mr. Gladstone gladly avails himself of the liberty thus afforded to him. In the first place, the policy of the Government will only have been placed before the country as a whole when the Land Scheme shall have been introduced. In the second place, Mr. Gladstone does not conceive it to be sound political doctrine that members of a Government, not in the Cabinet, and not in the House where action has been taken, should give effect to their views by resignation. In the third place, he thinks that the lapse of a certain time will enable Lord Cork to communicate with friends and to observe new circumstances which may occur, and will have the opportunity of acting at the proper time as he thinks fit.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 13th–14th April.—Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that a debate of four nights on the introduction of the Irish Government Bill has closed this evening with the introduction of the Bill amidst loud cheering.

Sir William Harcourt opened the debate with a masterly speech, in which he exhibited most forcibly the total want of cohesion and accord between the views of the several distinguished persons who have objected to the proposal of the Government, and quoted with great effect the well-known description by Mr. Burke of the Chatham Administration. Mr. Goschen followed in a speech of great ability. In the course of an hour and three-quarters, or near it, he

hardly used a note. The tone of his speech was extremely hostile to the Bill in all points.

Mr. Arch added himself to the list of those representatives of labour who have warmly supported the Bill. Sir M. H. Beach summed up the debate on the part of the opponents. He prudently abstained from making any promises of local government to Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone followed him, and ended the debate at a quarter-past one.

14th April.—Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that the Cabinet met this day to consider some principal points of the plan for Land Sale and Purchase in Ireland. They agreed, among other matters, to recognise the principle that landlords should generally have the option of being bought out from their rented lands, that Parliament should be asked at once to authorise for this purpose the issue of Fifty Millions, if required, in one of the great public Stocks, with the intention of asking more if needful at a future time; and that the general or normal basis of the transaction should be the net rental after making all deductions, and twenty years' purchase of this net rental. It is proposed, as a general rule, that the tenants should become proprietors of their holdings, subject to a rent-charge 20 per cent. below the present rental; and that out of this rent-charge the interest and Sinking Fund for the Stocks advanced shall be provided, these being also secured upon the Revenues of Customs and Excise.

On the proposal of Lord Rosebery, the Cabinet were of opinion that the Greeks should now be summoned, by a deputation (so to speak) of the Allied fleet sent to the Piræus, to disarm, and that, in the event of their non-compliance, a modified blockade based on that of 1832 against Holland should be put in practice.

No other matter was mentioned in the Cabinet of a nature to require your Majesty's attention.

[*Same Date.*]—Mr. Gladstone with his humble

duty intimates to your Majesty that Mr. Chamberlain has asked permission to refer publicly to what has taken place in Cabinet on the Irish Land Scheme, as well as the Irish Government Bill.

After what has already taken place, Mr. Gladstone will assume that this permission is given, unless he hears from your Majesty to the contrary.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 15th April 1886.—With regard to Mr. Chamberlain's renewed request for permission to state all that passed which led to his resignation, the Queen would observe that Mr. Gladstone in his previous request did not limit the scope of the explanation to be given by Mr. Chamberlain, and the Queen consequently granted him permission through Mr. Gladstone to refer to any matters he thought necessary. She considers therefore that Mr. Chamberlain, the other evening, did not exceed the permission she had granted, though he may have acted contrary to the usage or rules of the House of Commons in referring to subjects which had not been placed before it.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.

[Cypher Telegram.]

OSBORNE, 14th April 1886.—Think a word of encouragement and satisfaction to be conveyed through Sir F. Lascelles at his having deferred to the decision of Europe would be a right compliment to Prince Alexander and appreciated.

*Lord Rowton (?) to Sir Henry Ponsonby.*¹

[Telegram.]

HAYMARKET, S.W., 15th April 1886. 7.30.—Great crowd, great cheering for Union and *God Save the Queen*. Lord Cowper² well received, refused to believe in desire for Home Rule, bitter against priests working

¹ This telegram, unsigned but probably sent by Lord Rowton, is a description of the Anti-Home Rule Meeting at the Opera House, Haymarket, addressed by leading men of both the great historic parties.

² Chairman of the meeting; a former Liberal Lord-Lieutenant.

for Catholic ascendancy. Lord Hartington immensely cheered, deprecated groans against Gladstone, strongly condemned Bill. Rylands popular, used money argument. Lord Fife tiresome. Lord Salisbury by far the most enthusiastic reception, very impressive, said disaffection and dismemberment would follow throughout Empire. Mr. Plunket very eloquent for Ulster. Goschen strong and excellently composed. House full to the very top, and perfect order. Crowd sang *God Save the Queen*.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 16th April 1886.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that he this evening . . . introduced the Irish Land Sale and Purchase Bill in a speech of great length. It was rather well received on the Liberal side. On the Tory side there was no visible sign from the Irish landlords of acceptance or mitigated opposition, but reflection may develop something of this kind. One thing may be taken for granted: such an offer, if now refused, is little likely to be again made to them from a Liberal quarter.

Mr. Chamberlain followed with further personal explanations, and a speech on the Irish question. (Mr. Gladstone had not been aware, probably from inadvertence, until to-day, that your Majesty had granted a liberty of speech on this occasion wider than that for which he asked.) The general impression produced by Mr. Chamberlain's speech [was] that it was in the nature of a partial approximation to the Government.

The debate continued until the evening was far advanced, but without any marked feature, and with reference, rather to the Irish question at large, than to the Bill just about to be produced.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, 17th April 1886.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,— . . . My enquiry leaves me without any doubt that Canon Eliot is

a most excellent man. I have written to recommend him for the Canonry [at Windsor]; cheerfully doing this as an act of personal deference to her Majesty.

Connecting your letters on this Canonry with the correspondence on the two recent vacancies in the Deanery,¹ I perceive that her Majesty contemplates a change in the relations between the Sovereign and her Ministers as to their respective functions, in regard to the offices at St. George's.

You will remember the testimony of Dean Wellesley. It may be old fashioned, but I am reluctant to be a party to any change (I do not speak of exchange but substantial change) in the functions of any office I may have the honour to hold under her Majesty—especially to any change in relation to her Majesty, were it only on the ground that change in one direction may become a precedent for change in another, and that I humbly desire to have no responsibility for such a precedent.

I have therefore based my recommendation on the grounds I have mentioned. Believe me, Sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.²

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

17th April [1886].—. . . Mr. Goschen does not at all despair about the Second Reading of the Bill, but he regrets to say that the chances of its rejection have not improved during the last few days. Members seem to be becoming somewhat more accustomed to the idea of Home Rule, and the ignorance of the constituencies will be played upon. The cry will be "Justice to Ireland," and the untutored voters are very amenable to the cry, not being aware that "justice" does not enter into the case.

Many meetings will be held during the [Easter] recess; but Mr. Goschen has observed much reluctance on the part of Liberal Members to appear on the same

¹ See Second Series, vol. iii, pp. 341, 345, and 421.

² See below, pp. 109, 110.

platform with Conservatives. The meeting at the Opera House has been much criticised; and it is thought in some quarters that advanced Liberals, opposed to the Bill, will be cooled and frightened by this approach to the Conservatives on the part of some of their leaders. Mr. Goschen has been rather disappointed at finding, even among Liberals of standing and fair-mindedness, a great disinclination to believe in any possibility of the two parties, or sections of parties, working together, and coalescing, even temporarily. The gravity of the situation is not sufficiently realised. . . .

If the Bill should unfortunately be read a second time, it is quite possible that it may be destroyed in Committee, the difficulties are so insuperable. But if it should pass through Committee, the general belief is that the Lords would reject it and that a Dissolution would then take place; and, as the question has not been referred to the constituencies, no complaint could legitimately be made.

Mr. Goschen conveyed to Mr. Chamberlain what your Majesty had been pleased to say with regard to the permission granted to him to explain his resignation. Mr. Chamberlain has asked Mr. Goschen to convey his respectful thanks to your Majesty for the communication your Majesty graciously authorised Mr. Goschen to make to him. . . .

19th April.— . . Mr. Chamberlain is exerting himself strongly to procure a modification of the Home Rule Bill, to the effect that the Irish Members should still continue to sit at Westminster. He believes that, if this change is admitted, a curtailment of the powers of the separate legislature at Dublin would necessarily follow; but there is great risk in this course. If these modifications and others of a decided character are made, Mr. Chamberlain and his immediate friends would probably support the Second Reading, and the Moderate Liberals and Conservatives would not be strong enough to secure a majority against it. This would be very disastrous,

but a new set of anomalies and difficulties would arise, and the Bill might be torn to pieces in Committee. But still, any assent to the principle on the Second Reading would have a most discouraging effect, and every effort will be made to avoid it.

Mr. Goschen regrets to say that there is a growing feeling among Liberals that joint action with the Conservatives damages the cause. . . . Mr. Goschen deplores this feeling as dangerous to the common cause, and very unreasonable; yet he feels bound to report it to your Majesty, as it may furnish a key to much that may pass in the recess.

On the other hand, the accounts which Mr. Goschen receives from Scotland are very distinctly to the effect that there is most serious opposition to Mr. Gladstone's plans amongst Liberals, even in quarters where his own personal ascendancy is very great.

Mr. Goschen is leaving town for a week to-morrow. After that he will enter again on the campaign, and speak where it may seem to be most useful. Mr. Goschen believes that Lord Hartington too will make several speeches in the recess. While there are differences of opinion as to the best strategy to be followed, your Majesty may rest assured that we shall not be slack in endeavouring to avert what we believe to be so great a calamity.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 19th April 1886.—Primrose Day! Already five long years since good Lord Beaconsfield was taken.

[Copy.] *Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.*

20th April 1886.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I laid your letter on Windsor Canonries before the Queen.

H.M. agrees that all submissions for these appointments as well as for the Deanery of Windsor should come from the Prime Minister. But she thinks that on all these occasions of vacancies she has suggested

persons who she would wish to fill the appointment, and that her suggestions have been invariably complied with.¹ She mentions Canons Courtenay, Pearson, Boyd Carpenter, and Dalton. H. P.

Mr. Childers to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

HOME OFFICE, 20th April 1886.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I conceive that there must be a certain amount of fellow-feeling between Socialists in different countries, as there is between people of the same religion, or the same views about science. But Englishmen as a rule dislike foreigners, and foreigners Englishmen, and I should doubt there being any effective sympathy between Socialists here and abroad, such as would create real mischief.²

I have asked Warren to keep his eye on foreign Socialists, so far as they can be distinguished from other foreigners. I do not think it would be wise to go very far in communications with police authorities abroad. Yours very truly, HUGH C. E. CHILDERS.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, (? 21st) April 1886.—This is *miserable*. Really the Queen thinks she will write to Mr. Gladstone about it. He [Mr. Childers] would let everything go on and never punish anyone! He is frightened at his shadow. Could Sir Henry not write and point out the lamentable inactivity and contrast it with Sir W. Harcourt's great energy?³ Sir Henry should write to Sir C. Warren to say the Queen hopes he looks out well.

¹ In a final reply to Sir Henry Ponsonby on 28th April, Mr. Gladstone wrote that he had "no recollection of receiving any suggestion tending to exclude the usual initiative of the Prime Minister" in regard to the only two Windsor Canonries with which he had been concerned; and added, "In each and every point without exception my aim has simply been to conserve without any kind of change the relation, *de haut en bas*, between the Sovereign and the person acting as Prime Minister."

² There were serious and sanguinary Socialist riots in Belgium this spring and summer.

³ See Second Series, vol. iii, pp. 408-411, 413, 414, and 417.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd April 1886.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—I thank the Queen for the message about Kenmare.¹ He has not written to me. What we have endeavoured to promote among Lords of the Household who may be uneasy is consultation. A constant *sputtering* of these resignations would be almost ludicrous. Probably after the recess they will make up their minds jointly to stay or go. Granville, with whom of course I always consult, is now yachting. Sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 25th April 1886.—Lord Rosebery with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that France has joined the Powers in the collective note, which will therefore be presented by *all* the Powers to-morrow evening or Tuesday morning.² The small squadron will arrive at the Piræus to-morrow morning.

Lord Rosebery has been actively engaged all this week in pressing forward this result, as your Majesty cannot be more convinced than he is of the value of promptitude in this matter. But the Great Powers are apt to be both coy and wayward when invited to action. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.[Copy.] *Confidential.*

OSBORNE, 25th April 1886.—I have to thank you for your very kind interesting letter of the 19th. It is sad, and I cannot help saying *not* creditable or pleasant fact that the Liberals do *not* wish to *unite*

¹ He disapproved of the Government's Irish policy now that it was fully revealed, but was uncertain as to the proper time for resignation—whether at once, or when the Bills reached the House of Lords.

² Lord Rosebery wrote on the same day to the Prince of Wales to tell him of this ultimatum to Greece.

with the Conservatives at such a *supreme* moment of danger to the best interests of my great Empire. However, we must *not* mind this narrow party view (which is, moreover, NOT shared by the Conservatives!), and organise the opposition to these dangerous Bills separately, and then act together. That once effected, we shall see more clearly what can be done. I have much admired the Duke of Argyll's speech at Glasgow and think he might be of great use. Some people say a dissolution would be fatal, others think (and I own I should be inclined to lean to that opinion), with the strong feeling in Scotland against both Bills and in so many parts of England, a majority against the Irish policy *would* be returned.

But it had better *not* be risked at present, on account of the peculiar position of parties, as it *might confirm* the very difficulties which we now have to contend with. Ever yours truly, V. R. I.

Sir Charles Warren to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

SCOTLAND YARD, 28th April 1886.

DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,—In reply to your question, very few Belgian agitators have come over to London at present, and there seems little prospect of any number coming.

Three have been known to have come and two have returned, also there is a Belgian sailor here who was engaged in the riots, but our English Socialists are somewhat lukewarm in the matter, have subscribed very little, and do not give the Belgians much encouragement. In fact their aims and objects are not the same. Our Socialists think they have a practical object in view, viz.: less work and more pay, and are not in sympathy with the violent views elaborated on the Continent.

The difference of language and antipathy to foreigners is also an obstacle.

I hear that the general tenor of talk at the Socialists' clubs in London at the present time is of a very mild character.

There is quietness generally at present. Very truly yours, CHARLES WARREN.¹

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

69 PORTLAND PLACE, 2nd May [1886].— . . . The meetings in Scotland which Mr. Goschen has just attended have been extremely successful, and it is very gratifying to see how, even where Mr. Gladstone has the strongest hold, as in Edinburgh, a large body of opinion has formed itself against his scheme. All the Members for Edinburgh, with the natural exception of Mr. Childers, were on the platform in support of Lord Hartington on Friday.

The Edinburgh meeting was a ticket meeting, but at Paisley, a very Radical place, Mr. Goschen addressed an assembly of at least 3,000 persons, who attended without tickets, and gave him a very hearty reception. There were a certain number of Irish present, and a good many Scotchmen in favour of Mr. Gladstone, but the fact of an open meeting being held, where the Irish Bills could be vigorously denounced, was a very significant circumstance. . . .

The country has been invited by Lord Hartington to sink party differences (in his speech on the First Reading). He set the example by his appearance at the Opera House. But so far there has in this respect been no response. It is extremely difficult to secure the attendance of Liberal Members at meetings organised by the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union. Mr. Goschen intends to attend two of these meetings this week, but he expects that comparatively few local Liberals will support him, and that *no Liberal Members* will be present except himself.

As to the formation of another Liberal Government Lord Hartington is right in foreseeing the greatest difficulty. The numbers supporting him would be too small, but much might depend on the tone which Mr. Gladstone if defeated might display.

On the whole, it is probable *now*, that the only

¹ Endorsed : "Satisfactory. V. R. I."

alternative will turn out to be the return of the Conservatives to office, with the support of Lord Hartington and his friends on Irish questions, and with a dissolution to follow, if the Government cannot be carried on. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

3rd May 1886. —There is some excitement this afternoon at Mr. Gladstone's manifesto.

He speaks highly of Lord Hartington's motives, but declares that the opposition to his scheme is founded on class reasons. He implies that he is ready to give up the Land Bill, and that he sees no objection eventually to the Irish Members being at Westminster.

All that he wants at present is that the House of Commons should declare in favour of a Statutory Parliament in Ireland.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 4th May 1886.—A fine bright morning. Seven degrees of frost, and yet it was quite warm. At eleven, we left Windsor, the gentlemen all in uniform. At Paddington the Duchess of Bedford, the Great Officers of State, etc., met me, and the procession was formed. The carriages were the same as when I went to lay the first stone of the Medical Hall.¹ There was a Field Officer's Escort. Immense and most enthusiastic crowds. Got out at the entrance to the Exhibition,² amidst great acclamations, the flourish of trumpets and the playing of *God Save the Queen*. Bertie and Arthur met us here. We first went into a tent, at the entrance of which stood two Indian boys, and after a few minutes, proceeded to a large vestibule where all the Royal Family were assembled, and the Commission.

Here all the Commissioners were presented to me

¹ On 24th March.

² The Colonial and Indian Exhibition, at South Kensington.

in a body, and a procession was formed, passing through the Indian Hall, and the Indian Bazaar, where the sides were lined with Lascars, who looked most picturesque. Then we passed between rows, two or three deep, of Indians of all kinds, in the richest brightest costumes, all connected with the Exhibition and its exhibits, including the workmen. There were Parsees in white, with curious black glazed head gear, and numbers in turbans of every shade. We were warmly greeted, with salaams, an old man of 100 held out a carpet for me to touch, and others held out their hands with pieces of money in them for me to touch. Then along past the entrance to "Old London," to the Australian Colonies (Central Avenue), and so on into the Albert Hall, through a sort of subterranean passage. Of the Exhibition itself, and the things in it, it was impossible to judge, for excepting some very high towering trophies one could see nothing, on account of the masses of people standing on either side, as we walked along. Everything seemed beautifully arranged and the people all looked much pleased. Bands stationed at different points played as we walked along. How pleased my darling husband would have been at the whole thing, and who knows but that his pure bright spirit looks down upon his poor little wife, his children and children's children, with pleasure, on the development of his work! The walk was very long and fatiguing, though very interesting. Bertie kindly helped me up and down the steps, whenever we came to any.

The Albert Hall was immensely full. We stood upon a large dais under the organ, where there was an Indian chair of state, standing on an Indian carpet. The national anthem was sung, the second verse in Sanscrit, translated by Prof. Max Müller, and there was much cheering, a cheer for the "Union" being called for, which was warmly responded to. Then followed an Ode for the occasion, with beautiful words by Tennyson, the music by Sullivan, the solo

being sung by Albani. Bertie read a very long Address, to which I read an Answer. Dear Bertie, who was most kind throughout, then kissed my hand. What thoughts of my darling husband came into my mind, who was the originator of the idea of an exhibition, an idea fraught with such fearful difficulties and carried through against such fearful odds! There were many allusions in the Address, as well as Answer, which were full of the dearest and saddest memories, and very agitating to me. Thus sad thoughts mingled with proud and grateful ones. Bertie presented me with the catalogue of the Exhibition, and a beautiful key. Then the Archbishop offered up a prayer, during which, as well as during the reading of the Address and Answer, I stood, which was very tiring. This was followed by the singing of the "Hallelujah Chorus," which was beautifully rendered, *Home sweet Home* sung by Albani, and *Rule Britannia*, after the first verse of which we left. I curtsied on all occasions when they cheered, which they did tremendously, and proceeded straight up the Hall, going up some steps to the level of the boxes. Here I turned round and curtsied again, before leaving.

We drove to Buckingham Palace, as we had driven from the station, and got there at 1.30. The crowds enormous and most good-humoured and enthusiastic; the heat both inside and out very great. I felt very tired, but much gratified and pleased that all had gone off so well.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HATFIELD HOUSE, 6th May 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty gratefully and respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter enclosing one from Mr. Goschen, which he returns. He fears that the solution of the approaching crisis, if it takes place, which Mr. Goschen proposes, is impracticable. Lord Salisbury was censured by this House of Commons less than four months

ago. There is no precedent for a Minister resuming office under those circumstances with the same House of Commons. But a dissolution, if resorted to, should take place on the advice of Mr. Gladstone, according to the usual practice; for the present House of Commons was summoned on Lord Salisbury's advice.

Without a change in the House of Commons no Conservative Government could endure; for that support on Irish questions which Mr. Goschen and Lord Hartington seem disposed to promise, would be perfectly useless on other questions. The distrust of the Conservative Party which, as Mr. Goschen admits in his letter, his friends feel, will make them very insecure supporters. The Conservatives, on the other hand, who have no such feelings of repulsion to the moderate Liberals, could be trusted to support Lord Hartington if he took office. If, however, Lord Hartington absolutely refuses, a dissolution on Mr. Gladstone's advice would appear to be the only alternative.

Lord Salisbury will bear in mind your Majesty's words with respect to his own personal appearance on the platform. He has been loth to run the risk of repelling a single Radical or Liberal auxiliary on the approaching division. But he has accepted some engagements a little further on.

Lord Salisbury earnestly trusts that your Majesty has not been fatigued by your great recent exertions. The ceremony in the Albert Hall was singularly successful, and gave an enormous deal of gratification to your Majesty's loyal subjects.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 6th May 1886.—Saw Mr. Gladstone [at Buckingham Palace] after luncheon, who looked ill and haggard. Amongst other things talked of Greece, whose insane conduct in refusing to disarm he blames severely. He praised Sandro very much. Spoke of Lord Kenmare's resignation, which I said I wished should not take place just at present, in the middle

of the season. I then urged the advisability of Mr. Gladstone's trying to alter his course, and to have several local governing bodies for Ireland, as well as England, but this he said was impossible, as it would not be accepted. Mr. Parnell had become better than he had been since Kilmainham; that the Irish would not be nearly so dangerous in an Irish Parliament as in the British, but that there was a good deal to be said for retaining them in the latter. That, however, they had been a great trouble in it, always going with the extreme Radicals. It was Mr. Chamberlain's wish to retain them. Mr. Gladstone went on at great length about this, I saying but little. I asked him how long the debate was likely to last. He thought six nights, and that it would be well to let the House have every day for it.

When he left me, Vicky came to my room, much upset at hearing of good E. Stockmar's¹ death, saying "He was the last bit of dear Papa"—and that she had no one left. I was so sorry for her, poor dear child. Saw Mr. Goschen for a moment. He was very tired, having just returned from making all his speeches at Leeds and Preston, the latter an open meeting, somewhat disturbed, but still they had a large majority against Home Rule. Mr. Gladstone's name had however still a great hold. Mr. Goschen thinks there will be a majority against the Bill, though Mr. Gladstone does not believe it. It will all depend upon Mr. Chamberlain, and what action he takes.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 6th May 1886.—The Queen is anxious, before leaving for Windsor, to repeat to Mr. Gladstone what she tried to express—but which she thinks perhaps she did not do very clearly—viz.: that her silence on the momentous Irish measures, which *he* thinks it *his duty* to bring forward, does not imply her approval, or acquiescence in them.

¹ The son of Baron Stockmar, the friend of the Prince Consort and of the Queen.

Like so many of Mr. Gladstone's best friends and faithful followers, and some of the best and wisest statesmen, the Queen can *only* see danger to the Empire in the course he is pursuing.

The Queen writes this with pain, as she always *wishes to be able* to give her Prime Minister her *full support*, but it is impossible for her to do so, when the union of the Empire is in danger of disintegration and serious disturbance.

In conclusion she wishes to add that she fully believes that Mr. Gladstone is solely actuated by the belief that he is doing what is best not only for Ireland but for the whole Empire.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 7th May 1886.—Mr. Gladstone has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Majesty's letter of this day from Buckingham Palace, and he humbly thanks your Majesty for the gracious recognition of his sincerity of purpose with which it concludes.

Your Majesty was pleased on the 27th of March,¹ in referring to the meeting of Cabinet on the 26th, to signify the apprehensions with which your Majesty regarded the Irish measures then proposed, and likewise a doubt whether they were approved by a majority of your Majesty's subjects.

On the last-named point it would be daring on the part of Mr. Gladstone were he as yet to hazard an opinion. All that he knows with any certainty is that they are approved by the vast majority of the Liberal Party in Great Britain, and that the approval is in a high degree enthusiastic. Whether dissentient Liberals, combined with those who are not Liberals, may form a majority of the nation, or of the constituencies, is of course a different question. At present, Mr. Gladstone thinks the aspect of the House of Commons is less favourable to the measures of the Government than that of the country.

¹ See above, p. 92.

He is painfully sensible both of the weight and of the number of the colleagues whom he has lost. He may, however, observe, with all respect, that there is no statesman amongst them of the long and diversified experience, of the singularly calm and balanced temper, of Lord Granville; and that of practical knowledge and experience of Ireland Lord Spencer has a larger store than all other living statesmen of all parties put together. Nor can he avoid referring to the prevalent belief that Lord Carnarvon is not in the same absolute opposition as many others to the present Irish policy.

Mr. Gladstone is profoundly sensible that he has been acting all along under an immense responsibility. From his point of view, however, the responsibility of the dissentient ex-Ministers is not less, but even greater. Time will decide between them. In the meantime it will continue to be, as it has been, his desire and, to the best of his imperfect powers, his studious care, to avoid aggravating the difficulties of a great controversy by faults of temper, or by carelessness or want of scruple in language, in the promotion of a cause where both parties desire to consolidate and strengthen the unity of Empire, while each is distinctly of opinion that the policy of the other tends to enfeeble and to sap it.

Mr. Gladstone is most humbly sensible of your Majesty's desire to give an unvarying constitutional support to those who may have the honour to be your Majesty's advisers, and he fully enters into your Majesty's expression of pain on this occasion, which nothing, as he trusts, will be done on his part to aggravate.¹

¹ In her Journal for the next day the Queen writes: "Got Mr. Gladstone's strange answer to my letter." Her Majesty forwarded copies of the two letters to the Prince of Wales, who wrote on 9th May in reply: "It was, I think, most desirable that you should clearly give Mr. Gladstone your views on the subject, so that he might have no misapprehension concerning them. If you will allow me to say so, I think your letter an admirable one; but I confess that I do not share the same views concerning the answer."

8th May.— . . . The Cabinet met to-day to prepare for the important debate which is to begin on Monday and in which a large number of Members may be found desirous to give their opinions. Their special object was to consider the nature and scope of the objections which have been taken to the Bill, by persons friendly to its principle, on the ground that the exclusion of the Irish Members may tend, or may be thought to tend, towards weakening the ties between Ireland and Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone is authorised by the Cabinet to say that Ministers would be prepared, should it be the desire of the House, to make provision for the continued summoning of the Irish Members in cases where taxation was involved, and to speak with favour of more than one suggestion having for its aim a continued exhibition of legislative unity in all Imperial matters.¹

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9th May 1886.—The Queen feels that the gravity of the situation will explain her saying more on the subject than is her wont !

Mr. Gladstone, in his letter of the 7th, for which she thanks him, says that the most experienced of Statesmen and the mass of the people are with him ! This the Queen thinks is due to Mr. Gladstone's own prestige and to the weight his name carries in the country ; not to the measure, which to the Queen appears to be censured and condemned almost universally by the Press and by an immense number of the thinking and educated class !

It is not a party or class question, but one so deeply affecting the welfare and strength of the realm that men of all shades and persuasions have not hesitated, however painful to themselves, to point out *what* the consequences would be of so sweeping a measure ! It is an experiment in which the chance

¹ The Queen's comment in her Journal next day is : " What a peculiar idea ! Trimming and balancing will please no one, and do only still more harm."

of disaster outweighs the likelihood of good result which may be desired by its promoters.

The Queen can but warn and recommend further enquiry and study of a problem so complex that this proposed method of solving it must awaken the gravest doubts and apprehensions.

The Queen has just received Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 8th, but fails to see any reason to change what she has said above.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

COOMBE, 9th May 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He has had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter of this day, and he is deeply sensible of the considerate and gracious manner in which your Majesty treats a question necessarily painful. It deepens the sorrow with which he finds himself, under the influence of motives which your Majesty would never wish him to disobey, prosecuting a policy which your Majesty has not approved. It would be great presumption on his part to mistake the mere strength of his own convictions for certain proof of being right; and he is well aware that, if he is wrong in this capital matter, all the labours and efforts of a long life cannot save his memory from disgrace. This can neither repair the mischief nor console the sufferers.

At no period, however, of his life, since the popular movement in Ireland took domestic autonomy, instead of the Repeal of the Union, for its aim, has Mr. Gladstone seen Imperial danger in any form to be involved in it; although he never has been willing to promote so considerable a change until full constitutional proof was forthcoming that the measure, which his reason assures him that prudence recommends, is deliberately and decisively desired by the people of Ireland.

If the case shall be proved to be, not that the principle is bad, but the faulty manner in which it is applied by the present Bills, then doubtless it will

fall to others to frame more perfect measures, and he will have no other desire but to assist them, just as it was his desire in December last to assist Lord Salisbury, when he hoped that the late Government were disposed to take the work in hand.

While not undervaluing the fears on the other side, he cannot wholly forgo the hope that these proposals, encountered like many others with presages of ruin, may in like manner be found productive of peace and welfare to the country and of honour to your Majesty's reign.

Mr. Gladstone once more humbly thanks your Majesty for the gracious letter. He will send it for perusal to Lord Granville, Lord Spencer, and Lord Rosebery.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

7th May 1886.—Humble duty. Following sent to Baring: You will present the notice of blockade¹ at once, if your Colleagues have similar instructions. It would be most desirable that Russia should join, but, if her Representative has no instructions, you are to proceed without him. As soon as you have delivered the notice of blockade, telegraph the fact to the Duke of Edinburgh.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 9th–10th May 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty and reports that the debate on the Second Reading of the Irish Government Bill opened this evening amidst signs of considerable interest.

Mr. Gladstone opened the debate in a long speech, part of which was devoted to explaining the modifications which Ministers were prepared to admit into the Bill if desired by the House with reference to the attendance of Irish Members in the House of Commons. In another portion of it he endeavoured to press

¹ Of Greece. See above, p. 111, and below, pp. 139, 140.

upon Lord Hartington the obligation under which he has placed himself to explain to the House the policy which he proposes to adopt in reference to Ireland, the Tories and the Ministers each having declared their intentions, and Lord Hartington with his followers being not unlikely to hold the balance and decide the case between them. Mr. Gladstone acknowledged the upright and manful course taken by Lord Hartington and his friends in obedience to the action of their consciences.

Lord Hartington moved the rejection of the Bill in a speech not marked in any way by violence or bitterness towards his former colleagues; but speaking in terms of the greatest severity on the past utterances of Mr. Parnell and his friends, which he showed that in 1881 Mr. Gladstone had himself denounced. He appeared to hold that no assurances given by them could be relied on. He contended that under the Bill the minority would be insufficiently protected, the authority of Parliament compromised, and the prospects of peace hopeless.

He was followed by Mr. O'Brien, Member for South Tyrone in Ulster, and one of Mr. Parnell's ablest coadjutors, as also one of those who, though going all lengths with the party, obtained much credit for sincerity. This speech was, in the view of Mr. Gladstone, who speaks as a prejudiced witness, really remarkable. He freely pleaded guilty for himself and his friends to excesses of language under other circumstances, lamented his misapprehension of Lord Spencer, and confidently predicted the contentment and loyalty of Ireland under the Bill. Some will question, without doubt, the sincerity of the man, but the assurances fervently delivered were very much what they ought to be.

Mr. Gladstone quitted the House between eleven and twelve, well satisfied with the opening stages of the debate. Should he hear of anything remarkable as having happened after he left the House, he will not fail to report it to your Majesty.

11th-12th May.—. . . In the main, everyone is thinking of the Irish debate and the probable division. There is still a ferment of unsatisfied desire concerning the retention of Irish Members at Westminster. As far as Mr. Gladstone can judge, the opponents of the measure entertain no desire for the retention of the Irish Members. But it suits their purpose extremely well that a section of Members friendly to the measure should take so exaggerated a view of the particular point as to sacrifice the whole measure, unless this point be adjusted at once to their satisfaction. In this way they probably hope that their minority may be converted into a majority, and at the present moment it seems uncertain whether this expectation may not be realised, however serious the consequences might prove.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

NEWSHAM HOUSE,¹ LIVERPOOL, 12th May 1886.—Alas! the weather had not cleared by luncheon time, and it blew and rained hopelessly. But there was nothing for it but resolutely to brave the elements, put on waterproofs and hold up umbrellas, as the carriages could not be shut. So we four started in an open landau like yesterday. The whole way from Newsham we drove through lines of the Trades Processions, with all their banners and devices of their guilds, which extended over three-quarters of a mile in length, and they cheered vehemently. The streets along which we drove were beautifully

¹ A house in the outskirts of Liverpool, placed by the Corporation at the Queen's disposal for a visit which her Majesty paid to the town from May 11th to 13th to open an International Exhibition of Navigation and Commerce. Unfortunately the weather throughout was extremely bad. Nevertheless, the official opening was successfully accomplished on the 11th. On that evening the Duke of Connaught and Prince Henry of Battenberg went to a Mayoral banquet in the Town Hall; and the Queen notes that she and Princess Beatrice, at Newsham House, "listened through a telephone to the speeches at the banquet. We heard Arthur's quite distinctly, and the cheering had a very curious effect." We give an abbreviated account of the Queen's experiences on the following day.

decorated, and there was not a house which had not some motto or flags up. Some of these mottoes were very touching. The crowds were enormous, and every shop window was full of people. There were several arches, and one large one on the very fine place, on which St. George's Hall stands. I well remember this magnificent building. Here a platform had been erected with a canopy under which we drove and stopped, and a large number of people were gathered there. The Mayor stepped forward and presented me with an Address, enclosed in a beautiful casket. I handed him my Answer, but neither were read.

Then we moved on again, the rain coming down worse than ever. But it did not seem to reduce the numbers of people or mar their enthusiasm. I never saw anything like it. We made the round of the place, where, since we were here in '51, equestrian statues of beloved Albert and myself (by Thornycroft) have been placed. We drove through several more streets to the Prince's pierhead, where we embarked on board the Cloughton ferry steamer, belonging to the Birkenhead Corporation. There was a covered way to it, and everything was beautifully arranged, though we had rather trouble getting on board, as the bridge was so slanting and the cloth which covered it so wet and slippery. We hurried into a little deck cabin, in which there was only room for Beatrice and me, but we could see everything through the windows, though the distance was not very visible, owing to the torrents of rain and furious wind. Everyone had to seek for shelter, as best they could. We passed close to the enormous liners, which go between Liverpool and America; one was just starting. The Mersey looked so rough and angry. We steamed past New Brighton, a little way on, and then back along the Cheshire coast in between the enormous ships. We took tea somewhat under difficulties in the little deck cabin. The gentlemen connected with the docks were presented to me, and

then we disembarked at the same place, driving back, more or less, the same way. The illuminations had already started and were beautiful. In spite of the weather, the whole thing was a great success, and the wonderful loyalty and enthusiasm displayed, most touching and gratifying. We got home at seven, quite bewildered and my head aching from the incessant perfect roar of cheering.

It was certainly a never to be forgotten reception, and one impossible to describe. Received a letter from Mr. Gladstone on the debate, in which he, for the first time, speaks of the possibility of a defeat.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 14th May 1886.—Mr. Gladstone humbly thanks your Majesty for a most interesting notice of the visit to Liverpool.

On the first day he watched the darkening skies of the metropolis with much misgiving, lest the weather in Liverpool should be under kindred influences, and should again, as on the great earlier occasion, break the course of your Majesty's almost uninterrupted good understanding with the sun and the clouds on occasions of great public ceremonial. He learned with much concern that the auguries of evil were so fully verified.

It is, however, matter for cordial rejoicing that the unfavourable circumstances of the weather were more than counteracted by the enthusiasm of the people, and that your Majesty's resolute courage enabled them to gain their great object in seeing their Sovereign after a long interval.

Mr. Gladstone trusts that your Majesty may not suffer from exertion and exposure on the present occasion, and that, in every future effort which your Majesty may make, no like risk may arise. Meantime this visit will once more have demonstrated to your Majesty how rich is the reward, in loyal sympathy and affection, which such exertions never fail to reap.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, 15th May 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully encloses a Memorandum upon the question of dissolution, in obedience to your Majesty's commands. He has ventured to cast his observations in this form as being the most intelligible. There appears now to be no doubt as to the defeat of the Bill.

Lord Salisbury earnestly trusts that your Majesty has not suffered from the fatigue and exposure incident to the Liverpool ceremonial. It appears to have been in every respect (except the weather) most successful; and must have been very gratifying to your Majesty as well as to the people of Liverpool.

ENCLOSURE.

Memorandum by the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.] *Secret.*

15th May 1886.—The question I have to consider is whether, if Mr. Gladstone, on the defeat of his Bill, wishes to dissolve, it is desirable that he should be permitted to do so; or whether it is better that Lord Hartington should be sent for.

I have taken the best means in my power to ascertain what the result is likely to be, if Mr. Gladstone should dissolve. Such conjectures are uncertain, and can only be offered with diffidence. But I am told that the political sections who are opposed to the Home Rule Bill will probably come back stronger than they are now; and, as any defeat of that kind would probably involve Mr. Gladstone's retirement, the result would be a great increase of strength to the party of resistance.

On the other hand this Parliament is so constituted that it cannot last long; and Mr. Gladstone's Party, if he is refused leave to dissolve, will do all in their power to make government impossible,

and so to force a dissolution. But that dissolution, when it comes, will find us in a less favourable condition. Mr. Gladstone will have had time to raise some other Radical cry besides Home Rule; and so to regain the allegiance of members who are falling away from him now.

Looking at the matter, therefore, purely in reference to the Home Rule controversy, it seems to be preferable that Mr. Gladstone should dissolve. But there are some other considerations pointing in the same direction.

If Mr. Gladstone is refused leave to dissolve, the fact will certainly be known. His *entourage* is far from discreet; and they are very bitter. The consequence must be that those who are in favour of Home Rule—the Irish, and the more Radical English—will think, and say, that the action of the Queen is keeping them from Home Rule. A great deal of resentment will be excited against the Queen; and, if tempestuous times should follow, the responsibility will be thrown on her. This is undesirable, to say the least; especially if no object is to be gained by it. Whether it would diminish her influence seriously or not it is difficult to determine; but the risk of such a diminution ought not to be lightly incurred. Her influence is one of the few bonds of cohesion remaining to the community.

There is another consideration on which I should not touch, if it had not been referred to me by Sir William Jenner's letter. The question between allowing Mr. Gladstone to take the dissolution now, and putting it off for a few months by refusing him permission to dissolve, is closely connected with the Queen's movements. Sir William has expressed the opinion that the Queen's usual journey should not, in the interest of her health, be postponed. It is evident that the formation of a Hartington Government will take considerable time; and as the division in the House of Commons cannot be before the 22nd, and may be later, the Queen could not come back

for the purpose of forming a new Government without the greatest inconvenience. On the other hand, the formation of the Government while her Majesty is at Balmoral, all the Ministers having necessarily to go there at once, as well as the ex-Ministers, in order to exchange seals, would be a very novel proceeding. It would involve the public offices being left absolutely without chiefs for two or perhaps three days; and that at a moment of intense public excitement. Such a course of proceeding would be highly inconvenient in many ways; and yet it is the only alternative to bringing the Queen back before she has been a week at Balmoral. It is therefore not desirable, other things being equal, to change the Government at that particular moment; and this consideration adds another to the grounds which make it desirable that Mr. Gladstone should have leave to dissolve if he wishes it.

It is the natural and ordinary course; it will shield the Queen from any accusation of partisanship; it is likely to return a Parliament more opposed to Home Rule than the present; and it will adapt itself to the peculiar difficulties, as to the Queen's movements, which arise from the crisis coming at this particular date.

At the same time, I ought to repeat that electoral forecasts are notoriously insecure; and that the estimate which I have given of the result is only the best that I have been able to arrive at from the figures before us.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 17th May 1886.—Saw Sir H. Ponsonby after luncheon, who had seen Mr. Gladstone. The latter cannot yet give any decisive answer as to the time of the division. It could not be hurried, as so many people have to speak. He seemed very confident of success, and said there were negotiations going on, and that he hoped some of the waverers would come back, but he was against making any concessions, which would content no party.

Heard that the poor Queen of Spain has been safely delivered of a son¹ this morning, and that both she and the baby, who is quite healthy, are doing well. Her mother, the Archduchess Elisabeth (elder sister of Marie of Belgium) was with her, and telegraphed to me. What great rejoicings this will cause, and how glad I am for the Queen!

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19th May 1886.—I saw Mr. Goschen at five minutes past three, and had a long conversation with him upon the present very anxious state of affairs. . . . Mr. Goschen is still very confident that the Bill will be defeated. What then? He believes a dissolution will be asked for by Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Goschen and Lord Salisbury think I should not refuse it; that it would do no harm if I did so²; and Mr. Goschen says (though he has come to the conclusion very reluctantly) that it is sure to come soon, in the autumn or winter, and that it would be better to have it before there is time to get up an agitation. That the attempt of setting up class against class, like in Mr. Lefevre's speech last night and Mr. Gladstone's manifesto, was very dangerous and might have its effect. The cry would be, "Trust the Irish"—a very foolish one, but which might have its effect on the masses on whom Mr. Gladstone relies as opposed to the enlightened and educated (!) as well as to the higher classes! How wicked and foolish! His (Mr. Gladstone's) followers might *not* like the dissolution, as it would at once cause the disruption of the Liberal Party, and break it up; and many would not like to stand again on account of the expense. In Scotland *certainly* Mr. Gladstone would lose.

Lord Salisbury's speech had done harm, though it was unintentional. He (Lord S.) said there were different nations who would not govern themselves:

¹ The present King of Spain.

² *I.e.*, "if I did not refuse it."

the Hottentots couldn't, the Indians couldn't, and the Irish couldn't ! Of course his opponents and enemies who did not know him say he compared the Irish to the Hottentots ! Most unfortunate. He heard he intended to make another speech to put it right. Mr. Chamberlain having joined Lord Hartington rather complicated matters. Lord Salisbury did not like it, and said his support of a Government of which Mr. Chamberlain formed a member must be a conditional one, whereas the Government of Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen would receive his warmest support. Mr. Goschen himself felt it would be very difficult for him to be in the same Cabinet, and he heard Mr. Chamberlain was rather afraid of him (Mr. Goschen), and he would have to be tied down *not* to speak against his colleagues as he did during the last Government of Mr. Gladstone ; and Mr. Goschen thought it very likely he would not remain in long. The great danger and difficulty was Mr. Gladstone's name having such an effect amongst the masses ; and he said that, if I was to refuse Mr. Gladstone permission to dissolve, the unreasoning public would say I had refused *Mr. Gladstone*, and that it was Mr. Gladstone's, not the Irish, Home Rule Bill which was being opposed. If Mr. Gladstone's health gave way and he was obliged to retire, the whole thing would collapse and all the Liberals would follow Lord Hartington. . . .

Speaking of the Elections Mr. Goschen said, as Lord Salisbury did, that the Agents of the Conservative Party and of the Liberal Unionists were both engaged in settling about their candidates, so that they should not oppose each other, and in certain places give way to one another. This was especially necessary for the Liberal Unionists, as they would otherwise lose so much, and not the Conservatives. . . .

In conclusion, Mr. Goschen said he hoped I would not worry too much ; for that, though it was a very anxious moment, he thought matters would come right in time. He thanked me for my confidence,

and would let me hear whenever there was anything to say. V. R. I.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 20th May 1886.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty and reports to your Majesty that the whole of this evening has been withdrawn from the consideration of the Irish Government Bill by a debate on the renewal of the Arms Act for Ireland.

The Nationalist Party have introduced into the debate a censure of the declarations made by Lord Randolph Churchill and by certain Orange members with reference to the use of force in resisting any law which the Legislature may adopt for the purpose of establishing a Legislative body in Dublin.

Mr. Gladstone unfortunately left the House from six o'clock to seven, and on his return he was informed of what had occurred, and found that Lord Randolph Churchill had replied to the remarks made, by defending and reasserting his position that, when constitutional means of resistance have been exhausted, force may and should in the present instance be employed to resist the law.¹ Mr. Gladstone makes the statement as it was made to him, and asserted in debate.

Among others Mr. Bradlaugh made a forcible comment upon these doctrines which he censured severely.

Mr. Gladstone, after consulting with those of his colleagues who were present, thought it necessary on the part of the Government to give the reasons which had induced them to refrain from noticing these declarations, the delivery of which they could not but feel to constitute a grave event.

He described as well as he could what he understood to be held, and he compared them with the declarations, some thirty-five to forty years back, of

¹ A few days later Lord Randolph Churchill coined a striking phrase: "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right."

Mr. Smith O'Brien, who announced to the House of Commons his intention to go to Ireland and levy war upon the Queen. He said he had been deterred from comment on what had occurred by three considerations: first, that in this country law and obedience were happily so strong that no one, however high, could shake them; secondly, that these doctrines had not been defended by any of Lord R. Churchill's late colleagues in the House of Commons; thirdly, that he was extremely unwilling to mix exciting matter of this kind with the great discussions on the Irish Government Bill, which in the very highest degree required a dispassionate statement.

Mr. Plunket in reply appeared to Mr. Gladstone considerably to narrow the objectionable doctrine. . . .

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22nd May 1886.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his last Parliamentary reports. She cannot but regret that the whole of last night was lost in the discussion on the Arms Act, and fears that the bitterness of feeling evinced during the debate bodes evil for the future.

Although the Queen deplors the use of language that leads to violence, she can *scarcely* agree with Mr. Gladstone in his comparison between Lord Randolph Churchill and Smith O'Brien. The former (though wrong if he used words tending to a breach of the peace) is *only maintaining* what is *still the law* of the *United Kingdom*, whereas the *latter defied the Law* and *declared war against the Queen*, for which he was *prosecuted and condemned*.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, S.W., 22nd May 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty gratefully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter.

He has collected all the information and the best opinions he could obtain; and the result is, that it is, to his mind, still a decided probability that the

Unionists will gain on a dissolution.¹ But he is deeply conscious of the precarious and uncertain character of any such forecast. The advice which, at your Majesty's gracious invitation, he ventured to offer was based on these two considerations :

1. That this House of Commons is so constituted that Government with it, for many months, is impossible, and that a dissolution a little later, with a Unionist Government in office, will be less favourable than a dissolution now.

2. That in view of these probabilities there was nothing that could justify Lord Salisbury in advising your Majesty to strain, and thereby possibly to diminish, your Majesty's great influence over your people. It might be profitably and rightly recommended, if there were a clear, probable advantage to result from it. But when the probabilities rather point the other way, your Majesty should, if the phrase may be used, carefully economise your influence. Later it may be needed, for we live in very uncertain and anxious times.

Lord Salisbury is much distressed to hear that your Majesty has suffered from fatigue, and that the journey to Balmoral has been postponed. The date of the division is still uncertain. Mr. Gladstone is delaying it by every device in his power. The prevalent view now is that it will be Monday week.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 25th May 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and reports to your Majesty that he summoned the Cabinet this day to consider the propriety of holding on Thursday a meeting of the supporters of the Government on the Irish question, which appears a step suitable to the stage which the consideration of the subject has now

¹ Writing to the Queen on the same day Mr. Goschen said : " The entire Irish vote will of course be transferred to Mr. Gladstone ; but to a great extent this will be compensated by the transfer of a certain number of Liberal votes, which will be cast against the Irish policy."

reached, and likely to give to the Members severally a clearer idea of the alternatives before them.

The Cabinet agreed that such a meeting should be held. In accordance with their views, Mr. Gladstone has undertaken to explain to the meeting that the vote on the Second Reading implies simply an adherence to the principle of the Bill, which is the establishment in Dublin of a legislative Body for the conduct of Irish as distinguished from Imperial affairs, and does not imply the acceptance of the particular provisions of the Bill. He is also to refer to the three following points:

1. That the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament established by the Constitution remains intact under the Bill, and is in itself incapable of being surrendered or impaired.

2. That the question raised concerning provision to enable Ireland through her representatives to retain a share in the conduct of Imperial affairs is capable of a reasonable adjustment by which that object may be gained.

3. That it is too late in the year to proceed with the Bill through its stages within the ordinary session, and that if the Bill be read a second time there should be no further proceeding on it, or on the subject, until an early date in the autumn.

The Irish Arms Bill has to be put down for Thursday, and thus further to interrupt the debate.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 26th May 1886.—Saw Sir H. Ponsonby and desired him to see Mr. Gladstone to urge that, should the Second Reading be carried, the Bill should not be hung up till the autumn.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

27th–28th May 1886.— . . . Before the commencement of regular business Sir M. H. Beach asked Mr. Gladstone whether he intended to make to the

House a statement with respect to the speech which it was understood he had been delivering earlier in the day to a meeting of his supporters at the Foreign Office. The Bill might come on this evening, and it was desirable that the House should know the whole intentions of the Ministry.

Mr. Gladstone said that the purpose of the meeting at the Foreign Office had been to explain to the friends of autonomy for Ireland, in the first instance, the view of the Government as to the actual situation in which they stood, and as to the effect and meaning of the vote on the second reading of the Bill. He had also stated fully that view in respect to several points in the clauses or connected with the Bill, on which it was known that anxiety was felt or information desired. The statement had been of considerable length, and could not be repeated, neither did he think it could be abbreviated, but he believed that it would be fully reported.

Sir M. H. Beach finally asked whether it had been said that, if the Second Reading were passed, the Bill would be withdrawn.

Mr. Gladstone replied that though he had some reluctance to answer even this limited enquiry without giving his reasons, he might state that, if the Bill should be read a second time, it was not the intention of Ministers to ask the House to take any further steps upon it within the limits of what remains of an ordinary session.

Mr. Gladstone had mentioned to the meeting the impossibility, from want of time, of carrying the Bill within those limits, and had mentioned the two methods, one of taking the Committee in autumn sittings, the other of reintroducing the Bill at the same time after a prorogation, with an intimation that Ministers were disposed to prefer the latter.

The prospects of the division on the Second Reading are still open to dispute, but beyond doubt the likelihood of a majority in its favour has considerably increased.

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 31st May [1886].—Mr. Goschen presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to report that at a meeting of Mr. Chamberlain's friends just held it was settled that almost all present would *vote against the Bill*. This ensures its defeat, so far as one can possibly judge. There was a question whether those present should abstain. Twelve voted in favour of this course, and some thirty the other way. And, when this decision was arrived at, most of the twelve settled also to vote against the Bill; three only declaring to vote for it. The result was in great part brought about by a letter from Mr. Bright, in which he declared his intention to vote against the Second Reading. Mr. Goschen heard too that Mr. Trevelyan made a very convincing speech to the effect that the concessions made were of a nugatory character.¹ . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1st-2nd June 1886. 1 a.m.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that Mr. Chamberlain opened the adjourned debate on the Government of Ireland Bill to-night. He declared himself against the Bill, and referred to Mr. Bright's recent announcement of his intention to vote against it. He considered that it impaired the supremacy of Parliament, but, illustrating his argument by reference to the Colonies, he clearly implied that in Canada and elsewhere the supremacy of Parliament was gone. He would vote for the Bill, bad as he thought it, if he could consider it in any way final; but he was unable so to regard it. He dwelt on the case of Ulster, which he thought had much to fear from an Irish Legislative Body

¹ Mr. Gladstone also reported the result of this meeting to the Queen, and told her Majesty that the balance of chances was now unfavourable to the Bill. He described Mr. Chamberlain as "the most wakeful and persistent" of all the opponents of the measure.

in Dublin. He declared himself friendly to autonomy in Ireland and ready to vote for a resolution to that effect. If there were a dissolution, he would challenge the voice of the country, not on the principle, but on the plan. He proposed that there should be four Councils in the four provinces of Ireland, under the control of Parliament as now constituted.

He was followed by Mr. Sexton, Member for Sligo, in a speech of great length, not free from faults, but marked by much diversity of power. . . .

Later in the evening Sir William Harcourt delivered an able historical and legal argument for the Bill.

It is understood that the debate will close on Friday. No material change since yesterday can be now stated as to the prospects of the division. Rejection of the Bill still appears more probable than acceptance, but a shade of doubt continues to hang over the issue.

P.S.—At the close of the evening there were signs of a movement in the House which shows a possibility that the debate may extend into the coming week.

Mr. Gladstone ought to have mentioned that Sir W. Harcourt made a very stringent criticism of the recent speech of Lord Salisbury.

The Duke of Edinburgh to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

1st June 1886.—I fear that the determination not to raise blockade until Greek Government has announced disarmament may produce revolution in the country, and not only endanger the throne but safety of King and Queen. I feel it my duty to say this as my opinion to you, as things are very critical.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

1st June 1886.—Humble duty. Lord Rosebery having received communication to-day from Greek

Minister, which he considers sufficient, is telegraphing to Powers proposing to accept this and raise blockade at once, if there are no frontier difficulties.

*Queen Victoria to President Cleveland.*¹

[*Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 2nd June 1886.—Pray accept my sincere congratulations on your marriage and my best wishes for your happiness. VICTORIA R. I.

President Cleveland to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

WASHINGTON, 4th June 1886. 4.15.—Your Majesty's kind congratulation upon my marriage is indeed valued, and not by me alone, but by my countrymen. GROVER CLEVELAND, President.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

5th June 1886.—Lord Rosebery's humble duty. All the Powers have now agreed to raise blockade.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 6th June 1886.—Received a letter from Mr. Gladstone, in which he says that "the debate was again adjourned. The principal interest continues to be concentrated in the division, over which uncertainty still continues to hang. Expectations continually fluctuate, but they verge in the main towards rejection rather than towards acceptance." He goes on to say, that no one can give any certain opinion, nor could he himself state, what course should be pursued, in case of a rejection, but in his own opinion "it is probable that, should the Bill be rejected, the Cabinet may advise that the session be wound up, and the Parliament dissolved." Heard also from Sir H. Ponsonby that last night there were rumours of some concessions

¹ Who married, for the second time, during his term of office.

and that the Government [would] win by a small majority. The question for Mr. Gladstone was, how far he could make concessions to the Chamberlain Party, without losing the Irish vote.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, 6th June 1886.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to thank your Majesty for your Majesty's letter. He has informed Mr. Gladstone that your Majesty will sanction an immediate dissolution, but Mr. Gladstone gives no indication of what he intends to do. Even those around him are ignorant of his intentions.

Yesterday the idea was that he might win by 1 or 2. To-day everyone seems to think the 1 or 2 or even more may be against the Second Reading.

Some Liberals lay great stress on Lord Randolph abstaining from speaking, as they say it shows he is well disposed towards the Bill. Mr. E. Hamilton told the Prince of Wales that the measure was a tentative one, and that Mr. Gladstone never intended to carry it. His Royal Highness stigmatised this as a dishonest proceeding.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 7th–8th June 1886. 2 a.m.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that Mr. Goschen opened the adjourned debate on this its closing night. His speech did not present new points of great force, and turned a good deal upon details. He ended with an eloquent peroration in a high strain of feeling.

Mr. Parnell followed, and after replying to some of his observations entered upon a very careful and skilful statement of his view of the future of Ireland under a domestic Legislative body. He was particularly impressive in the expression of the necessity for keeping within that body every Irishman, and he held that the Protestants would be a most valuable

and essential element of the new system. Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks that this speech, quietly delivered, which defies analysis, well deserves your Majesty's attention.

It contained, however, an exceptional passage, in which he stated that it was made known to him before the Election that the Conservatives, if they should succeed, would pass a measure of Home Rule with a power to protect Irish manufactures, and a plan of Land Purchase larger than that now before the House. A great sensation was excited by this statement.

An eloquent speech was delivered by Mr. Cowen, with great warmth of feeling, in favour of the Bill.

Sir M. H. Beach wound up the debate for the Opposition. He emphatically contradicted the statement of Mr. Parnell. Mr. Parnell then rose and stated positively that he spoke on the authority of one who was then a Minister of the Crown. Challenged to name the individual, he said he would do it when he received from him permission to do so.¹

Mr. Gladstone closed the debate in a speech of great length.² At a quarter-past one the House divided, when the numbers were :

<i>For</i> the Bill . . .	311
<i>Against</i> it . . .	341
Majority . . .	30

Even to the last great uncertainty had prevailed ; but the group of the undecided, who at the last were from twenty to thirty, went almost in a mass against the Bill.

The cheering of the victorious party was rapturous and prolonged. The Irish Nationalists were somewhat excited. But all passed off without much uproar.

¹ See below, pp. 145-147.

² It was one of Mr. Gladstone's finest oratorical efforts. He ended with the words : " Think, I beseech you ; think well, think wisely, think, not for the moment, but for the years that are to come, before you reject this Bill."

Mr. Gladstone moved the adjournment of the House until Wednesday.

The Cabinet meet at twelve to-morrow (Tuesday). Mr. Gladstone has had no reason to change the opinion he has already expressed to your Majesty as to their probable advice, but it is an opinion only. Lord Granville, it is feared, may be unable to attend.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

8th June.—Mr. Gladstone with humble duty states that in his parliamentary letter of last night sent by this morning's messenger, he ought to have mentioned that the Opposition leader very strongly urged dissolution.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 8th June 1886.—Did not sleep well, as I felt so worried and anxious. When I got up a telegram was brought in to me, which gave the news that the Government had been defeated by a majority of thirty! Cannot help feeling relieved, and think it is the best for the interests of the country. The Scotch seem quite to have turned against Mr. Gladstone. Had a cypher from Mr. Gladstone humbly recommending dissolution, which I sanctioned, on the condition that it was to be done at once.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

8th June 1886.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty and humbly acquaints your Majesty that the Cabinet met to-day to consider the defeat sustained at an early hour this morning on the Irish Government Bill; and they determined that it was their duty humbly to advise your Majesty to dissolve the present Parliament at as early a period as the occasions of public business will allow. As far as Mr. Gladstone can at present judge, this may perhaps be done within the present month.

Among the grounds of this advice have been the evils of prolonged uncertainty upon an absorbing

question, the likelihood of aggravated exasperation between sections and parties, the desirableness of maintaining a continuous action for the purpose of keeping Ireland the better in check and maintaining order there, and the obvious fairness of the argument, which has been and may be used without distinction of party [that] the opinion of the country should be constitutionally taken on a subject which is of vast importance, which was imperfectly before the body of Electors at the last Election, and on which the Ministers of the Crown and the present representatives of the people are at variance.

The Members of the Cabinet will observe a strict secrecy on the subject until your Majesty's gracious answer shall have been received.

The House of Commons stands adjourned until Thursday, when they will, doubtless, have an eager hope of receiving information from the Government.

Mr. Gladstone transmits in a brief telegram to your Majesty the substance of the principal announcement in this letter.

In conclusion Mr. Gladstone has to regret that Lord Granville was prevented by gout from attending the meeting of the Cabinet, but he signified to Mr. Gladstone in writing his concurrence with the opinion of his colleagues.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 9th June 1886.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's regular and full reports of the proceedings in the House of Commons as well as the account of the Cabinet and the advice tendered to her by him and his colleagues in consequence of the defeat of the Government on the Irish Legislature Bill.

Mr. Gladstone will have received the Queen's answer to his cypher yesterday, in which she sanctioned the proposal of a dissolution as soon as possible. Though a General Election barely six months after the last is not usually a desirable thing, under the

present circumstances the Queen is strongly of opinion that any delay would tend to keep up and increase excitement and uncertainty, not only in Ireland, but all over the Empire, which would be greatly to be deplored; and the Queen trusts that the dissolution will take place this month. She is glad to see Mr. Gladstone shares her views on this subject.

The Queen will be back (D.V.) at Windsor on the 25th, but could hold a Council for the dissolution any time before that *here*.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 10th June 1886.—Quite surprised to find that Lord Rosebery had arrived at one. Saw him after luncheon. He spoke of the division being larger than was expected—that Mr. Gladstone had made a very fine speech, but still all the waverers had gone against him, and it had not turned one vote. The dissolution, they hoped, would be on the 25th. They were anxious to wind up as soon as possible, and take a vote on account. Mr. Gladstone's age was the cause of his wanting the dissolution and not resigning. He would never do the latter, until he was beaten by the country. Greece having yielded was a great thing, but Russia would have to be watched. Lord Rosebery (who is excessively agreeable), J. Ely, Maud O[keover], Col. Carington and Major Edwards dined. The others came into the drawing-room afterwards, including Lord Rosebery's Private Secretary, Mr. Ferguson of Novar,¹ whom he asked leave to bring with him.

The Earl of Kimberley to Queen Victoria.

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, 10th June 1886.—Lord Kimberley presents his humble duty to your Majesty and, in the absence of Lord Granville from illness, has the honour to state that, on the announcement this evening of the dissolution, Lord Carnarvon

¹ Now Lord Novar.

made a personal explanation as to his communications, when Lord-Lieutenant, with Mr. Parnell. He did not give any information as to the nature of these communications, except that they were made without the cognizance of any of his colleagues, and conveyed no promises. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 11th June 1886.—Saw Lord Rosebery after luncheon. He talked rather anxiously about an awkward question concerning the New Hebrides, which has arisen with the French Government, and which may become serious. Australia and New Caledonia are greatly excited about it. Lord Rosebery admires everything here very much. He is certainly a very clever, pleasant man, and very kind.

12th June.—Saw Lord Rosebery before he left, which he was sorry to do. He was soon going to make a speech at Glasgow. I remarked that I hoped he would not bind himself too much, as he had a great future before him. I spoke of Mr. Gladstone, who he thinks must begin to feel what a difficult task he has undertaken, but he was almost “pugnacious” on this question, and would never resign without meeting Parliament. He was terribly ill-advised; and all those he had made Peers, Baronets, or who had received the Garter, had all gone dead against him. The whole press, including the *Scotsman*, a very influential paper, were against him.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HATFIELD HOUSE, 14th June 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully thanks your Majesty for your most gracious letter, and also for the messages sent through Lord Rowton. The division was satisfactory far beyond our expectation. It was always feared that Mr. Gladstone's final speech would turn many votes. The immediate dissolution was far the best result that could have been wished; and, Lord Salisbury is

deeply convinced, the wisest course that your Majesty could have pursued, whatever the issue may be.

All the accounts, so far, that Lord Salisbury receives have a favourable complexion.

With respect to Lord Carnarvon, it is impossible to disguise the fact that he has acted impulsively, and with little foresight. Lord Salisbury does not think that Lord Carnarvon realised the shifty character of the man with whom he was dealing. It is difficult to judge exactly what passed ; but it is evident that Lord Carnarvon took singularly little precaution to protect either himself or his colleagues from misunderstanding.

Lord Salisbury will carefully bear in mind the recommendations your Majesty is pleased to make with respect to the mode of dealing with the Irish question. He proposes to meet his colleagues on Thursday in order to discuss the matter before going to Leeds. It will be necessary for him to speak very distinctly in order to counteract Lord Carnarvon's language.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 16th June 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty, and humbly reports to your Majesty that he is called away from London to-morrow to address his constituents in Midlothian. He has made arrangements with Sir W. Harcourt and Mr. Childers, one of whom will have the honour, during Mr. Gladstone's absence, to report to your Majesty all matters of interest.

There is not at present known to be any issue of an important character depending in the House.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 19th June 1886.—Lord Rosebery with his humble duty submits to your Majesty his congratulations on the signal anniversary of to-morrow ; though he cannot help feeling that it is even more a matter of congratulation to your Majesty's

subjects. The last fifty years will, he believes, be considered the golden age of English history. Not merely has the Empire extended almost indefinitely ; but its several parts have a close relation to each other, which could not have been imagined at your Majesty's accession. It is a striking fact, as regards the growth of the Empire, that the trade of Australia is now equal to what that of Great Britain was when your Majesty ascended the throne. This vast progress is coincident with your Majesty's reign, and these infinite dominions have their common bond and their symbol of union in your Majesty.

Lord Rosebery humbly hopes that the Empire has yet before it many happy and prosperous years under the sway of your Majesty, and that your Majesty may feel a solace for many sorrows and some unavoidable isolation in the retrospect of a glorious reign.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 20th June 1886.—Have entered the fiftieth year of my reign and my Jubilee year. I was upset at the thought of those no longer with me, who would have been so pleased and happy, in particular my beloved husband, to whom I owe everything, who are gone to a happier world. I am very thankful to God for His protection and guidance through all these years, praying it may be continued, and for the great loyalty and devotion of my people !

All my ladies and gentlemen sent me a beautiful large basket of flowers, which touched me very much. Of course the real celebration is only to be next year, when the fifty years are completed. Quantities of people have telegraphed to me. At quarter to one service in the house, performed by Mr. Campbell. He brought in a most touching allusion to me in his sermon. There were beautiful and most kind articles in *The Times*, *Standard* and *St. James's*. I don't want or like flattery, but I am very thankful and

encouraged by these marks of affection and appreciation of my efforts.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 20th June 1886.—The Queen has not yet acknowledged Mr. Gladstone's letter saying that he was called by "his constituents to Scotland." She is surprised that he should visit other places totally unconnected with them; and cannot help regretting that these exciting meetings should take place at a time when, as Mr. Gladstone wrote after the division on the Irish Legislature Bill, he was so anxious not to prolong the uncertainty and excitement in the country and especially in Ireland.

The Queen fears that these unusual addresses and speeches at so many stations on Mr. Gladstone's journey, as well as his visit to Glasgow, where there are so many Irish of the worst type, will not tend to a dispassionate consideration of a measure which so many of Mr. Gladstone's wisest and best friends and supporters feel bound to oppose.

As the Queen wrote more than a month ago, she believes it is Mr. Gladstone's own personal influence, and not the popularity of the Bill, which leads people to applaud him when he speaks. And she fears that harm will thus be done by preventing a dispassionate consideration of this very important question.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

EDINBURGH, 22nd June 1886.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty humbly thanks your Majesty for the gracious and frank letter from Balmoral, which he has this morning had the honour to receive.

He freely owns, in sympathy with your Majesty, his dislike to the practice of the most recent years which has obliged him to give way to the pressure of his friends, and to agree to address meetings in Glasgow, where he is an entire stranger, and in South Lancashire (on Friday and Monday) with which he has been connected both by representation and

otherwise. The mere consideration of the great physical efforts thus demanded from a man at his time of life will suffice to show your Majesty what strong selfish reasons he has for deprecating such arrangements.

But he must state frankly what it is that has induced him thus to yield. It is that, since the death of Lord Beaconsfield, in fact since 1880, the leaders of the Opposition, Lord Salisbury and Lord Iddesleigh (he has not observed the same practice in the case of Sir M. H. Beach) have established a rule of what may be called popular agitation by addressing public meetings from time to time at places with which they were not connected. This method was peculiarly marked in the case of Lord Salisbury, as a Peer, and this change on the part of the Leaders of Opposition has induced Mr. Gladstone to deviate on this critical occasion from the rule which he had (he believes) generally or uniformly observed in former years.

He is, as he has previously apprised your Majesty, aware of the immense responsibility he has assumed, and of the severity of just condemnation which will be pronounced upon him if he should eventually prove to have been wrong. But your Majesty will be the first to perceive that, even if it had been possible for him to decline this great contest, it was not possible for him, having entered upon it, to conduct it in a half-hearted manner, or to omit the use of any means requisite in order to place (what he thinks) the true issue before the country.

Should the elections be favourable to the Government, he fears there still may be a persistent opposition to encounter. Should they be unfavourable, and bring about the downfall of the Ministry, he certainly will not enter on any corresponding course without much previous reflection. An ambiguous result would be most unhappy for all parties, and for the Empire at large.¹

¹ Part of this letter appears in Lord Morley's *Gladstone*, bk. ix, ch. 7.

Le Comte de Paris to Queen Victoria.

[Télégramme.]

DOUVRES, 25 Juin 1886.

MADAME,—Obligé de quitter la France,¹ je viens réclamer l'hospitalité que la libre Angleterre fait l'honneur d'accorder aux proscrits ; je l'ai éprouvée pendant de longues années ; le Roi mon Grand-Père, la Reine Marie-Amélie et toute ma famille ont été accueillis par Votre Majesté et par son peuple d'une manière qui a laissé dans mon cœur une durable reconnaissance. Après avoir éprouvé aujourd'hui les cruelles émotions du départ, après m'être séparé du sol natal, je viens de poser le pied sur le sol Britannique ; ma première pensée est d'offrir à votre Majesté mes respectueux hommages, et de lui exprimer l'espoir que je pourrai bientôt les lui adresser de vive voix.

La maladie de l'un de mes enfants a ramené ce soir-même la Comtesse de Paris au Château d'Eu ; j'attends ici à Douvres les nouvelles de ma chère malade que ma femme m'amènera, avec toute ma famille, dès que cela sera possible.

Sans chercher un établissement fixe, que ma situation personnelle ne comporte pas actuellement, nous comptons pour le moment séjourner en Angleterre.

J'attends avec impatience l'occasion de pouvoir aller, avec les miens, vous offrir l'expression des sentiments avec lesquels je suis de votre Majesté le très-respectueux Cousin, PHILIPPE, Comte de Paris.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 1st July 1886.—After luncheon, saw Sir H. Ponsonby and then Lord Rowton, who talked of Lord Salisbury's inopportune indisposition. He is ordered to Royat for three weeks, and then he is to go to their chalet at Dieppe. He might of course have to be sent for. Lord Salisbury wished for a coalition, which he feared Lord Hartington did not, but he thought my influence might be brought to bear on him.

¹ See Introductory Note.

Mr. H. W. Primrose¹ to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, *Saturday 3rd July.*

DEAR SIR HENRY,—I think I can add nothing to what the papers give this morning. *The Times* return of six wins and six losses is accurate. This won't do for us. We must win in these early elections, or we shall not win at all. Yesterday's poll shows that the Irish Vote has been over-estimated. It should have won us St. Helens (for certain), Stockport, and Salford—I don't like the aspect.²
Yours, H. W. PRIMROSE.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *3rd July 1886.*—Lord Rosebery with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that the Russian Government has declared that it will no longer consider Batoum a free port. The grounds for this extraordinary step are that Batoum as a free port has been a vexatious failure, and that the stipulation which made it one is not an ordinary Treaty article, but a spontaneous declaration of the late Emperor of Russia.

Lord Rosebery pointed out to M. de Staal that the success of Batoum as a free port was a question beside the mark; that the article of the Treaty of Berlin was solemn and distinct; and he showed the Ambassador the passage in the protocol which proved clearly that the article was in the nature of a solemn contract in return for which the British plenipotentiaries had renounced claims on which they had set great store. Lord Rosebery, with regard to the argument as to the "declaration of the late Emperor," asked what was the Russian Government if not the

¹ Mr. Gladstone's Private Secretary, afterwards Right Hon. Sir Henry Primrose, K.C.B.

² Mr. Gladstone wrote on Friday, 2nd July, a long letter to the Queen, which is summarised in *Gladstone*, bk. ix. ch. 7, on the electoral crisis, in which he remarks that "it is not improbable that even the polls to be taken to-day may give a more valuable indication than any he can supply."

Emperor, and what was the authority in Russia whose declarations we could consider as valid. Lord Rosebery further said that this matter was one which affected all the parties to the Treaty of Berlin whom he should at once consult, but he could not avoid expressing his regret that Russia, who had put herself forward of late as the champion of the Treaty of Berlin, should strike a fatal blow at its provisions.

Lord Rosebery cannot disguise from himself the certainty that this is meant as a slap in the face of this country. Materially, the question has no importance, as Batoum as a free port has no value. But as an act of insolent perfidy it stands almost alone, for it is hardly paralleled by what occurred in 1871.

Nor can Lord Rosebery disguise from himself the further consideration that the Russian Government has doubtless obtained the acquiescence of the German, French, and Austrian Governments before taking this step. He has, however, at once telegraphed to your Majesty's Ambassadors to desire them to ascertain the views of the Governments to which they are accredited.

Lord Rosebery regrets that this untoward occurrence should have taken place during his tenure, and very possibly at the end of his tenure, of office as your Majesty's Foreign Minister. But he trusts that your Majesty will not deem him blameworthy for an occurrence which could not be foreseen, even by those who thought they had plumbed the lowest depths of Russian dishonesty.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4th July 1886.—The Queen thanks Lord Rosebery for his letter of last night with the astounding news of the insolent and dishonest conduct of Russia in declaring that Batoum is no longer a free port. What does Lord Rosebery intend to do?

The Queen still hopes that Germany and Austria have not agreed. She heard the other day that

Prince Bismarck had spoken in a very friendly way of England, and hoped that her troubles and pre-occupations at home would not make her careless as to foreign matters, and that she would be very watchful!

The Queen entirely exonerates Lord Rosebery of this fault; and will, whatever may happen to shorten his tenure of office, look back with satisfaction to the time when he served her and his country so ably and to all the frequent communications which passed between him and her and which he made so agreeable to her.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4th July 1886.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his observations on the electoral crisis which she received yesterday, as well as for his two previous letters.

His assumption that the Home Rule vote in England returned the Conservatives at the last election and will now return his followers has not been borne out by results. Nor have the Liberal masses supported Mr. Gladstone's policy in any marked manner, but have on the contrary apparently voted in large numbers in favour of maintaining the legislative union with Ireland. Mr. Gladstone will remember that she has expressed this opinion before.

The Queen is sorry that Mr. Gladstone repeats the cry against the wealthy and educated classes of the country, which does not appear to rest on any foundation.

As regards his complaint that Mr. Bright recommends nothing, she must observe that she fears Mr. Gladstone cannot have attentively read his former colleague's last speech.

The Queen wishes that Mr. Gladstone would recognise in his opponents, Liberals and Conservatives, the same honesty of purpose which she would fain believe actuates him, *viz.* the desire of all good men of all parties to benefit Ireland as well as England,

and to preserve the union of the countries, though they differ as to the mode in which this should be effected.

It strikes the Queen that one can only respect those who for conscientious conviction feel bound to separate from those they have hitherto acted with, and which must be so painful to their feelings.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 7th July 1886.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Rosebery will no doubt have spoken to your Majesty about Mr. Gladstone's letters and telegrams,¹ as he spoke to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

After receiving your Majesty's letter this morning, Sir Henry Ponsonby saw Mr. E. Hamilton, who was in despair about these letters, and Mr. Primrose, the Private Secretary, and had a private consultation as to whether any remonstrance could be made.

They think however that, as the elections are concluding, no more need be feared.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, 8th July 1886.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty and with reference to his last letter humbly points out that it contained no assumption that the Irish vote would outweigh the Liberal defections, or return a majority for the Government, but rather even the reverse.

It was after writing that letter that Mr. Gladstone completed the perusal of the speech by Mr. Bright, and thus found that the compliment he had desired to pay to that excellent man was, unhappily, not deserved on either point.

Your Majesty will be glad to learn that Mr. Gladstone has expressly and repeatedly recognised, as your Majesty so justly desires, the same honesty

¹ One of these missives, which attracted particular attention, spoke of the "blackguardism" of Mr. Pitt's policy in connection with the Union with Ireland.

in his opponents as your Majesty would fain believe actuates him. But these recognitions are lost in the length of his interminable speeches, which it cannot be expected that anyone should read. Mr. Gladstone makes bold to say that he is not *aware* of ever having, for a generation past, impeached the motives of his opponents, whatever descriptions he may on various occasions have felt himself bound to give, from his own point of view, of their acts.

Your Majesty is pleased to regret that Mr. Gladstone should repeat the cry against the wealthy and educated classes of the country. In what he has said with reference to wealth, rank, and station (rather than education), he is of course open to the effective retort that, in a country now somewhat fully represented, he is condemned by a majority at the polls. On this he will say nothing; but he may observe that many years ago in a literary controversy with Lord Sherbrooke (which he does not forward, as it could hardly be of interest for your Majesty to examine) he pointed out the singular fact that, for a long series of years, on all the greater questions dependent mainly on broad considerations of humanity and justice, wealth, station, and rank had been wrong, and the masses had been right.

This is of course wholly distinct from the question whether the masses *are* in point of fact on the side of the Government; and Mr. Gladstone admits with great sorrow that the singular enthusiasm, to which he speaks as matter of fact from personal knowledge, and of which Scotland has given some remarkable indications, is at present confined within a circle, which only supplies a minority of voters. The defeat of the Government has now become an unquestionable fact, and cannot be retrieved.

Upon the broader aspects of this defeat, which whether for good or for evil are undoubtedly important, Mr. Gladstone will offer no observation; but the elections will he thinks be found to present some rather singular features. First, they seem to testify

to the absorbing character of the Irish question, which has been in 1886 what Reform was in 1831, though with a different result. Secondly, they seem to exhibit England on one side, with Scotland, Wales, and Ireland on the other (but the population of England is over double that of the other three). Thirdly, that there appears to be a decided difference between northern England as a whole and southern England as a whole. Fourthly, that whereas London was, under the £10 Franchise in 1832, and for some time, wholly Whig and Radical, but chiefly Radical, it is now, with a wider franchise, the centre and heart of Toryism. Lastly, the most singular fact of all appears to be that the Conservatives have been returned in larger numbers by a diminished aggregate of votes; which may in part however be explained by the necessary diminution of numbers on the Register as the year advances. These observations are general, and the evidence is not yet complete; but the points appear of sufficient interest to deserve being laid before your Majesty. The very large abstention of Liberals from voting *may* supply the key to much of the case.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 8th July 1886.—After luncheon saw Sir H. Ponsonby about the interesting reception which is to take place, viz. of all the Nations employed or connected with the [Colonial and Indian] Exhibition. Went into St. George's Hall, with Beatrice and Liko, and all the ladies and gentlemen; here were ranged in rows opposite each other, all these people, to the number of eighty. Sir Philip Owen was with them, and the different heads of departments.

The Indians came first, filing up one by one, Dr. Tyler standing near. They one and all, forty-three in number, knelt down and kissed and stroked my feet and knees, some prostrating themselves more than others. When they got up, they held out the palms of their hands for me to touch pieces of money

they held in them. Their different brilliant-coloured dresses had a very beautiful effect, in the bright sunlit Hall. One of the Indians, a miniature painter, read an address in Hindustani and presented it with two really wonderfully painted miniatures of me.

Next followed the Singalese, ten in number, such funny-looking men, very black, with long hair combed back and coiled up at the back like a woman's with a round high tortoiseshell comb fixed round the head. They all wear long white dresses and a coloured sash, but the head-man wore a blue coat, with gilt buttons, over the petticoat. He brought me some steel engravings to look at, and other things. They made an obeisance, somewhat similar, but not as low as the Indians.

Then came two Kaffirs, one a splendid man, with only a blanket gracefully draped over him, showing his fine bare legs and arms of bronze colour. They are rather like the Zulus. They both bowed and stretched out their arms three times, uttering a curious sound (like Cetywayo and his people did). Then followed others with a tall woman in hideous European dress, holding her baby—the wretched little Bushmen and then the Malays, established at the Cape, the latter, handsomely dressed, one of them a Priest, and two good-looking women. The men salaamed and bowed low and the women kissed their hands.

Next came some too hideous natives of British Guiana, descendants of the Red Indians of North America, who wear in fact no clothes, but a little sort of band round their loins, the women not much more. Both the men and women are miserable-looking creatures, short, with no power of limbs. There were five interesting Chinese from Hong-Kong, who bowed and threw out their arms three times. Last came five Cypriots, dressed quite as Greeks, without the fustanella, two men, two older women and one lovely girl.

All having passed me went into the next room and

returned. Two of the Indians asked to sing, which they did sitting down and sang with a most comical monotonous twang. The Bushmen asked to play on pipes, which they did very funnily, and the Kaffirs also performed on pipes. Lastly, the Red Indians shot a sort of arrow out of a long pipe, called a blow-pipe, which in warfare is poisoned. We then retired, all the people bowing and "salaaming," and they were taken on to the terrace, where they were photographed in different groups.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen.*¹

9th July 1886.—The Queen Empress was greatly gratified to receive her loyal Indian and Colonial subjects, in whose welfare and happiness she always takes the warmest interest.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9th July 1886.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

There can be no doubt now that there will be a majority in the House of Commons against the proposal for a Parliament in Dublin. Mr. Primrose says it is useless to attempt to conceal the fact, nor will he deny that the agricultural labourers have not voted for Mr. Gladstone as they expected.

Mr. Gladstone is said to be rather provoked at this result, though this is only surmised. He has no Private Secretary or judicious friend with him at Hawarden, and there are no means of asking him to pause before answering in person all the letters and telegrams addressed to him.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.

[Copy.] *Very Confidential.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11th July 1886.—Lord Rosebery having spoken so openly and confidentially to the

¹ Who bore the main responsibility for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

Queen both at Balmoral and here relative to Mr. Gladstone, his failings and position, she thinks she cannot do better than write and express to *him* her anxiety as to what he may do. This anxiety and uncertainty seem pretty generally to prevail, and the Queen thinks it very important that Mr. Gladstone should not show any hopeless struggling to remain in office after his Irish policy being so unequivocally and decidedly condemned *first* by Parliament, and then by an appeal to the country which has been very decidedly given. His violent attacks on former colleagues, his extraordinary letters and speeches, in which he won't admit the possibility of his being wrong, or others right, have injured him very much ; and for his own sake, not to speak of the country, he ought to resign, and those who are intimate with him ought to press him to do so as soon as the elections are over. The Press all point strongly to this course. And only second to this is the necessity that *all* should prevent him from going on agitating. It *can* do no good to the cause he wishes to assist, and may do immense harm. He has done his utmost (more, the Queen thinks, than was either wise or constitutional), and he must *admit it* and *yield* to this defeat. Any attempt to try and force on another agitation upon this question would only be disastrous to himself and his reputation.

The Queen felt it her duty to write thus openly to Lord Rosebery, whom she will be very sorry to lose ; but she is impelled by duty to do so.

In a letter from Mr. Gladstone, dated June 22nd,¹ in answer to one she wrote, regretting his going about to places when he was not called to do so by his constituents, Mr. Gladstone says : " Should the elections be favourable to the Government, he fears there still may be a persistent opposition to encounter. Should they be unfavourable and bring about the downfall of the Ministry, he certainly will not enter on any corresponding course without much previous

¹ See above, p. 150.

reflection. An ambiguous result would be most unhappy for all parties, and for the Empire at large.”¹

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th July 1886. —Lord Rosebery with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty the despatch which he proposes to send to Sir R. Morier with regard to Batoum.

He regrets to say that the other Powers propose to take no notice of the transaction, so far as he can ascertain.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 13th July 1886.—Saw Mr. Goschen and had some interesting conversation with him. He was of course disappointed at his failure² which was quite unexpected. He said he heard Mr. Gladstone meant to resign directly the Elections were over, and I asked whether I should not then send for Lord Salisbury. He replied in the affirmative. We spoke of a coalition, which I strongly urged as a necessity, and which Mr. Goschen thinks more likely to take place now than before. He said it would have been disastrous if Lord Hartington had been defeated. Mr. Goschen was going to see him, and would tell him in my name how anxious I was he should join in a coalition, without which there could be no permanent Government.

18th July.—Went to see my poor excellent footman Lockwood, who has been ill since the winter and is gradually wasting away. His emaciation is fearful to see. He used to carry me for more than three months, and was a devoted faithful servant. It made me very sad to see him like this.

OSBORNE, 20th July.—There was to be a Cabinet to-day to decide on what is to be done, and between four and five received a telegram from Mr. Gladstone

¹ Lord Rosebery in reply expressed his belief that Mr. Gladstone would resign at once.

² Mr. Goschen lost his seat at Edinburgh, and did not re-enter Parliament till early in the following year.

saying : " The Government tender their resignation." I cannot help feeling very thankful. Answered Mr. Gladstone, I would await his letter. Took tea with Beatrice and Liko under the trees, and then went and called on the Empress Eugénie at Osborne Cottage, which I have lent her. I remained with her a little while. She has been very unwell, but is already better since she has come here. Received Mr. Gladstone's letter, which I annex, after dinner. I telegraphed to Lord Salisbury, who is at Royat for his health, to come as soon as he can.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 20th July 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet met to-day to consider what advice it should tender to your Majesty in connection with the results of the General Election.

The Cabinet reviewed a number of considerations, tending for the most part in the same direction ; but Mr. Gladstone had better state without delay, that they felt no difficulty in arriving at their conclusion, which was that they ought at once humbly to tender their resignations to your Majesty. This tender it is the purpose of Mr. Gladstone's present letter to convey.

Among the grounds, which specially guided the Cabinet to this conclusion, one prominent ground was this. They have regarded the Irish question as deriving a great part of its urgency from its connection with social order ; and social order is a matter which does not brook delay. This view was common to both parties during the late Session of Parliament. A House of Commons has now been elected, with respect to which your Majesty's advisers have a moral certitude that it will not at this juncture vote the measures which they deem to afford the only sufficient and satisfactory method of providing for a solid restoration of order in Ireland. This being so, it seems to follow that their charge, and its respon-

sibility, should forthwith be transferred to other hands.

It was also thought desirable, for the sake of those who may be their successors in office, that as much time as possible should be given them to choose for themselves the advice which they shall give with regard to this capital subject.

Mr. Gladstone need not detain your Majesty with further observations.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 20th July 1886.—The Queen has received Mr. Gladstone's report of the proceedings of the Cabinet held this day, and the tender of his resignation of office consequent on the result of the recent elections.

The Queen will accept this resignation, and has at once sent to Lord Salisbury; but, as he is abroad, there may be a little delay before any arrangement can be finally decided.

CHAPTER II

1886

JULY TO DECEMBER

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Lord Salisbury.*

OSBORNE, 22nd July 1886.—The Queen is grieved to have to recall Lord Salisbury so hurriedly from Royat, but she has no alternative, and she hopes that his *cure* will only have been shortened by two or three days.

The Queen having accepted Mr. Gladstone's resignation as soon as he tendered it on Tuesday, and Lord Salisbury having by far the largest majority, she at once appeals to him to undertake to form a Government, and *as strong a one* as he *possibly can* form, so as to *prevent* the recurrence of frequent changes which are so bad for the country, not to speak of the *serious* inconvenience and anxiety they are to the Queen. Lord Salisbury knows *what confidence* she reposes in him.

It seems to her to be a *time* when every nerve should be strained, every personal or party feeling should be set aside for the *public good*; and it would be a *great* thing, and what the *country earnestly wishes* for and *expects*, if he could secure the assistance of some of the Liberal Unionists.

The Queen hopes to see Lord Salisbury here on Saturday between three and four, and hopes he will rest here on Sunday. He should bring Mr. Mannors with him, and, if there is any other person whom

he would wish to see and consult, he could come here also either on Saturday or Sunday.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, 23rd July 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty gratefully acknowledges your Majesty's most gracious letter.

He proposes to come down to Osborne by the 11.35 train to-morrow unless something of paramount importance should force him to wait till the afternoon.

He entirely concurs in your Majesty's view as to the necessity of postponing all personal or party considerations in this important crisis. He proposes before leaving London to-morrow to confer with Lord Hartington in this spirit, in order that he may be able to convey to your Majesty the exact state of facts on which action has to be taken. The accounts he hears of the disposition of the Liberal Unionists to join are not favourable. But any sacrifice on the part of the Conservative Party should be made in order to induce them to coalesce.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 24th July 1886.—Saw Lord Salisbury, who is looking remarkably well. We talked over the whole situation. Though Lord Salisbury had expected their party to gain a good deal, they had not been prepared for such successes. He told me he had had a long interview with Lord Hartington last night, the outcome of which had been unfavourable to a coalition. Lord Salisbury told Lord Hartington he wished him to form a Government, in which he would be ready to serve with him, but this Lord Hartington said was quite impossible, with the small party he had. That he feared he could not join, as he would be swamped—many of his followers not going with him, and who would in that case inevitably end by going over to Mr. Gladstone, which of course would be greatly to be deprecated. Mr. Chamberlain felt this very strongly,

and that, if he gave a cordial support *outside* the Government, it might be of as much use to them and might more completely defeat Mr. Gladstone. Lord Hartington had promised to meet his friends again and to let Lord Salisbury know by to-night what he definitely decided.

The great difficulty will be to find someone for the Foreign Office. Lord Salisbury had thought of Lord Lyons, and would send him a message to ask him to join. We talked of others, Lord Idlesleigh's name being mentioned. I suggested Sir E. Malet being made a Peer, and then going to the F.O. Lord Salisbury said this was a new idea, and he would consider it. All must remain in abeyance till Lord Hartington's answer had come. He had been extremely friendly. After dinner Lord Salisbury received Lord Hartington's letter,¹ in which he said he "had seen Sir H. James, Lord Northbrook, and Lord Derby, and he had come to the conclusion that the difficulties in the way of his forming a Government are so insuperable, that it would be useless to attempt it." Lord Hartington explains how little support he would get, and, if he joined, how few would probably follow him. There would be great danger of others drifting back to Mr. Gladstone, thus endangering the Union.

25th July.—Lord Salisbury came to me again at four, and we talked over everything. He would write to Lord Lyons and send a messenger to him to Vichy. I said I feared he would not accept. Failing him, I again suggested Sir E. Malet. Then Lord Cranbrook was mentioned, whom I thought rather old, and we agreed not suited for Foreign Affairs. Lord Lytton very clever, but not suitable, and dangerous. He feared Lord Randolph Churchill must be Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader, which I did not like. He is so mad and odd, and has also bad health. Sir M. H. Beach is very important

¹ The letter is printed in full in Holland's *Duke of Devonshire*, vol. ii, pp. 169, 170.

for Ireland, does not wish to lead, and could not if he went there. Mr. Smith and Lord G. Hamilton would both go back to their old places. Talked of the Scotch Minister, for which post Lord Salisbury suggested his nephew Mr. Balfour. Talked over many other matters, education, etc. Lord Salisbury then kissed hands, which I telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone.

28th July.—Heard by letter from Lord Salisbury yesterday and to-day, and he presses very strongly Sir R. Cross's removal from the Home Office and promotion to a Peerage, as he has lost his power of speaking in the House of Commons. With great unwillingness I have agreed, for I have always considered him an excellent Home Secretary. Was startled by a telegram, asking that Lord Iddesleigh should be made Foreign Secretary. Answered that I feared his health would not stand the work, and thought he ought to be well warned of all that office would entail. Heard later that Lord Iddesleigh had accepted, which I am rather sorry for, as, though I have the greatest regard for him and think his judgment very good, he is not, in my opinion, quite fitted for the post.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

29th July 1886.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. After careful reflection he submits respectfully that Sir R. Cross should become Privy Seal,¹ with a Viscounty, and that Mr. Matthews,² Q.C., M.P. for Birmingham, should go to the Home Office. He is recommended by Lord Halsbury as singularly fitted for the work of Home Secretary and it is understood Sir Henry James entertains the same opinion. He is a remarkably good speaker, and will bring great strength to the Treasury Bench. Being a Roman Catholic and a strong Unionist, his appoint-

¹ It was finally arranged that he should go to the India Office.

² Afterwards Viscount Llandaff.

ment will favourably influence the moderate Roman Catholics in Ireland.

Lord Salisbury deeply regrets that, in recommending the change of Sir R. Cross, he has not been in accordance with your Majesty's judgment. His sole object has been to strengthen the front bench in oratorical power, in which it is lamentably weak ; and, without it, it is hopeless to expect that it can govern the House of Commons. Some reinforcement in this respect is a paramount necessity.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 30th July 1886.—After luncheon saw Mr. Gladstone, who looked pale and nervous. He began by talking of his train being late, of the weather, and of his requiring rest, which he meant to take now. He then at once began speaking of the horrible last trial of Sir Charles Dilke, and the letter he had written to me, as to the question of his being removed from the list of Privy Councillors,¹ which Mr. Gladstone thinks will have to be done, but not till after it has been seen, whether he will have to be tried for perjury or not. Many on that trial would be liable to this ! Mr. Gladstone said it was one of the most shocking and scandalous trials in history, and had produced a terrible sensation. That he was a very clever man, and that it was most lamentable he should have ruined himself in this way. I then spoke of the Civil List, and that the Committee, he had said he wished to see appointed, should not be forgotten. He agreed, but thinks it should not be appointed with any power to insist on any particular course being adopted ; leaving that entirely to the Crown and Government. Spoke of education, it being carried too far, and he entirely agreed that it ruined the health of the higher classes uselessly, and rendered the working classes unfitted for good servants and labourers. I then wished him good-bye, shaking hands with him, and he kissed mine. I

¹ No action of this kind was taken.

ought to have begun by saying that he had considered it one of the heaviest tasks to carry away from me, as he now considered it to give it back.¹

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

OSBORNE, 31st July 1886.—On the occasion of Mr. Gladstone's visit yesterday the Queen did not like to allude to the circumstances which led to his resignation; but she would wish to say a few words in writing. Whatever Mr. Gladstone's personal opinion may be as to the best means of promoting contentment in and restoring order to Ireland, the country has unequivocally decided against his plan, and the new Government will have to devise some other course in due time.

Mr. Gladstone, when he took office in February, explained to the Queen his intention of enquiring as to what could be done as well as his proposals made for doing so; upon which the Queen said she feared he would never carry it, and he replied, "It is forty-nine to one I shall not carry it."² This has come true; but what the Queen is now anxious to say is, that she trusts that, this being the case, both in and out of Parliament he will do what he can to aid those who will have the difficult task of trying to propose measures which do not present the objections of any of those calculated to promote Home Rule.

She trusts that his sense of patriotism may make him feel that the kindest and wisest thing he can do for Ireland is to abstain from encouraging agitation by public speeches; which, though not so intended by Mr. Gladstone, may nevertheless increase the excitement and be considered as supporting the violent proceedings of those who do not hesitate to defy the law.

¹ For Mr. Gladstone's account of this audience, see Morley's *Gladstone*, bk. ix, ch. 7, and Lord Gladstone's *After Thirty Years*, pt. iii, ch. 1.

² See above, p. 36.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

2nd August 1886.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, has to acknowledge your Majesty's gracious letter of Saturday. His view in February undoubtedly was that the chances were greatly against his immediate success; but that any other plans, either of persistent repression, or of intermediate concession, had no chance of success whatever, instead of having a slight one, and could only prolong the controversy, and deteriorate, probably, the terms of the arrangement. His hope once was that the Conservative Government would act upon the ideas now known to have been entertained by Lord Carnarvon; and, were this now to be so, he would gladly see the task remain in their hands. Whatever aid he can give in the promotion of sound and safe measures was and is entirely at their command. He feels, however, that there ought not to be an undue delay in the production of such measures as the new Government may deem to be sound and safe.

With respect to the maintenance of order, your Majesty will not have failed to observe that, so far as the facts have yet been opened, it appears to have been broken or endangered only by the Orangemen¹ terming themselves Protestants, under deplorable instigation from this side of the water. He cherishes the hope that what may be called the public opinion of Ireland generally is more than heretofore enlisted on the side of obedience; and this, notwithstanding that the actual cases of agrarian crime are, he grieves to think, considerably more numerous than they were in January, when repressive measures were announced. But, be this as it may, your Majesty may rest assured that whatever small influence Mr. Gladstone may possess will always be steadily directed against resort to any methods savouring of violence, and

¹ Serious riots, involving loss of life and destruction of property, took place at Belfast at intervals during the spring and summer. Attacks by Orangemen upon Roman Catholic workmen in many cases began the fray.

towards keeping the settlement of political questions strictly within the lines of Parliamentary and other legitimate discussion.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 3rd Aug. 1886.¹—Saw Lord Iddesleigh, whom I thought looking very ill, and also Sir R. Cross, who said he felt the great importance of India, and that we should be prepared for offensive and defensive action on the frontier. Then saw Lord Salisbury. Talked about various appointments. Lord Iddesleigh makes him anxious, as he seems so far from well, and is already sixty-eight. He would have to see what could be done. Sir E. Malet (who would be excellent) would be unpopular in the Party. Talked of Sir E. Thornton being hardly up to the mark, which was a great misfortune, and Sir R. Morier clearly not to be relied on. Lord Randolph, whom I felt to be a great experiment, Lord Salisbury said was very nervous, which was perhaps a good thing.

Lord Salisbury's Second Ministry.

<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>	. MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	. LORD HALSBURY.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	. VISCOUNT CRANBROOK.
<i>Home Secretary</i>	. HENRY MATTHEWS.
<i>Foreign Secretary</i>	. EARL OF IDDESLEIGH.
<i>Colonial Secretary</i>	. HON. EDWARD STANHOPE.
<i>War Secretary</i>	. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.
<i>Indian Secretary</i>	. VISCOUNT CROSS.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	. LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	. LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.
<i>Lord Chancellor of Ireland</i>	. LORD ASHBOURNE.
<i>Chief Secretary for Ireland</i>	. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	. LORD JOHN MANNERS.
<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	HON. SIR FREDERICK STANLEY, created in this month LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON.
<i>Secretary for Scotland</i>	. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. ²

¹ The earlier part of this entry in the Journal describes the two Councils held, the one for the delivering up of their seals by outgoing Ministers, the other for the reception of these seals by incoming Ministers.

² The Secretary for Scotland was only admitted to the Cabinet in the following November.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

6th Aug. 1886.—Humble duty : interview with Lord Hartington was satisfactory. It was very much in the tone of his speech at Devonshire House, reported in *The Times*. He recommended the Government to take time in considering Irish measures, and to institute enquiry into Land question and local improvements and several other small reforms.

He spoke strongly against Birmingham opposition.¹ Mr. Chamberlain spoke more ambiguously when a remonstrance was addressed to him. It is very sharp practice.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.
[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 6th Aug. 1886.—The Queen has hesitated till now to write to Lord Hartington to express her satisfaction at the patriotic line he has taken in opposing Mr. Gladstone's dangerous policy of Home Rule, and at the very satisfactory results of the elections.

She would have liked, as he knows, that he and others should have joined in the Coalition Government, which she believes was the general wish of the country. But she saw Lord Hartington's reasons against this course in his letter to Lord Salisbury.

She will not dispute his reasons, much as she regrets them ; but, this *being* the *case*, she thinks it makes it *imperative* on him and his followers to support Lord Salisbury's Government in all important questions, in which she feels sure Lord Salisbury will gladly consult with him ; for if, as he has declared, Lord Hartington cannot form a Government himself, and the country has (fortunately) strongly declared against Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule, he is, she considers, bound to support Lord Salisbury, so that the country (not to speak of herself) may not be

¹ The re-election of Mr. Henry Matthews on his acceptance of office as Home Secretary was being opposed by a Radical Unionist.

perpetually exposed to changes of Government, which upset everything, and give a painful uncertainty both at home and abroad, and paralyse our actions and policy.

The Queen would much regret if Liberal and Radical Unionists were to oppose Conservatives in elections, considering the loyalty with which Conservatives supported them. It would be very wrong, the Queen must think, if Mr. Matthews, the new Home Secretary, were opposed by Liberal Unionists.

To weaken this Government, when there is no other fit to replace it, would be most unreasonable as well as wrong. The Queen has great confidence in Lord Hartington's loyal and honourable feelings.¹

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, 7th Aug. 1886.—Lord Hartington with his humble duty begs to thank your Majesty for the gracious letter which he received last night.

Lord Hartington can well understand the desire, which is shared by many of your Majesty's subjects, that an open and recognised coalition should take place between men of different political parties, who are nevertheless at the present time in general agreement on the most important question of the day. But Lord Hartington is still of opinion that, whatever might be the case with a few leading statesmen and Members of both Houses, there remains on the part of the large majority of the constituencies so strong an attachment to party organisations and associations that no real fusion of parties could at present take place; and that all that would really be accomplished would be a reconstruction, which would no doubt considerably strengthen the Conservative Party, but would at the same time deprive the Liberal Party of all its most prudent and moderate elements.

¹ This letter and the next, Lord Hartington's reply, have been published, but in a curtailed form, omitting all reference to the Birmingham by-election, in Holland's *Devonshire*, vol. ii, pp. 172, 173.

Lord Hartington humbly agrees with your Majesty that it will be the duty of the Liberal Unionist Party to give to the present Government all the support in its power, which may be necessary to retain it in Office, until the Liberal Party can be reorganised on principles which they can approve; and he trusts that the policy of your Majesty's present advisers will be such as to make this no very difficult task. It will probably not be for the advantage of the Government itself that such support should be given ostentatiously or indiscriminately; but Lord Hartington will gladly avail himself of any opportunities which may present themselves of confidential consultation between himself and his friends and Lord Salisbury and his colleagues.

He greatly regrets the threatened opposition to Mr. Matthews in Birmingham; and he had already written yesterday to Mr. Chamberlain, urging him, if possible, to use his influence to prevent the Liberal Unionists from giving their support to it. The politics of Birmingham, and the nature of Mr. Chamberlain's influence there are, however, not easily understood by those who have no local connection with or knowledge of the place; and it is possible that Mr. Chamberlain may feel unable to strain his influence there again to the extent which he found possible at the General Election. Lord Hartington, however, feels confident that Mr. Chamberlain will abstain from giving any direct or personal support to the opposition to the Home Secretary.

Lord Hartington again ventures to tender to your Majesty his most sincere thanks for the expressions of approval of his conduct which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to convey to him.¹

¹ Lord Salisbury, to whom the Queen showed Lord Hartington's letter, wrote on the 9th: "It is very satisfactory, and gives every ground for trusting that, until the Liberal Party becomes Unionist, he will support the present Government on all critical occasions. It is to be feared that his influence over Mr. Chamberlain is still incomplete." The opposition to Mr. Matthews's re-election was ultimately withdrawn.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 9th Aug. 1886. —The Empress Eugénie, Mme de Arcos, Sir Frank and Lady Lascelles (Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia), the Duchess of Roxburghe, Col. Nightingale, and Major Bigge¹ dined. Sir Frank is very pleasing, and is perfectly devoted to Sandro, whom he thinks very highly of, and considers acts with a wonderful amount of wisdom and political sagacity. He feels deeply for poor Sandro's great trials and difficulties, and says the conduct of Russia has been dreadful; but he hopes all will come right yet.

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

SEACOX HEATH, 12th Aug. 1886.—Mr. Goschen presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to thank your Majesty for the gracious letter which he has received. . . .

Mr. Goschen has been much exercised in his mind by the questions as to the seats in the House, where Liberal Unionists ought to take their places. At first he was of opinion that they might fairly sit on the same side as the Conservatives, but on special benches which might be courteously assigned to them; but it was proved that many really staunch Unionists would not follow Lord Hartington if he moved across the floor of the House, and a partial occupation of benches on the Government side would have been very undesirable. Thus there appeared to be no option but to adopt the course which was ultimately decided on, though there are most serious drawbacks to it. The Parnellites and the most advanced section will probably *not* facilitate the sitting together of Unionists. Time must show whether any other arrangement may ultimately be possible.

But, wherever they sit,² Mr. Goschen trusts and

¹ Now Lord Stamfordham, and Private Secretary to the King.

² They finally decided to sit on the Liberal side of the House, and their leaders, Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Henry James,

believes that the Liberal Unionists will firmly hold together.

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 14th Aug. 1886.—The Queen wishes to restate in writing the points which she is determined to see carried out, 1st, respecting the dogs, and 2nd, respecting cruelty to animals in general.

I. As regards her poor dear friends the dogs, she would repeat that *no* dogs should ever be *killed* by *police unless* the veterinary surgeon declared they were mad. That dogs who were close to their masters or mistresses or their house door, poor quiet dogs, should be left alone and not molested. A faithful dog will often snap and snarl and bite if interfered with by strangers.

2. The Dogs' Homes should be augmented and enlarged, and the time for keeping them considerably lengthened.

3. Muzzles, except in the cases of very *savage* dogs, should not be used, nor should dogs be run after and hunted to be caught.

4. The best veterinary surgeon should be consulted as to whatever is best to be done. But no dog should be *killed* till it is certain he *is* mad. *Fits are no proof of this.*

II. As regards cruelty to animals in *general*, the Queen thinks a commissioner should be *appointed* to enquire into the *abattoirs*. They ought to be *large*. Animals should not be left waiting in exhaustion up to the last, but have plenty of water and even food if they are kept any time.

2. They should not be driven long distances, or beaten, and there should be *supervision* to see that there are not cruel butchers and men driving them. Cruelty in killing should also strictly, and under

occupied the Opposition front bench side by side with Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt, as Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli had taken their seats, at the opening of the session of 1847, side by side with Sir Robert Peel, Lord Lincoln, and Mr. Sidney Herbert in ejecting whom from office they had recently taken a prominent part.

penalty, be prevented. The Queen knows that formerly calves and geese and pigs—though less—used to be most cruelly and slowly destroyed; fish also, *merely* for the sake of the colour of the flesh.

Sir Henry [Ponsonby] may make use of the Memorandum to people who would aid in *what* she considers a *duty*. Nothing brutalises human beings more than cruelty to poor dumb animals, whose plaintive looks for help ought to melt the hardest heart.

The Queen thinks that, *near* where she lives, she *might* enforce her views about butchers and killing beasts, and set the example. Sir Henry would perhaps employ someone he could trust to make enquiries at Windsor and Cowes as to these practices.

As regards the disposal of the poor dogs' remains after they are destroyed, she is sure cremation *won't do*. Digging deep pits and pouring in quicklime is *certain destruction*. Some of the finest might be buried apart.

Sir Henry should likewise enquire about the instantaneous killing of the cattle and beasts for food by the means with which *dogs are destroyed*. *Cats* should be likewise well cared for in Homes.

Lord Randolph Churchill to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 19th Aug. 1886.—Lord Randolph Churchill presents his humble duty to your Majesty and humbly reports to your Majesty that . . . the Address in answer to your Majesty's gracious Speech was moved by Colonel King-Harman and seconded by Mr. Maclean, the Member for Oldham, in able speeches. Mr. Gladstone commented in no unfriendly tone on the contents of the Speech, re-affirmed his conviction that the concession of a Parliament to Ireland was the only policy by which social order could be attained in the country, deprecated the postponement of the commencement of next session until so late as next February, anticipated the probability of an inability on the part of

the Irish tenants to pay the judicial rents in the coming winter, and was inclined to taunt the Government with the change in their attitude from the 26th January last, when they declared that the suppression of the Land League was essential and their attitude now in proposing to Parliament no repressive measures of this kind.

Lord Randolph Churchill replied to Mr. Gladstone's comments, and especially deplored his anticipation of a general failure to pay rent in Ireland during the coming winter, as likely to produce unfortunate effects. He then stated the views of the Government on the general Irish question, under the several aspects of social order, the land question, and local government. He announced the intention of the Government to despatch Sir Redvers Buller to Kerry County with special powers to devise arrangements for the prevention and detection of "moonlighting." The condition of Belfast he stated to be more satisfactory, and announced the resolute determination of the Government to restore and maintain order there, and to countenance no movement against the police. Speaking generally on social order in Ireland, he added that the Government was resolved to have recourse to Parliament for special legislation the first moment they became conscious that law and order were not being resolutely and satisfactorily maintained. He further announced the intention of the Government to advise the appointment of a Royal Commission to report on the working of the Land Act of 1881, and also the issue of another Commission to enquire into public works in Ireland. On the question of Local Government, he declared that the Government would not be prepared to give any indication of their policy until February next. A desultory and lifeless debate ensued. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 22nd Aug. 1886.—Received a cypher telegram, the contents of which gave me quite a



H. H. Prince Alexander of Bulgaria
From a picture by Müller in Kensington Palace

shock. Sandro has been deposed and taken prisoner, a provisional Government being formed by the union of the Ministers and Opposition! The Army has taken the oath!¹ Knew not what to do. Liko had driven over to Birkhall with his four-in-hand, and I feared to upset dear Beatrice, who is not very strong just now. I sent for Major Edwards. A second telegram, containing almost the same news, soon followed. Decided to speak to Beatrice, and told her as quietly as I could. Telegraphed in a great state to Lord Salisbury and Lord Iddesleigh. There was a further telegram from Reuter, still quite incoherent. Beatrice took it to poor Liko, who was in a dreadful state, and was too upset to come to dinner, so Beatrice remained with him. Lord Waterpark, Lord Bridport, and Sir H. Ponsonby dined with Arthur, Louischen, and me. All so shocked at the news. Went afterwards up to Beatrice and Liko, and found him very wretched. I tried to comfort him, but was very anxious and upset myself.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 22nd Aug. 1886.—We are horrified at these news from Bulgaria. On what ground can this have been done? It is these Russian fiends; but it may rouse a European war. It is a breach of treaty, and we shall suffer.

I fear we were too sanguine and the Crown Princess's fears were only too true. If only we had two good people at Petersburg and Constantinople! Cannot Sir William White now be utilised?

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 22nd Aug. 1886.—Pray lose not a moment in seeing Lord Salisbury. England must speak out and be firm. Every day we have been

¹ See Introductory Note to Chapters 1 and 2.

warned against Russian intrigues, and this is the stepping-stone to getting Constantinople. . . .

We lose one of the bravest, wisest of rulers in Prince Alexander, if he is gone, and a stanch friend of England and Turkey.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 23rd Aug. 1886.—A lovely morning. Woke up often, always thinking of poor brave Sandro, and of what could be done. One feels so helpless. Sent off many telegrams and received several, but nothing very new and nothing explaining what had really happened. Lord Salisbury telegraphs that he has no direct news from Bulgaria, but enquiries are being made in every direction as to what will happen now? Direct communication with Sofia has been cut off. Heard, thank God, that Sandro was safe, and thought to be in Roumania. This was a great relief.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 23rd Aug. 1886.—The Queen has been hoping and hoping to hear from Lord Salisbury about this dreadful and alarming news; but nothing has come, and Lord Iddesleigh says nothing, but that he must first see Lord Salisbury. This *slowness* may be *fatal*. We (as of course you too) know nothing but from Reuter! very contradictory telegrams, excepting by an *unsatisfactory* cypher from Sir E. Thornton, alluding to events which have taken place! But what they are and what could have happened, no one can imagine.

This moment the Queen received Lord Salisbury's cypher.¹ Before speaking of the terrible personal trouble this is to us, and the cruel end of the exertions and self-sacrifice² of the poor dear young Prince,

¹ The telegram said they had no intelligence, and thought it "unwise to make any statement implying that we think the Prince finally overthrown. It might destroy his last chance."

² By telegram the Queen altered this word to "self-devotion."

whose great abilities and bravery (far greater than those of any other ruler abroad) were the admiration of everyone—of her present as well as her late Government—she must speak of the very alarming aspect of affairs in a political and public sense! Lord Salisbury always said the Crown Princess's fears were exaggerated, that he thought things would come right, and now *here* the worst thing which *could* have *happened* for *us* and Turkey, has *taken place*! Russia is intriguing right and left, and we *must not* tamely swallow *everything* with a mere protest! Russia sets us at defiance! . . . The most able and independent Prince Alexander of Bulgaria has been driven away, and we must not swallow *that* (meant as a slap in *our face*) without a *formal protest*, and *far more*, we should *insist* on a *Conference here*, and must not accept any Russian candidate, any wretched foolish Prince or Russian who will be proposed.

Sir R. Morier *has tacitly encouraged* the bad and wicked feeling of the Emperor against his cousin, and one could read between the lines in all his letters. He is *not safe there*. He should be given leave of absence at once, and then Sir J. Lumley be sent there, and Morier to Rome. He *must not* remain in Russia, or we shall be checkmated and duped everywhere. If we submit to this and allow "Turkey to act with the other powers," as she says she is doing, England *will* become what Prince Bismarck foretells in the private Memo. The Queen feels terribly anxious about our position. *No such fit* Prince for the position of Bulgaria exists as the one we have lost. Pray be firm and energetic. As regards Lord Salisbury, she has no fears, but she fears greatly Lord Iddesleigh's slowness, weakness, and too great conciliatoriness, and the *ignorance* of most of the rest of the Cabinet.

Remember Great Britain is in great danger by this first move, and there can be no doubt that Russian Emissaries have undermined Bulgaria, and a party been bribed to believe that Prince Alexander

was *not* defending their *rights* and *interests*, while to the *world at large*, and the other Powers, Russia was representing him as doing everything *he* could to aggrandise *himself* and provoke war with Servia, etc. Most earnestly does the Queen entreat and most *solemnly* urge Lord Salisbury, though alas ! too late to save the Prince, to act with great energy, and to let England's voice be heard again. If Sir F. Lascelles had been at Sofia, this would not perhaps have happened, though Reuter, with the Russian news, plainly shows that [it] is the first step in the *Russian move* towards Constantinople.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 23rd Aug. 1886. — Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully expresses his regret that he was not able to reply more fully to your Majesty's telegrams this morning in consequence of the mutilation they had suffered in transmission.

The disastrous news from Bulgaria is a terribly heavy blow. It is a cruel end to all Prince Alexander's efforts and sacrifices. A more flagrant display of popular ingratitude is not on record. There is something sickening in the treachery of the troops whom he had led to victory, and whose dangers and hardships he had more than shared, and who turned against him on the instigation of Russian agents.

It is not only a lamentable event as regards the Prince, whose character and actions command so much sympathy, but it is a serious danger to Europe. There will probably be convulsions in Bulgaria, and Russia will offer herself to restore order. Her restoration of order will mean the Russification of the two provinces, and a rising in Macedonia ; both Greece and Austria may be brought into the field, and the Turkish Empire will be exposed to great danger. Prince Alexander was the guardian of European peace ; and, if we could have upheld him, peace would have been preserved.

We have been badly served by Thornton, who has failed to obtain any information, and has not been able to influence the Turks to take a course more favourable to the Prince. Possibly, if their instructions to their agents at the new Conference had been less hostile to a Union, this catastrophe might not have happened.

Lord Randolph Churchill to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 23rd Aug. 1886.—. . . The debate on the Address was renewed by Mr. Labouchere, who expressed contempt for the position occupied by the Liberal Unionists, and strongly condemned the policy of the Government towards Ireland as a gigantic land purchase scheme which would involve a burden on the taxpayers amounting to three hundred millions. He was followed by Sir Michael Hicks Beach who, in a most able speech which greatly impressed the House, relieved the Government policy from the misrepresentations and exaggerations with which it had been burdened by Sir W. Harcourt and other opposition speakers. He pointed out that Sir W. Harcourt's remedy for the restoration of social order had been distinctly condemned and negatived by the country; and asked whether he intended, by his assertion that social order could not be dealt with by itself, that the law was not to be maintained or enforced in Ireland until the constituencies had changed their minds; he explained the true scope and object of the land commission which was proposed to be appointed, and repudiated the accusation that its object was mere dilatoriness, but that both this Commission and the Public Works Commission were genuinely intended by the Government to arrive at practical results leading to useful and beneficial legislation, and that their composition and the terms of reference appointing them would bear out this contention. He appealed to the Irish Members not to oppose in passion and unreason measures which would benefit the country they

represented merely on the ground that the native Parliament which they desired could not be granted. He concluded by reiterating the determination of the Government to maintain the Union and uphold the law. The speech produced an excellent effect on the House at large.

After speeches from Mr. Cook and Mr. Jennings on the Government side and from Mr. Peter Macdonald and Mr. Illingworth on the side of the Opposition, Lord Hartington rose and vigorously vindicated the position of himself and his friends. He taunted Sir W. Harcourt with excellent and humorous effect with respect to his changed opinions on the duty of maintaining law and order as illustrated by his words and actions in 1882 and those of Friday last. Lord Hartington further, while declining to be held to commit himself in anticipation to any measures of legislation which might hereafter be introduced by the Government, expressed very fully and unreservedly his approval of the immediate steps announced by the Government for the treatment of the Irish question during the coming autumn and winter, and declared that it was the duty of the House to give to this treatment a fair and impartial trial. Lord Hartington was greatly cheered from both sides of the House on resuming his seat. Mr. John Morley replied in a speech of some passion, which was, however, but an amplification and reiteration of views already expressed by Mr. Gladstone and Sir W. Harcourt. . . .

24th Aug.— . . . The House of Commons this evening has been engaged with the consideration of an Amendment moved by Mr. Parnell to the Address, which states the inability of the Irish tenants to pay the judicial rents, and deprecates any liability being incurred by the taxpayer for the purchase of holdings which have been too highly valued. Mr. Parnell supported his Amendment by various assertions, but adduced no other evidence in support of his contention; he prophesied a copious flood of evictions

during the winter owing to the language used by Lord Randolph Churchill, and consequent outbreak of crime and outrage, and the introduction of a strong coercion bill which would lead to the abolition of all constitutional rights in Ireland and the expulsion of Irish Members from the House of Commons. Mr. Plunket, the first Commissioner of Works, replied, and demonstrated by quotations from previous speeches of Mr. Parnell that he had been so recently as 1883 in favour of a large purchase of land from the landlords by the State for the benefit of the tenants, demonstrated that no great number of actual evictions could take place in November on account of the period at which rent was due and the delay which must take place in obtaining decrees and securing and executing processes. He adduced evidence to show that the commissioners under the Land Act in fixing judicial rents had taken into account the possibility of bad years and exceptionally low prices, and concluded with a grave and serious rebuke to Mr. Parnell for the language used by him as inciting to disturbance and social commotion in Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone followed, and in spite of a protest on a question of order raised by Lord Randolph Churchill to the effect that the debate ought to be confined strictly to the Amendment, which view was supported by the Speaker, insisted on reviewing again the entire policy of the Government affecting Ireland. He declined either to support or oppose the Amendment by vote, but blamed the Government for making a large and wide statement of policy outside the range of your Majesty's Speech, took great exception to the appointment of the Land Commission on the ground that it caused delay on a matter where speedy legislation was urgently required, condemned severely the large scheme of land purchase which he believed to be foreshadowed, also expressed great disapproval of any expenditure on public works in Ireland, except under the action

and direction of an Irish Parliament, and finally denied the possibility of dealing with local Government in Ireland on similar or equal terms with England and Scotland. The speech appeared to be coldly received by the House. . . .

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.*

BALMORAL, 24th Aug. 1886.—The Queen thanks Lord Iddesleigh for his very kind letter and for his sympathy, which indeed is much needed; for she is much attached to the dear, brave, and so cruelly used Prince of Bulgaria, and she feels so much for the brother, her son-in-law, whom she loves as a son, while another brother is her grandson-in-law, who is a distinguished officer in her Navy. It is therefore a subject of intense personal interest to her as well as from a political point of view.

Russia *must* be unmasked. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 25th Aug. 1886.—Heard from Mr. Stephen¹ at Sofia, from yesterday, saying the revolt against Sandro had failed, and that the conspirators had submitted and been arrested. Karaveloff had accepted office to save the honour of the country. They hoped to obtain England's support. Very pleased at this. Just before going out, received more telegrams. President of National Assembly at Philippopolis has published general appeal to loyalty of the nation. Enthusiasm universal. Delegates were to be sent to seek Sandro.

At our family dinner came news of his safety, from Sir R. Morier, from St. Petersburg! It was as follows: "The Russian Government received last night a telegram from Commanding Officer at Reni (on Russian territory) to say that Bulgarian Prince's yacht had just arrived with Prince of Bulgaria on board. The Captain presented a note to the Russian authorities, and had orders to deliver His Highness to them.

¹ Afterwards Sir Condie Stephen.

Instructions from St. Petersburg were at once sent that the Prisoner (!) was to land and regain liberty, but I gather that it was strongly hinted he should proceed by railway to the Russian frontier!" Really monstrous behaviour, clearly admitting that the Russians had known and planned the whole thing. Previous to this, had heard from our Consul at Galatz, that Sandro and Franzjos¹ had landed at Reni, and proceeded by rail to Lemberg, which was of course a great joy and relief to Liko, but this joy was destroyed by a telegram from his father, saying he had heard from Sandro that he was at liberty, after being handed over to a Russian gendarme!!

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 25th Aug. 1886. —The Queen thanks Lord Salisbury for his very kind and sympathetic letter received to-day. How she wishes she could speak to him, for she feels she has so much to say—and that writing and cyphering is very inadequate! The joy experienced at the great and satisfactory news of the counter-revolution—only two days after those of the monstrous revolution brought about by *Russian villainy* at Sofia were received—has been somewhat counterbalanced by the intense sense of indignation and pain produced by the news, received a few hours later by Prince Henry, of the *indignities* offered to his poor brother, the heroic noble young sovereign of Bulgaria, and his brother,¹ by them being sent *without even a servant*—as prisoners—and delivered over on Russian territory to a Russian gendarme, and condescendingly released by *orders* from St. Petersburg! This, and the very clear account from Mr. Stephen of the treachery of the *Russian* agent at Sofia, the Queen thinks is without parallel in modern history; and she thinks and believes that Lord Salisbury will *not*

¹ Prince Francis Joseph of Battenberg, who was captured at Sofia at the same time as Prince Alexander.

let this *pass* without some strong observations to the Russian Ambassador and Russian Government.

A common felon could not be worse treated ; and that the revolutionists were bribed and instigated by a Russian official agent is surely a breach of the law of nations. *We* at least must *not* tolerate such behaviour ; Prince Henry is quite beside himself at these accounts. Russia has failed, and it seems clear that the Bulgarians and Roumelians love their Prince and wish him to reign over them. It is not England or any other nation who has brought this about, and therefore there *must* be a new departure *if* the Prince *can* be persuaded to return. Of course he knows nothing, or did not, of the great movement in his favour and of his Government being reinstated ; and when he hears this, he may consent to wait, at Bucharest ; or he may prefer going home for a little rest (for he must have suffered cruelly ever since last year) and await the course of events at Darmstadt.

Russia having *failed*, she *must* see that she *cannot* again *attempt* a similar *coup d'état*. One of the first conditions should therefore be to bring about a reconciliation (that is, an official one) with Russia, and that these intrigues should cease for the sake of the peace of Europe. The second should be the *real union* of the two countries, and the last that the nomination of the Prince should be for life.

The Powers, and especially Turkey, England, Austria, and Italy, should agree to what in fact they *had* agreed to at various times ; only they were bullied by Russia and gave way.

Then the Queen *must insist* on Sir R. Morier's getting leave, or rather being summoned home, on the plea that the Government wish to see him about our frontier affair, and then the leave should be prolonged and finally he should be sent elsewhere. . . . Could not Sir E. Thornton's pension be forestalled by six months ? and Sir William White go then as Ambassador ? If Prince Alexander comes to Germany (is it *likely* he would go to *Russia*!!) Prince Henry

would go to see his brother, and in the event would ask to see Lord Salisbury and Lord Iddesleigh on his way, and could convey any message and any views to his brother.

26th Aug.—Since finishing her letter last night the Queen has received the good news that Prince Bismarck will not act with Russia against Bulgaria, and that the Eastern Roumelians entreat the Prince to return.

Most anxious to hear from Lord Salisbury. To get all the Powers to act together, or without Russia, should be our first object. Russia has gravely compromised herself by the action of her agent at Sofia, by landing the Prince as a prisoner on Russian territory and handing him over *as such* to a Russian gendarme. She will therefore be more easily worked upon, for she cannot avow such monstrous conduct.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 26th Aug. 1886.—Lord Iddesleigh presents his humble duty to the Queen and has the honour to mention to your Majesty that, after a conversation with Lord Salisbury, and a careful consideration of the question, he has come to the conclusion that it is important to employ the services of Sir William White at Constantinople. This will involve the disagreeable necessity of writing to Sir Edward Thornton and preparing him for the change. Lord Iddesleigh will endeavour to make it as little unpalatable as he can, but it cannot but be painful to Sir Edward, and it is very much so to Lord Iddesleigh. Any gracious expressions which your Majesty might authorise him to use to his old friend would, he is sure, be highly valued. . . .

The news which has just arrived of Prince Dolgorouki's mission to Bulgaria¹ seems to make it important that the Prince of Bulgaria should lose no time in returning to his capital. Lord Iddesleigh had suggested to the Porte to summon his Highness

¹ See below, p. 204.

to return to the Principality and to restore order; this would have given the Prince a desirable start. He does not yet know how the suggestion has been received; but the Turks will probably dawdle over it, and it would not do to lose time in waiting for their action.

Lord Randolph Churchill to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 26th Aug. 1886.—Lord Randolph Churchill submits his humble duty to your Majesty and would humbly express his gratitude for your Majesty's very gracious communication which reached him this morning. Lord Randolph is only placing on record the sentiments of all his colleagues and himself, together with those of the great majority of the House of Commons, when he states that the news of the personal safety of Prince Alexander and of his restoration to the throne of Bulgaria, and of the utter defeat of the filibustering conspiracy directed against him, has given to all the utmost satisfaction, not only on account of the gallant Prince himself, but also because it would appear certain that the averting of civil war in Bulgaria and of a general conflagration in the East of Europe is bound up with the maintenance in strength and efficiency of Prince Alexander's rule. . . .

27th Aug.—... At half-past ten Sir William Harcourt rose and spoke at great length, while declining to support the Amendment by his vote; his speech amused the House, which rather laughed at him than laughed with him. The only really remarkable portion of his speech was his announcement of the final and irrevocable abandonment by Mr. Gladstone and all his friends of the Irish Land Purchase Bill which hitherto had been considered by their own declaration as an "inseparable" part of their Irish policy. This most cynically unscrupulous announcement was received by the House with great laughter. (It may be mentioned in connection with this statement that a pamphlet by Mr. Gladstone has appeared

to-night on the Irish question in which he finally abandons the Land Bill.)

Sir Michael Beach concluded the debate in a speech of much spirit and argument, effectively ridiculing Sir W. Harcourt, and proving, by well-arranged facts and figures, that the general assertions of the Irish as to the fall in prices and the probability of numerous evictions were quite unfounded and apparently fallacious. He pointed out that illegal combinations were a much more likely and fruitful cause of non-payment of rent than natural causes. He greatly deprecated the irreconcilable hostility to the principle of land purchase by the State, which the Liberal Party had now for the first time committed themselves to. The House then divided; and the Amendment was rejected by 304 votes against 181, giving the Government the powerful majority of 123. The House then adjourned. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, with their friends, voted with the Government.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

27th Aug. (5.30 p.m.)—Received letter: highly approve. But not one minute must be lost! *White* must be telegraphed to and sent off *at once* with some message or other, and *Lascelles start at once* or all will be too late!

Dolgorouki is on his way.¹ Have cyphered to Prince Louis who meets brother to-night to urge most strongly Prince Alexander's return, for peace of Europe; and we must stand by him.

Writing is too slow—Russia must not triumph. Morier must get leave too.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

27th Aug. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's letter of the 25th and 26th.

The conduct of the Russians has been simply

¹ See below, p. 204.

piratical. But they are evidently ashamed of it, and will no doubt take every opportunity of officially disclaiming any share in the kidnapping of Prince Alexander, or any approval of it. Though we have little doubt that it was done by Russian agents, we have no direct proof of the complicity of the Russian Government, and of course we must not advance publicly any accusation against them that we cannot prove. If they had detained him upon Russian soil against his will it would have been different; and the strongest diplomatic protest would have been justifiable.

It is very unfortunate that we have not yet been able to communicate with the Prince, as we do not know where he is. All anxiety as to his personal safety is at an end. But Lord Salisbury is rather anxious about the state of mind in which these events may leave him. There are two dangers—the first immediate, the other more remote. It is possible that he may be so disgusted with the treatment he has received, that he has given, or will give, a pledge to somebody, Russian or German, to give up the throne of Bulgaria and not to return there. This would be politically a very serious blow. The other more remote danger is that, if he goes back, he may think it necessary to assure his position, by throwing himself more into the popular movement; and a rising in Macedonia would be the probable result. For these reasons Lord Salisbury is very anxious to bring English counsels to bear upon him. But it is strangely impossible to find out where he is.

*Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.*¹

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

BALMORAL, 28th Aug. 1886. 3.40 p.m.—Direct news received that Prince Alexander is starting at once for Bulgaria.

4.20 p.m.

Sir Frank Lascelles should start all the same.

¹ Cyphered also simultaneously to Lord Salisbury.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

28th Aug. 1886. 6 p.m.—With humble duty. The news most satisfactory, it is officially confirmed. Sir F. Lascelles goes straight to Sofia, stopping for a night at Vienna.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 28th Aug. 1886. 9 p.m.—Wish congratulatory message should be sent in warm terms from me through Mr. Stephen to Prince Alexander on his arrival at Sofia to-morrow, expressing great joy at his safety, intense horror at the crime committed, and earnest prayers for his welfare and prosperity.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

Sunday afternoon, 29th Aug. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges the letter of yesterday's date which has just reached him. He is much distressed that your Majesty should have imagined that he had passed over any portion of your Majesty's letters without notice. It was very far from his intention to do so; but he may have expressed himself obscurely.

Lord Salisbury deeply sympathises with your Majesty's anxiety as to the inferiority to Russia which, in a diplomatic battle, we are too apt to show. But he has felt it for a long time. It seems to him inherent in the constitution of this country and the consequences which flow therefrom.

In the first place Russia has an unlimited command of Secret Service money. England has, for the service of foreign affairs all over the world, just £15,000 a year, a sum so small as to be practically worthless.

But no House of Commons could be induced to increase it. In dealing with countries like the Balkan peninsula, where nine out of ten men have their price, this alone places your Majesty's servants at an almost overwhelming disadvantage.

2. Our diplomatic service is a very inferior instrument to that which Russia possesses. This comes from the traditions and usages which it shares with the Civil Service generally. The prospects of the service are poor; and the large majority of men who enter it are not able men. But when an able man chances to appear, the Government is much hampered in making use of him. He can only be promoted in his turn, according to practice. If the practice is departed from (as it legally can be), the outcry is so violent as to make the service very discontented, and even to invite the interference of Parliament. In 1878, Lord Salisbury appointed a Secretary of Embassy from the lower ranks of the service. A motion of censure in the House of Commons was the result; and though it was not carried, it effectually prevented Lord Salisbury from trying the experiment again. In the same way it is almost impossible to remove a man who is unsatisfactory unless he has done something which can be publicly proved against him; or unless he can be sent to some better post; or unless the close of his official term is at hand. Sir R. Morier is a case in point. He has done nothing which could be openly charged against him. No higher post could be given to him; and his term of office does not cease till 1889. To remove him would be looked on as a very harsh act both by the public and the profession; he would induce somebody in Parliament to declare that he was the victim of a backstairs intrigue; and the issue of a vote in the House of Commons would be very doubtful.

3. The third cause is even more irremediable. As land forces go in these days, we have no army capable of meeting even a second-class Continental

Power ; that is, we could never spare force enough at any one point to do so. The result is that, in all places at a distance from the sea, our diplomatists can only exhort, they cannot threaten ; and this circumstance often deprives their words of any weight.

There is much else that weakens our diplomacy—our shifting foreign policy during the last ten years—our precarious Governments, the necessity of adapting our foreign policy to the views of a Cabinet of fourteen or sixteen men, usually ignorant of it and seldom united in their views.

Lord Salisbury has gone at this length into considerations with which he should not have ventured to trouble your Majesty, but for the impression your Majesty had contracted that he had passed by a portion of your letter. It must be expected that, in contriving so bold a *coup de main* as that which has just failed at Sofia, Russia would be able to take England unawares, and that England will often have no immediate power of returning the blow. This is no reason for losing heart, or for neglecting to do everything in our power to carry into effect the policy that is most advantageous to England. But it is a reason why the efforts, and frequent failures, of your Majesty's servants in foreign affairs must be viewed with indulgence. It is their destiny to be always making bricks without straw. Without money, without any strong land force, with an insecure tenure of power, and with an ineffective agency, they have to counterwork the efforts of three Empires, who labour under none of these disadvantages.

Lord Salisbury is deeply conscious of the value of the Crown Princess's information. He has troubled your Majesty at this length, for which he craves your Majesty's pardon, in order to show why we were neither able to compete with the Crown Princess in her information nor, unhappily, when we had it to take any effective action upon it.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 30th Aug. 1886. —Would Sir Henry tell Lord Cranbrook¹ that she entreats him to stay on a little beyond the time agreed on. She *must* have someone to speak to and lean on, especially if Sir Henry leaves. The anxiety (after so many months of anxiety and work) is so great as well as the responsibility, that she feels her nerves and health will give way, and she *must* have someone by her to help her. Lord Cranbrook is so firm and energetic, and so kind, that the Queen feels his presence a great comfort. Her sleep is beginning to be affected by her great anxiety to *see* everything done that can be, and that nothing has been left undone. . . .

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 1st Sept. 1886. —The Queen thanks Lord Salisbury for his long and explicit letter received yesterday. She quite appreciates all he says, but also thinks that "We must not lose heart, and do all we can." And this is what we *must* do, and Lord Salisbury *will* succeed. Lord Beaconsfield raised up the position of Great Britain, from '74 to '80, in a marvellous manner. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville pulled it down again during the five years of their mischievous and fatal misrule, but already in seven months Lord Salisbury raised our position again.

Austria is evidently inclined to take a wiser line, probably influenced by the strong feeling in her country and in Hungary.

All Germany is boiling over with indignation at the monstrous plot, and at the terrible treatment to which a reigning Prince and respected by all *but* Russians (by a *good many* of *them too*) the Paul-like Tsar's first cousin [has been subjected], and are *furiously* with the language of the so-called official organs of the German Government.

¹ Who was at Balmoral as Minister in attendance on the Queen.

Italy is very friendly, Turkey shows signs of seeing where her duty and interest lie, and above all, Servia is most friendly and anxious to return to cordial relations with Bulgaria. This should be most warmly encouraged and all the symptoms fostered, worked upon *actively*.

Sir R. Morier's cypher just received says that Russia "will not interfere by force of arms, but," added my informant, it is not likely that Russia will refrain from using all other means at her disposal of getting rid of Prince Alexander." It is this, which we must try to prevent, with the rest of Europe who have *acknowledged the Prince*, by conferences or protocol, or personal remonstrance, and to put a stop to, for it is too intolerable! This would be a good reason for getting Morier back at once and making use of him. The Queen perceives that everywhere Russia is openly accused of this late outrageous act, and she wonders if she will dare to continue to pursue this course.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

2nd Sept. 1886. 7.15 p.m.—Lord Iddesleigh with humble duty asks your Majesty's permission to address our Ambassadors at Berlin and Vienna to the effect that affairs in Bulgaria have reached a point at which the Great Powers should take counsel as to the course to be followed, and to express the opinion of H.M.'s Government that the best way to secure peace and good government will be a frank and open support of Prince Alexander, given in such a manner as to enable his Highness to devote himself without anxiety to the task of governing the country over which he has been placed by Europe. They desire to interchange views with the other Powers, and direct the Ambassadors to make a preliminary communication in this sense to the two Governments in question.

Lord Salisbury approves. If your Majesty assents, it would be desirable that Lord Iddesleigh may be

informed by telegraph so as to send it off to-night : he writes more fully by post.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 2nd Sept. 1886. 8.15 p.m.—I approve most highly intended message to my Ambassadors at Berlin and Vienna.

Sir Edward Malet to the Earl of Iddesleigh.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

3rd Sept. 1886. No. 114.—I communicated substance of your telegram No. 206 of yesterday to Count Bismarck, who has shown it to the Chancellor.

Prince Bismarck, taking note of your Lordship's courtesy in making this preliminary communication to him, cannot advise your Lordship to proceed with the attempt to obtain the frank and open support of the Powers for the Prince of Bulgaria, because he is certain that it would not succeed. It could at best only have the effect of separating Russia from the European Concert, and that would not accord with the wishes and interests of the Imperial Government. Prince Bismarck holds that, although Prince Alexander was placed in Bulgaria by the Powers, it is not their duty either conjointly or separately to maintain him there. He concludes that your Lordship only desires to support him by diplomatic means ; and these the Prince thinks will be of no avail, as the Emperor of Russia refuses to be reconciled to him.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 4th Sept. 1886.—Found an alarming telegram from Sir F. Lascelles (very secret) saying he had seen Sandro, who, "on finding disaffection was widespread, has determined to leave the country and appoint a Council of Regency. He will not formally abdicate, but hopes he will not be pressed to remain ; he had announced his intention of leaving to Prince Bismarck, who consented to use his influence

with the Tsar to secure an honourable retreat for *him*, and to prevent Russian occupation." We were dreadfully shocked. Almost directly afterwards, received a cypher from Lord Salisbury, saying he had read the telegram from Sir F. Lascelles "with dismay." Could I cause some "exhortation or expression of opinion" to be sent from "*me*," "against irrevocable step, disastrous to England and Europe?" We despatched a telegram to Sandro, entreating him, in very strong terms, to remain. Russia's conduct is most dangerous. After dinner came another cypher from Sir F. Lascelles, saying that, in his speech to the officers to-day, Sandro "had said, he was given to understand, that *he* was an obstacle to the welfare of the country, he was ready to sacrifice himself; referred in general terms to the possibility of his departure." This distressed and alarmed us.

6th Sept.—After luncheon received a long cypher from Sandro, which I annex. It leaves no hope. He cannot remain. It is too sad that such a distinguished person should be lost to Europe.

The Prince of Bulgaria to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram—Translation.*]

SOFIA, 6th Sept. 1886. 6 p.m.—I beg your Majesty to believe that I have only come to the decision of abdicating after mature deliberation. Three-fourths of all officers are mixed up in the conspiracy; the Opposition are likewise implicated; and the Ministry knew of the plot, which they did not seek to prevent, though they did not approve of it. The people and the soldiers are on my side, but supported alone by them I cannot govern. The whole Clergy is also implicated. The one stay of the throne, viz. the army, no longer exists. All the intelligent men agree to my abdicating, because the people demand a reconciliation with Russia; and, my last telegraphic attempt having failed in obtaining this, I can no longer promise it to them. I only returned to Bulgaria in order to be able to leave of my own free

will. My remaining any longer would only cause a civil war, as, being betrayed by all, I could only maintain myself by suspending the constitution and decreeing summary executions. As soon, however, as blood flows, Russia will yield to public opinion, and occupy Bulgaria, which Europe will not be able to prevent. My only choice, therefore, is to abdicate of my free will, guarding my honour, or, forced against my will, without any hope of success, amidst bloodshed to be murdered or driven away by Russian bayonets.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 7th Sept. 1886.—The Queen thanks Lord Iddesleigh for all his kind letters, which are fully appreciated. Affairs succeed each other so rapidly, that one hardly knows what to think or do. The telegram last night from Sir F. Lascelles arrived after Lord Iddesleigh's letter was written, and after the Prince's telegram to the Queen had been sent. . . . Lord Iddesleigh will receive almost with this letter the full text of that telegram, by which he will see how completely disorganised the *whole machinery* of the Government and Constitution are, and how impossible it will be for Prince A. to go on, unless great alterations take place in his position. On the one hand, the whole of the *people* and the *soldiers* are with the Prince, and wish him to *remain*. On the other hand, *if* he does, the danger of assassination is *so great*, that the Queen could not permit him to be pressed to stay, for what would our position be, were such a dreadful event to take place? It would be too fearful!

The Queen has to-day received a most interesting but terrible account of all that occurred on that dreadful night of the 21st August, and on the horrible journey, which the dear, noble, brave Prince made, of so terrible and revolting a nature, that one shudders to read it. It ought to be known. This letter¹

¹ The facts given in this letter were published in *The Times* and in other journals, English and foreign.

(written by his brother Prince Louis) also contains the sad *certainly* of its *not* being the plot of a *mere* handful of miscreants and desperadoes, but of the greatest part of the Army (Officers), of the civilians, and of the clergy. If we, to prevent Civil War, press and urge him so strongly to *stay*, we are certainly bound to do all we can, to make his position at all a tenable one. He has naturally lost all confidence in his people ; and, unless Europe (exclusive of Russia) insists upon such a position being made for him, which will secure the peace of Bulgaria and Roumelia, by enabling *him* to govern, as the people wish him to do, which was prevented by Russia interfering when the arrangement about Roumelia was effected in April, and which has been turned by undermining Russian intrigues in Bulgaria against him, he cannot go on, and the peace of Europe will *constantly* be disturbed.

The Queen owns herself that she thinks an attempt ought to be made to conciliate Russia, or rather to mediate between Russia and the Prince. For *something* must be done soon. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville never stood by the Prince, and urged on him to govern Bulgaria with Bulgarians ; he did so, and *now* Russia has upset him by secret and unceasing intrigues ! How all this can be effected the Queen does not know, but that something should be done in that direction is quite certain.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

7th Sept. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits that a Cabinet was held to-day, chiefly on Foreign Affairs.

A certain number of Members were averse to the efforts which Lord Iddesleigh and Lord Salisbury had made to induce Prince Alexander to remain ; but, as those efforts were quite ineffectual, it was not worth while to discuss them. But a larger question was dealt with, which in the future may be of supreme importance. A section of the Cabinet showed a

strong inclination to depart from the traditional policy of this country of resisting the designs of Russia upon the Balkan Peninsula. Lord R. Churchill, Lord G. Hamilton, and Mr. Smith were the three who took this view. It was not shared by the majority of the Cabinet, and therefore will not affect the policy of the Government. But it may at any moment produce difficulties, inside the Cabinet, of a serious kind. Their view is that the real battle with Russia is in Afghanistan, that, having Egypt and Cyprus, the south-east of Europe no longer interests us, and that the conduct of the Turks, as well as of the other smaller nationalities, is such that any further attempt to bar the way to Russia is hopeless. Lord Salisbury lays their views before your Majesty, not as adopting them himself, but because the fact that they are adopted by men of such influence as the three he has named is in itself a grave symptom.¹ Lord Salisbury himself only agrees with them to this extent, that the perverse folly of the Turk has made the task of helping him infinitely difficult.

The impression prevails that Germany is in genuine terror at a possible union between France and Russia ; that she has purchased reassuring promises from Russia by the sacrifice of Prince Alexander, and possibly of something more ; and that, on the strength of these promises, she means to require disarmament from France, on the pain of war, if it is refused. This seems to result from combined indications from many quarters.

If there is any truth in this idea, we shall do no good by an active policy at this moment. At this

¹ Commenting on this information, in a letter dated 17th Sept., the Queen writes : " Those three people in the Cabinet who hold adverse opinions do so, not because they wish to see Great Britain weakened, but because they do not understand or believe what *will* weaken us. . . . The Queen hopes Lord Salisbury will put his foot down, and not allow the two young men [presumably Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord George Hamilton], comparatively ignorant and inexperienced in these affairs, to pretend to oppose what older, wiser heads understand and know is the only true policy for this country."

precise juncture, Russia has all the cards in her hands : France from hope ; Germany from the recent agreement ; Austria and Italy because they are bound to Germany ; and Turkey because Thornton has been stupid. But the position of advantage cannot last, the combination must break up ; and then we shall be better able to act with some chance of success.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 8th Sept. 1886. 2.30 p.m.—Just heard from Crown Princess, whose information is alas ! always correct, that Prince Alexander was to have been murdered on the ship, but the Tsar forbade it!! Also that Morier is much pleased now, and went about saying Prince was a liar, and British Government should never have supported him. Russians are astonished at his language, and think him very odd. My constant appeals for many months to have him recalled, or sent for on leave, were never listened to. Do so now or you will rue it. He does awful mischief.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

9th Sept. 1886. 1.15 p.m.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Cypher received ; this evening will speak to Lord Iddesleigh, but respectfully call your Majesty's attention to telegram from Sir R. Morier to-day, and to letter from Sir E. Malet, which came two or three days ago. All our information as to Sir R. Morier's misconduct with respect to Prince Alexander appears to come through Prince Bismarck, and he, as Sir E. Malet says, specially hates Sir R. Morier. On the other hand, Sir R. Morier's own reports, since we have been in office, have shown no ground in this respect ; we have nothing against him except secret reports which we cannot quote, and which, passing through Prince Bismarck, may have been distorted ; the harm he can do at St. Petersburg

is not great ; but to recall him would be a very startling step, for which we could offer no justification.

Prince Louis of Battenberg to Queen Victoria.

JUGENHEIM, 9th September 1886.

DEAREST GRANDMAMA,¹—I arrived here last night straight from Bucharest, and am anxious to lose no time in placing you in possession of all the facts concerning the despatch of that much discussed (and I may say at once *wrongly* discussed) telegram to the Tsar. I must begin by saying that Sandro felt perfectly convinced that he would have to leave Bulgaria, unless he effected a reconciliation with Russia, even before he set foot there again. Still, he never anticipated that the end would come so quickly. Fancy his feelings, when a few hours after he had landed at Rustchuk the Russian Consul there asked to be received in audience, came in full dress, and said : *he was sent by his Government to inform Sandro that Prince Dolgorouki was already on his way to assume the Government of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia !* This, it was plain, could only mean an open declaration of war ; and Sandro had to find some instantaneous means to prevent Dolgorouki from carrying into effect his hostile mission. Clearly the only means was a confidential message to the Emperor. It was a question of life and death. In the present wavering attitude of all the leading men at Sofia, and the general demoralisation of the army, it would have been sufficient for Dolgorouki to issue a proclamation on landing to say that, in the name of the Holy Tsar, he had assumed the Government, and Sandro would have once more fallen ; the populace would have grovelled in the dust before the Imperial Envoy ; it would have been an ignominious end of everything. On the other hand, if Dolgorouki could be induced to place himself in communication with Sandro before taking any decisive step, some *modus*

¹ Prince Louis had married Queen Victoria's grand-daughter, Princess Victoria Mary of Hesse-Darmstadt.

vivendi for the future might have been found in a friendly spirit.

I fully discussed the matter with Sandro, and agreed that some such telegram to the Tsar was the only thing to avert a terrible catastrophe. Sandro therefore sent for the Russian Consul again, and gave him the telegram to send, *in cypher*, as a strictly confidential document.¹ I maintain that, so far from being a mistake, the telegram was masterly in conception, for it built a golden bridge for the Emperor. One mistake I admit Sandro and I made : we imagined that the son of our good and noble Aunt had still somewhere about him *one* remaining spark of gentlemanly and generous feeling. That was of course a fatal mistake, but one which all honest and true men should readily forgive. . . .

Of course, *now* one can see that it was a trap laid for Sandro. Never for one moment intending to send Dolgorouki, the Tsar sent his representative to frighten Sandro into leaving the country at once, *by telling him a lie* ; and, when Sandro's inevitable plea came, he published it, as being an unsolicited and spontaneous overture. . . . It is time that Russia should be shown to the world in her true colours. We have put up with her infamous treatment long enough. . . .

With much love to dear Beatrice, I remain, dear Grandmama, Ever your most devoted and loving Grandson, LUDWIG.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 15th Sept. [1886]. 8 p.m.—Just received following from Crown Princess : “ Important stout

¹ In this telegram Prince Alexander assured the Tsar of his “ unalterable devotion ” to his august person, and said that Russia had given him his crown, and that he was “ ready to return it into the hands of Russia's Sovereign.” The Tsar replied that he could not approve of Prince Alexander's return, “ foreseeing its sinister consequences for the country which has already been so severely tried,” but that the Prince must decide his course himself.

man with loud voice should go to C." This clearly means Sir William White and Constantinople.¹ None of her warnings should now be disregarded. She always knows too well. Great danger at Constantinople. Lord Iddesleigh knows.

Sir William White to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Private.

BUCHAREST, 15th September 1886.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—May I be allowed to present my humble duty to the Queen and my most humble respectful thanks for her Majesty's gracious telegram of the other day?

My memory goes very far back; but it is a very long time since Eastern Europe has experienced anything like the shock produced by what has happened in Bulgaria since the 21st ult. The attack on the Ottoman Fleet at Sinope and the military occupation by Russia of the Danubian principalities was something similar, but the condition of affairs in Europe was considerably different in 1853 to what it is now.

The moral shock to the conscience of the civilised world caused by the momentary success of so infamous a conspiracy, by the perils of a chivalrous Prince and, last not least, the protection extended for the purpose of securing the impunity of the criminals, whether civil or military, and that by military Governments, all these afford matter for deep reflection.

In the East a feeling of insecurity has arisen which may, if not checked in time, produce disastrous results. The Sultan is alarmed beyond his usual condition, and the Turkish power has descended, through culpable inaction, even lower than it was a year ago; whilst Russia appears to the East, and amongst Oriental peoples and races—accessible only to fear, greed, or the effects of the prestige of success—as the gainer, and that by the results of a bold criminal act encouraged by her subordinate agents.

¹ In a letter to the Queen dated the 14th, Lord Salisbury had written that he had expressed to Lord Iddesleigh the opinion that Sir W. White's mission to Constantinople should not be unnecessarily delayed.

These agents are thereby greatly emboldened. Bulgaria, Roumania, Servia, and Macedonia will soon be swarming with them; and the alarm caused at Pesth and Vienna, and the reception given to Prince Alexander, are good indications that the people of Austria-Hungary know well what they have to expect and to fear, even though Count Kalnoky is hampered by the engagements of the Triple Alliance.

In the actual condition of things caused by that alliance, neither Austria-Hungary nor Turkey dare move; for, as I ventured to tell Count Kalnoky, who expressed to me his surprise at Turkish passiveness, "How can that be a matter of surprise, when the Turk always sees the Ambassadors of the two other Empires follow M. de Nelidoff," and, knowing his nature, what conclusion is he likely to draw from what he sees?

And still the entire question now resolves itself to this. How far does Russia mean to go at present? How much farther will Austria, alone or with Allies, permit Russia to go? I should add that alone Austria-Hungary could do very little, and would probably not dare to move, but as the delegations are to meet very shortly at Pesth we may then be able to form some better conjecture as to what they propose.

For a time the Bulgarians will attempt to continue to act on the lines marked out for them by their Prince, but how long will they be able to do so? This will of course depend to some extent on the degree of pressure and on the other means applied by Russia to corrupt them, and on the encouragement they may receive elsewhere.

I do not refer in any manner to what has happened during that most trying period of anxiety, as the Queen will by this time have ample details through Prince Louis and even direct from Prince Alexander himself, and I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir Henry, Yours very truly, W. A. WHITE.

*Prince Alexander to Queen Victoria.**[Translation.]*

JUGENHEIM, 15th Sept. 1886.—. . . The sudden termination of my reign has grieved me deeply; less for the sake of the loss of my crown of thorns than for the terribly sad experiences I have had. Those very Bulgarians to whom I had done most good, and in whom I had placed the greatest confidence, those are the ones by whom I have been betrayed and sold. And the army of which I was so proud has lent itself to take me prisoner.

There are two causes which have brought about my fall: the political immaturity of the Bulgarian people—the unreliability of the Bulgarian intelligence; and the shortsighted policy of Europe.

I was made use of as a bulwark against Russia, and, as soon as the latter took this amiss, I was allowed to fall without an attempt being made to help me (viz. Germany and Austria). Besides that, Europe committed a great fault at the Conference of Constantinople by enforcing such a form of union of the two Bulgarias that the position of an hereditary sovereign was lowered to that of a mere Turkish official. All my protestations and entreaties were in vain. I was not even listened to. Europe acted upon the false principle that “if I were not able to maintain myself for five years, I should not be able to do so at all.” But it was overlooked that this was the very point which afforded Russia a pretext for her agitations. The protocol of the 5th April was my political death warrant. The people who had come victorious out of the war were cruelly disappointed by the issue of the peace of Bucharest and the Conference of Constantinople, and Russian Agents did not fail to work upon this discontent. “You will not obtain the Union as long as you have the Prince,” was the watchword constantly reiterated to the already irritated Bul-

garians; "Instead of Crestovitch Pasha¹ you have got Battenberg Pasha," they said to the Roumelians. "For this then we have spent millions and have been victorious" was their reply.

The discontent which pervaded all classes had to find a victim, and the Russians knew cleverly how to influence public opinion and to fix the odium upon me. In addition to this, there appeared at Sofia in July the members of the Turkish Commission for the revision of the Statute, seventeen in number. The impression this made was depressing and crushing. The Russians made use of this, and worked with redoubled zeal upon the susceptibilities of the people. "Look! even the common administration of the two provinces your Pasha wishes now again to separate," they said. "Quick, make up your minds before it is too late; drive him away, that Russia may come to your help." Under the impression caused by this Commission, the plot was formed, a plot in which the Ministry, the Army, and the Clergy took part. How often in the summer did I explain to the diplomatists who urged upon me to appoint the delegates that it was impossible to do so, the exasperation of the people being too great. But in vain!

I have been much sinned against by Europe, may it be a lesson for the future! The Regency and Ministry appointed by me consists, with the exception of Karaveloff, of the best men in the country. They will be conciliatory towards Russia, yet at the same time strongly defend their national independence. If they only receive a little support they will maintain themselves well. On account of Russia, they will consider my re-election as useless, and therefore inopportune. We are looking upon a sad drama, and the first act in my life is over. What the future may reserve for me I know not. If only part of your Majesty's advice and forethought for Bulgaria and myself had been followed and acted upon by Europe, matters would stand quite differently now. SANDRO.

¹ The Turkish Governor-General before the Revolution.

Lord Randolph Churchill to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 21st Sept. 1886.—. . . Lord Randolph Churchill would humbly submit for your Majesty's information that the attendance of the supporters of the Government during this session at so unusual and so trying a period of the year has been remarkably satisfactory and encouraging. Constant good humour and patience and a willingness to assist the Government by refraining from speaking under circumstances often most provoking, has marked this attitude; and, generally speaking, the composition of the present Conservative Party in the House from many points of view, and its unity, afford ground for great hope as regards the future in all other respects sufficiently anxious. The members of the Government as a whole, Lord Randolph Churchill ventures to think, have been more than usually successful in gaining from the House a favourable judgment as to their administrative skill and zeal; and if only the Government is successful in inducing the House of Commons next year to reform the procedure of the House, so as to put down wilful obstruction, and if the Government of Ireland can do without coercion, Lord Randolph Churchill is of opinion that the somewhat gloomy view which he thought it his duty to put before your Majesty some days ago¹ as to the House of Commons position and prospects of the Government will not be borne out by the course of events.

TREASURY CHAMBERS, 23rd Sept.—Lord Randolph Churchill submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and would venture humbly to express the very great gratification with which he learned that his reports of the proceedings in the House of Commons during the session have been satisfactory to your Majesty, and he would also venture humbly to express his profound and abiding gratitude for the approval

¹ In a long letter dated 31st Aug.

of his conduct which your Majesty was so graciously pleased to intimate to him.¹

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Cypher Telegram.]

21st Sept. 10 p.m.—You told me when you left office in February that I should impress on Lord Rosebery importance of bringing as few subjects on *foreign affairs* before the *Cabinet* as possible. Trust you will follow this course now.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd Sept. 1886.—. . . A Cabinet was held yesterday, which was almost entirely occupied with the preparation of your Majesty's Speech²; there was no mention of Foreign Affairs.

Lord Salisbury is still fully persuaded of the truth of the advice to which your Majesty refers. He did not depart from it on the occasion when he had to report to your Majesty a division in the views of the Cabinet. The Cabinet was summoned specially at the instance of the dissentient members in order to consider Lord Iddesleigh's telegram (for which Lord Salisbury was responsible) about the inexpediency of Prince Alexander's abdication. It was not, therefore, Lord Salisbury's fault that the matter was brought before the Cabinet.

With respect to the policy to be pursued in the South-East of Europe, Lord Salisbury submits respectfully the following observations. Whether England should speak, in the way of protest or remonstrance, depends very much on the support her language is likely to obtain. If she represents

¹ The Queen had written, in a letter dated 23rd Sept., reproduced in facsimile in *Lord Randolph Churchill*, vol. ii, ch. 13: "Lord Randolph has shown much skill and judgment in his leadership during this exceptional session of Parliament." Unfortunately, it has been impossible to find room for more than a very small selection of Lord Randolph's reports.

² On the prorogation of Parliament.

a powerful popular force, as was the case last winter in the matter of Eastern Roumelia, her voice will command attention ; or if she has others in *whom she can trust* ; or if there is a rising of English popular feeling, of which foreign nations are very much in dread ; in all these cases a strong diplomatic utterance commands respect, and will strengthen the position of this country. But if the feeling in the country we are dealing with is uncertain and divided, if we have no ally, and if English opinion is indifferent, and, on account of distress, timid about the danger of war ; in these cases foreign nations pay little attention to the words of our diplomacy, and we lose rather than gain authority by uttering a useless protest. For these reasons Lord Salisbury humbly advises that we would maintain a reserved attitude in respect to the purely internal part of this Bulgarian controversy. Any aggressive action or effort on the part of Russia will probably bring the Hungarians forward, and enable us to speak with more effect.

Lord Salisbury proposes with your Majesty's permission to go to Dieppe to-morrow and to stay three weeks ; and then to accept your Majesty's gracious invitation to Balmoral.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 21st Sept. 1886.—Mr. Gladstone expressed such an admiration of the Prince of Bulgaria's conduct, bravery, and ability that the Queen thinks he ought to see the accompanying letters which she received from his brother Prince Louis of Battenberg, which give a true account of the horrible treatment the Prince met with from the Tsar and Russia, as well, alas ! from so many of the upper classes and officers.

The Queen would add that it is a known fact that the Russian Minister had prepared a moderate and conciliatory reply to the Prince's telegram, which the Tsar tore up, and sent the brutal one off *without* the

knowledge of anyone. The audacity of Russia seems daily to increase, and ought to be energetically checked.

Please return the letters when done with.

The Bulgarians are showing great spirit, and will fight for their independence rather than become slaves of Russia.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, 23rd Sept. 1886.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and returns, with his best thanks, the letters which your Majesty has been pleased so kindly to transmit for his perusal. These letters appear to Mr. Gladstone to throw a most pleasing light on the character of the writer, and also on the conduct of Prince Alexander in the recent emergencies.

In other respects what they disclose is painful. Mr. Gladstone had not been aware that the taint in the Bulgarian Army, which is so significant and minatory, had been, at least among the officers, of the very extended character which is here shown.

The conduct of the Emperor of Russia appears to be altogether inexcusable, whether it be referable to a paltry personal aversion, or whether, bearing a more formidable interpretation, it indicates a determined disposition to trespass on the liberties acquired for Bulgaria by his father, and to disturb the European settlement of the Balkan Peninsula.

Mr. Gladstone earnestly hopes that the unanimity which has now for some time characterised the sentiments of the British nation on this important question may long continue. He also wishes, without much present hope, that the policy of France on that question was more rational and more intelligible. . . .

Prince Louis of Battenberg to Queen Victoria.

SCHLOSS HEILIGENBERG, 24th September 1886.

DEAREST GRANDMAMA,—Your most kind and sympathetic letter arrived in due time and touched

us all deeply. I should have answered at once, after having spoken with Sandro, had I not attached some importance to your receiving at the same time a full verbal report from Liko, who I knew intended starting back directly after Franzjos' birthday (to-day). The fact is that Sandro is very anxious indeed that the world should cease speaking of him as soon as possible, and that in consequence he is very much averse to having anything published, which might look as if he were trying to make propaganda for his cause. And I cannot help thinking he is right. A true account of all that happened during those last three weeks of his reign had already appeared in various newspapers, for instance *The Times* reprinted my own account, such as I gave it to that Berlin Journal, etc. Sandro's own manifesto on abdicating puts forth his reasons in a dignified and manly style. Anything further must weaken the good impression produced by the moderation and simplicity of that document. I hope and believe that by this time all thinking people will have understood all about that famous interchange of telegrams with the Tsar.

In short, I believe, after a good deal of careful thought and discussion, together with my family, that Sandro's cause can at this present moment be best served by allowing all this excitement to calm down, by letting the grass grow over this, by making his name disappear as soon as possible from the columns of the European press. All our endeavours here have been steadily directed towards that object, at the urgent request of Sandro himself. His own idea is, that he may some day be called upon to play a prominent part in the East once more; but, he has done with the country at present, and wild horses would not drag him back there, if he were to be re-elected now. That is natural enough; but therefore no good can be done by continuing the discussion. . . . I remain, dearest Grandmama, Your most devoted and loving grandson, **LUDWIG.**

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

5th October 1886.—Lord Iddesleigh presents his humble duty to the Queen, and has the honour to inform your Majesty that he has to-day had a long visit from M. de Staal, who talked at considerable length of the special responsibility of Russia to Bulgaria, which she had called into existence, of the danger to which the country was exposed by the terrorism of the party now in power there, and of the object of General Kaulbars' mission,¹ which is, it appears, to calm and tranquillise the minds of the Bulgarians and to offer them soothing counsels.

Lord Iddesleigh disputed the exclusive claim of Russia, and also the calming tendency of the General's counsels. There was nothing new in what he said.

M. de Staal let fall an observation on the possibility of Prince Alexander of Oldenburg being an eligible candidate. Lord Iddesleigh asked what was his relationship to the Imperial family, to which M. de Staal replied that he was not an Imperial Highness, though his wife was.

[Copy.] Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 7th Oct. 1886.—The Queen thanks Lord Iddesleigh for his three last letters. . . . The Queen hopes that, if Austria is faint-hearted, we shall not change but support the Bulgarians, who are so shamefully used. We owe it to ourselves and to our ancient traditions to give our support, even if only moral, to a nation struggling for its independence. The Queen was really inclined to laugh at the account Lord Iddesleigh gave of M. de Staal's description of General Kaulbars' advice and of the "reign of terror." It is a monstrous assertion, entirely the reverse of the real facts. . . .

¹ See Introductory Note to Chaps. 1 and 2.

Prince Alexander to Queen Victoria.[*Translation.*]

JUGENHEIM, 9th October 1886.

. . . I also believe in there being some future in store for me, but it can only be after the disorder in Bulgaria has become so great that Europe feels itself placed in the position of proposing my reassuming the government of Bulgaria. Then I would make my conditions, Independence, Union, and Kingdom. If Europe accepts these conditions, then my future is secured. But until then I am firmly resolved to keep myself quite aloof from all Bulgarian affairs.

The Bulgarians have behaved so foolishly, that it is as well they should suffer for a time in order to be brought to the sense of how well it had gone with them hitherto.

The behaviour of Gen. Kaulbars is a satisfaction to me, for it obliges the Bulgarians to rally round Stambouloff, who is a true patriot, and deprives Russia of her last remnant of credit in Europe. Prince Bismarck will be dragged into a war in spite of himself, and then England will take part in this war against Russia with unparalleled enthusiasm. This is my firm conviction. . . . SANDRO.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 14th Oct. 1886.—The Queen thanks Lord Iddesleigh for his letter received yesterday, and for the two received to-day. She will have great pleasure in writing to Sir E. Thornton, for whom she has the greatest regard, and sending him her photogravure. Will Lord Iddesleigh inform the Queen when he may be expected, and *what* she should say to him, as it is a little difficult? . . .

The Queen is greatly relieved at hearing that both Lord Iddesleigh and Lord Salisbury agree with her in feeling that some sign of life must be given by us, some remonstrance be made to Russia; and she is glad that Lord Iddesleigh is going to pursue the course she suggested in speaking to M. de Staal. She

thinks he should some day ask him why the Tsar has taken such an aversion to his cousin? A personal dislike for a Prince so universally liked is almost incomprehensible; but, allowing even for that, a personal dislike should have nothing to do with objections to his rule in Bulgaria. What are those objections? The Prince was a wise constitutional Sovereign, and sincerely wished to be on the best of terms with Russia, while governing his people patriotically. Why would the Tsar not agree to this? Why would he not say what he objected to, and why rejoice at his fall?

The Queen is much struck by Count Bismarck knowing of no other Candidate. The Prince of Oldenburg [we] clearly could not accept. He would be a Russian Satrap. . . .

Mr. Dering will doubtless do well at St. Petersburg, but he ought to be well spoken to before going there. Sir F. Lascelles should certainly be appointed to Bucharest, and should be told of his appointment; but he ought decidedly to remain at Sofia for the present.

16th Oct.—The Queen has telegraphed to express her satisfaction at the firm language¹ held by Lord Iddesleigh to M. de Staal, which is sure to do good, especially if he informs the other Governments of what we have done. Silence would certainly have implied consent, which would never have done for Great Britain, who has *always been*, and she hopes *always will be*, "*the defender of the weak.*"

The difficulties in the way of a candidate are so great that the Queen is strongly inclined to think that Stambouloff should be continued as Regent *ad interim*. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 19th Oct. 1886.—Saw Lord Salisbury. Speaking of Russia and the other Powers, Lord

¹ Lord Iddesleigh had submitted a memorandum of a conversation with M. de Staal on 14th Oct., in which he had protested strongly against General Kaulbars' proceedings.

Salisbury said, it was clear, that it was to the nations and not to the Governments that we must look. It was all very difficult, but the nations were all our way of thinking. The Governments are very blind to go on as they do.

*Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*¹
[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 26th Oct. 1886. 9.30 a.m. —Conclude that we shall not receive the monstrous declaration of the Russian Government of the illegality of the Bulgarian elections without expressing our dissent. Austria's expression of wish to please Russia is contemptible and unwise. A firm front and declaration of disapproval of Russia's pretensions would not have provoked war but done great good. To allow her to bully Europe and trample on Bulgaria is as impolitic as it is wrong. We at least must not do that.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

26th Oct. 1886.—Lord Iddesleigh presents his humble duty to the Queen and has the honour to inform your Majesty that M. de Staal called on him to-day, and brought a note to the effect that the Russian Government understood that it was to be feared the Bulgarian Government would proceed to summary trial, and perhaps execution, of the prisoners charged with complicity in the attempt upon Prince Alexander; that the Russian Government would consider this a direct provocation, and would proceed to act accordingly; and that, in view of the serious consequences to be apprehended, they hoped for the assistance (*concours*) of the Powers to prevent a result which might compel them to abandon the attitude of moderation which they have hitherto observed!

Lord Iddesleigh asked upon what facts this information rested; but M. de Staal was ignorant of anything but the telegram which he had received. Lord Iddesleigh therefore said he must first ascertain

¹ Also cyphered to Lord Iddesleigh.

the truth. He also pointed out to M. de Staal the impossibility of Bulgaria's having a fair chance of governing herself if she was to be impeded in the maintenance of justice by another Government's choosing to say that the elections were illegal, and her position illegal in consequence.

Lord Iddesleigh also made enquiry about the two ships which it was said that Russia had announced her intention to send to Varna. M. de Staal said they were two "clippers," intended to make a demonstration at Varna in order to preserve the Russian Vice-Consulate from the attacks with which it was threatened. It was, he said, *bloqué*. He assured Lord Iddesleigh that this move did not indicate an occupation.

Lord Iddesleigh is communicating with the British representatives at the various Courts.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Iddesleigh.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 27th Oct. 1886. 11.30 a.m.—
If Russians send ships to Varna, we ought to send two also to protect our Consul and subjects.

What answer have you given to extraordinary declaration of illegality?

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

27th Oct. 1886. 6 p.m.—Humble duty. Lord Iddesleigh wrote full account of conversation with M. de Staal yesterday. Your Majesty will have received it by messenger. Lord Salisbury not in town to-day. We could not send ships to Varna without serious inconvenience and risk. Lord Iddesleigh will write more fully this evening.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 28th Oct. 1886. 7.15 p.m.—
Sir F. Lascelles' No. 231. Think state of affairs

very serious. We must really not submit without protest to this action of Russia's. Can we not put pressure on Turkey? If ships cannot be sent, something must be done to mark our displeasure. Fear Lord I. is again slow.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

29th Oct. 1886. 1 p.m.—. . . Bulgarian matter requires cautious handling. Russia as yet has done nothing, and said nothing publicly, at variance with Treaty of Berlin. If we step forward in a perfectly isolated condition, and use defiant language, it may make us ultimately ridiculous: as we have no intention of resorting to force by ourselves in case of occupation of Bulgaria.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Cypher Telegram.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 1st Nov. 1886. 11.45 a.m.—
Please telegraph about Bombay after Cabinet.

The release of the would-be murderers of their Sovereign by Russian threats is monstrous. We *must* express our *horror*. No country or Government will be safe. Have telegraphed very strongly to Lord Iddesleigh. We are nothing any more, and I cannot say what I feel and suffer.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

1st Nov. 7.30 p.m.—Humble duty. The Cabinet approved the appointment of the Duke of Connaught to the command of Madras or Bombay, whichever should be decided by the military and Indian authorities.

In reference to Bulgaria, they instructed Lord Iddesleigh to address Austria at once in the most earnest manner, urging upon her the necessity of a protest to Russia from both Powers against the outrageous conduct of General Kaulbars in demanding the release of the conspirators.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

1st Nov. 1886.—Lord Iddesleigh presents his humble duty to the Queen and begs to express his extreme regret that your Majesty should think him remiss in answering your Majesty's questions. He has sometimes felt a difficulty in doing so without entering into inconveniently long discussions. There is no doubt that the weakness of our position lies in the impossibility of giving effect to remonstrances which we cannot support by force, because we cannot reach the spot where it could be applied, nor by the co-operation of other Powers, because none of the Great Powers will join us.

As Lord Iddesleigh has already telegraphed to your Majesty, the Cabinet have agreed, though not without difficulty, to his addressing a despatch to Austria, and he will endeavour, in doing so, to make use of some of your Majesty's suggestions.

Lord Iddesleigh humbly ventures to doubt whether it really is desirable to delay the election of a Prince, or to prolong the Regency. He thinks that an election is desirable for the purpose of putting the Bulgarian Government on a more regular footing, and of depriving the Russian party of the excuses which they draw from the real or supposed weakness of the present Government.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 2nd Nov. 1886. 10.30 a.m.—Am much pleased by your telegram. It ought to be Bombay as Arthur must have nothing to do with Burma.

Am glad to hear a strong appeal is to be made to Austria. Trust the despatch, which Lord Iddesleigh telegraphs will be prepared, will be sent off at once (as you told me) by *telegraph*; else a written one may take a week or more before it reaches its destination, and prompt action is absolutely necessary. Have

told Lord Iddesleigh this, but trust you will press it also.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 8th Nov. 1886.—Saw Lord Salisbury and talked over all the present anxious topics : of Austria and her miserable weakness and vacillation ; of Russia and her monstrous behaviour in Bulgaria, and indeed everywhere ! He said he meant to-morrow, at the Mansion House [Guildhall], to say something about Russia and Bulgaria. We deplored the incredible conduct of Prince Bismarck, who would seem to have lost his nerve and foresight. The accounts from Ireland were, on the whole, better. He thought Sir M. H. Beach was anxious that the prorogation of Parliament should not be for long, so that if necessary Parliament could be called together for passing some stronger measures.

10th Nov.—After luncheon, saw Lord Cranbrook. Talked of yesterday's dinner and how well Lord Salisbury had spoken.¹ Then held a Council, after which saw Mr. Smith, who said things looked very much as if there would be a war next year—and we must be prepared. Saw Lord Iddesleigh. He talked of Russia and of having seen M. de Staal, who worked himself up into a great state at Lord Salisbury's speech, and thought he could not have considered what he said, to which Lord Iddesleigh replied, that Lord Salisbury always reflected and weighed much what he said. This only increased M. de Staal's

¹ Lord Salisbury said that the officers who mutinied at Sofia were "debauched by foreign gold" ; that Europe was thrown into consternation to hear that the resources of diplomacy had been exhausted "to save them from the doom they had so justly merited." "Encroachment after encroachment upon the rights of a free and independent people" had followed, "fortunately hitherto limited within the bounds of diplomatic menace." England had an interest in maintaining the treaty of Berlin, "but not an isolated interest." It would do its part if "the Powers of Europe, or any considerable portion of them," did theirs. The first interest in the Balkans was that of Austria ; her policy would largely shape ours. He believed that peace would be maintained ; and that the infant liberties of Bulgaria, whose people had behaved well, would not be destroyed.

anger, and he said that his last hope was gone. However, having said this much, he relapsed into his usual suavity. He talked of Austria and Turkey and their Ambassadors being pleased with the French.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th Nov.—We must not and cannot agree to a Russian officer,¹ of very bad character, being proposed to Bulgaria, who will surely never agree. If a member or near relation of one of the reigning houses of the Great Powers is impossible, a Russian subject and officer is an equal impossibility.

We must not agree and must be firm. It is an insult to Bulgaria and to Prince Alexander himself.

You must be firm, and tell Austria and Turkey we cannot, according to the Treaty of Berlin, agree to such a monstrous proposal. Weakness now would be fatal. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 19th Nov. 1886.—After luncheon saw Lord Salisbury. Much talk of Gen. Kaulbars' violence and his departure being such a good thing. It is in fact a great triumph for the Bulgarians, and his last rude ultimatum disgusts all the countries. Told Lord Salisbury that some think a Republic in Bulgaria would be a good thing; talked of the immense effect in encouraging Bulgaria and Austria, and in checking Russia. Then talked of my Jubilee and the arrangements for it.

22nd Nov.—Lord and Lady Randolph Churchill, Capt. Curzon, who commands the *Osborne* (he took Marie and all the children to Malta and had a dreadful passage), Emily A. and Lord Bridport dined. We remained talking in the corridor till half-past ten. Lady Randolph (an American) is very handsome and very dark. He said some strange things to me, which I will refer to later.

¹ The Prince of Mingrelia.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 25th Nov. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that he saw yesterday M. de Staal, who was about to go on leave. The latter was amiable; of course complained much of the Guildhall speech, especially of the “foreign gold,” of which Lord Salisbury gave the explanation which he had already given through Lord Iddesleigh, namely, that it applied to the corruption practised by the Slav Committees, who had no necessary connection with the Russian Government. Lord Salisbury on his side strongly complained of General Kaulbars’ proceedings. M. de Staal did not attempt to defend them; and admitted that the mission was a mistake. Lord Salisbury also told him the objections which existed to the candidature of the Prince of Mingrelia; and recommended a brief interim during which passions might calm down. The Russian Ambassador did not seem to attach much importance to the proposal of the Prince of Mingrelia. Lord Salisbury told him that what England would continue to insist upon was the freedom and independence of the Bulgarians, but that she had no desire to establish any isolated influence of her own. With this declaration Monsieur de Staal expressed himself much satisfied. . . .

[Copy.] Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25th Nov. 1886.—The Queen has just received Lord Salisbury’s letter of to-day, and is pleased at all he said to M. de Staal.

She thinks the accounts sent by telegram, viz.: Mr. Phipps 142, Sir F. Lascelles 264, Sir H. Rumbold 184, and Sir R. Morier’s 176 secret, *very* important and *very* encouraging.

If the Bulgarians refuse to elect the Prince of Mingrelia and Austria does not like him, and would only consent if all the Powers agreed and the Bulgarians would elect him, the danger of this wretched

puppet of Russia being placed on the Bulgarian throne is past ! Would it not be well to encourage a Bulgarian Deputation, which is again spoken of, being sent to the different Courts, as well as to agree to a Conference ? The whole question might be sifted and discussed, and matters be developed which otherwise could not be.

The Queen had intended ere this to write to Lord Salisbury about what Lord R. Churchill said to her the other evening ; but the *event* of Tuesday morning¹ so absorbed her, and the letters and telegrams she has received and written have been so overwhelming, that she could not do so ; which, however, she will try to do now. The Queen thought Lord Randolph looking very ill. He said the Cabinet had decided to meet on the 13th of January on account of the Measures for Procedure which, however, Lord Salisbury had *not* told her.

She spoke of the fatigues of the last Session, and he then said how glad he was Lord Hartington had not gone to India, and was surprised when he heard that the Queen had put great pressure on him *not* to go.² He thought parties were in so strange a position that it could not last. The Queen replied that the separation between the Unionists and Home Rulers was very strong (which she knows to be the case), and he replied, between the Leaders, but not so much among the followers. And then he went on to say whether she did not think they ought to try and approach as nearly to Lord Hartington's views as possible ? She replied that it would be a mistake for Conservatives to alter their principles, and to try to outbid the Liberals, in which he agreed. The Queen added that she thought there was little difference between Lord Hartington and the present Government ; to which he answered there was a very

¹ The birth, at Windsor Castle, of Princess Beatrice's eldest son, now Marquis of Carisbrooke.

² The letter, of the 19th Oct., which the Queen wrote to Lord Hartington on this subject, was published in Holland's *Devonshire*, vol. ii, p. 178.

great difference amongst his colleagues' views and Lord Hartington's, and there was a tendency to relapse to the opinions of '74. The Queen said it was important that there should be no changes of Government again, and that the present Government should continue, especially in the present state of foreign affairs.

He strongly condemned the conduct of Russia, and said he greatly dreaded their attacking us in India. The Queen replied she had no fear for India, but had the greatest for Europe. He said nothing in reply. He also said there was great difficulty about Local Government. The Queen thought it looked as if he was likely to be disagreeable, and wanted the Queen to agree with him.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 26th Nov. 1886.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty the following observations on Lord Randolph Churchill's conversation. Last Friday week and last Monday Local Government for England was under consideration. The proposal of Mr. Ritchie was that Quarter Sessions (as a County authority), Boards of Guardians, Highway Boards, and Sanitary Boards should be abolished; and in their place should be established County Councils for Counties, and District Councils for Unions, each being elected by household suffrage with the ballot. This measure would remove the Magistrates who now sit at Quarter Sessions and on Boards of Guardians from any share in the Local Government. The Conservatives might make up their minds to accept this, though it would be distasteful to them.

But there is a far more serious objection. It would have the effect of giving the administration of the Poor Law into the hands of the agricultural labourers without control; and a lavish and demoralising administration of outdoor relief would be the probable consequence. The experiment is perfectly novel, this class never having had the election of

Guardians uncontrolled, even in boroughs. In view of its danger the Cabinet were of opinion unanimously, except Lord Randolph, that it would be better to put off the part of the proposed change which concerns the Poor Law, namely, the abolition of Boards of Guardians, and concern ourselves this year wholly with the construction of County Boards, which do not raise the Poor Law question. Lord Randolph opposes this course strongly, and will throw in its way all the obstacles his official position enables him to offer. Your Majesty was therefore quite justified in the interpretation you put upon his language.

He is, however, mistaken in thinking that he is carrying out Lord Hartington's views. Yesterday, Lord Salisbury met Lord Hartington and discussed this matter with him fully. He seemed to feel the Poor Law difficulty; but his suggestion for dealing with it was slightly different. He proposed that we should postpone the *whole* of the English Local Government; and instead deal with the *Irish* Local Government, upon which this difficulty about the Poor Law does not arise, because no one is foolish enough to wish to give absolute power over the Poor Law to the Irish agricultural labourer. Lord Hartington urged, in favour of the same course, that Mr. Gladstone would certainly challenge us to produce our Irish plan at once, and that if we did not do it he might not find it in his power to keep the Unionists together. Lord Salisbury has written to Sir Michael Beach on the subject.

Lord Salisbury has to-day seen Lord Cowper, who has been in Ireland as Chairman of a Commission, and he reports a decided improvement.

*Lord Kilmarnock*¹ to *Sir Henry Ponsonby*.

Private.

MUNCASTER CASTLE, 26th November 1886.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—We were horrified to find, this evening, that one of our little boys, who is ill, had

¹ Succeeded his father as 20th Earl of Erroll in 1891. Also 23rd High Constable of Scotland.

written to her Majesty, and that the servant had most stupidly posted the letter, of course without our knowledge. In case it should reach its destination I hope you will explain the circumstances, and will express our profound regret that such a thing should have happened. I find he had been reading a story in which the hero had taken a similar step, which I suppose put the idea into his head; and I hope his extreme youth may be accepted as an excuse for his indiscretion. I remain, Yours very truly, KILMARNOCK.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4th Dec. 1886.—Pray tell Lord Kilmarnock that the Queen was delighted with the little letter of his little [boy], as nothing pleases her more than the artless kindness of innocent children. She has written him an answer, and has posted it to him.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 8th Dec. 1886.—Just before two, good Sandro arrived with Liko and Herr von Riedesel. He was looking well and as handsome as ever. Took him in at once to see Beatrice, who was waiting in her room with the little baby on her lap. Then went to luncheon. It seemed like a dream to see Sandro sitting quietly *amongst* us, after his having gone through such unspeakable dangers and horrors. Had tea with Beatrice and found Sandro with her and Liko. He began talking of what had passed, and what had led to it, though not of the horrible details. Now they want him to return, but he has absolutely refused to do so, unless the position and conditions were quite different. A family dinner, including Lenchen. Several telegrams arrived—one from Mr. Wyndham from Belgrade saying the Bulgarian delegates had left for Vienna, and that King Milan had seen them “and expressed to them the hope that Bulgaria would continue her opposition to the re-establishment of Russian influence, not only in her own interest, but in that of Servia!”

9th Dec.—Sandro breakfasted with us. He said he had slept well, almost for the first time, as he has been constantly in the habit of waking, still seeing those faces and hearing those words and cries of the dreadful 21st of August. He spoke of the bad feeling having been spread pretty widely in the Army by the Russians, who bribed and seduced the young and very ignorant men. When he returned there had been great danger. They tried to upset the train, and he was to have been murdered in the Cathedral. It was intensely interesting to hear him speak of his terrible experiences, but his poor face looked so sad while doing so.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 16th Dec. 1886.—Saw Lord Salisbury and talked about Ireland, and Dillon's being taken up for conspiracy. Sir H. James would not accept a Life Peerage, which it had been hoped he would. Spoke of Lord Iddesleigh, and his probably not being able to go on long, in which case Lord Salisbury said he should have to take the post himself. "We are not a happy family," he remarked. Lord Randolph Churchill was a great difficulty, that he wanted to reduce the Army, which Mr. Smith considered quite impossible, and then threatened to resign. I said he must not be given way to, in which Lord Salisbury agreed. It would be patched up for a time, he thought.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th Dec. 1886.—Hope no truth in respect of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg¹ as candidate. He is totally unfit—delicate, eccentric,

¹ A cousin of Queen Victoria, fifth son of Prince Augustus of Coburg and of Princess Clémentine ; born 1861, elected Prince of Bulgaria in July 1887, proclaimed King in 1908, and after the War resigned in 1918 in favour of his son, the present King Boris.

and effeminate. Only seen it in *Times*. Should be stopped at once. . . .¹

17th Dec.—It is important that it should be known that *I* and my family have nothing to do with this absurd pretension of this foolish young cousin of mine. . . .²

Princess Augustus of Coburg to Queen Victoria.

PALAIS COBOURG, VIENNE, 15^{me} Décembre 1886.

MA CHÈRE VICTORIA,—Comme cousine et fidèle amie, je ne veux pas que tu apprennes par les journaux ou par la voie diplomatique que les délégués Bulgares ont offert à mon fils Ferdinand la Principauté de Bulgarie. Je crois que l'Allemagne et l'Autriche seraient favorables à cette candidature. Je ne doute pas que, du moment que le Prince Alexandre de Battenberg a renoncé à la Principauté de Bulgarie, tu ne préfères ton neveu, un Cobourg, à tout autre candidat ? Mais tout dépend de la volonté et de la décision de l'Empereur de Russie, et la proposition doit rester, pour le moment, secrète entre nous. Je n'ajoute rien aujourd'hui et je te quitte en me disant comme toujours ta tendrement dévouée cousine et vieille amie, CLÉMENTINE.

Queen Victoria to the Princess Augustus of Coburg.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR, 21 Décembre 1886.

MA CHÈRE CLÉM.—J'ai reçu ta lettre du 15, le 18, et il faut que j'avoue avec assez d'étonnement.

Les journaux avaient déjà annoncé que Ferdinand s'était offert comme candidat pour la Bulgarie³ ; donc, quand ta lettre m'est parvenue, ce n'était plus un secret.

Sachant combien tu aimes ce fils, je m'étonne de

¹ The Queen sent a similar telegram to Lord Iddesleigh.

² Lord Salisbury, on the 19th, told her Majesty that it did not seem as if Prince Ferdinand's candidature was being taken seriously.

³ In replying, on the 26th December, Princess Augustus wrote : " Mon fils Ferdinand ne s'est pas offert comme candidat pour la Bulgarie. Les délégués Bulgares lui ont demandé avec instance d'accepter cette candidature, et bien d'autres le désiraient comme eux et le désirent encore ! ! "

ce que tu aies voulu du tout entendre parler de ce projet ; et à ta place je serai reconnaissante qu'il n'en soit plus question.

Je me dis pour toujours, ta toute dévouée cousine et fidèle amie, V. R. I.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22nd Dec. 1886.—. . . The Queen wishes now to write earnestly and seriously on the subject of Bulgaria, which is becoming less and less likely to be solved by the choice of a Prince. The telegrams of Mr. O'Connor¹ show that the Bulgarians will on no account elect the Prince of Mingrelia, and the last, No. 291 of the 20th, shows that they would at once elect their own beloved and distinguished Prince, if Mingrelia was pressed upon them. That untrustworthy Count H. Bismarck said, *that would be very imprudent* on account of Russia ! Now really to feel that *Russia* is the *only obstacle* to a peaceful settlement of this question, for the other Powers only object on account of Russia, is *too bad*, in fact monstrous !

This leads the Queen to mention, what she has so often before spoken of : viz., to *ask* Russia *what* it is that makes her object to Prince Alexander ? *What* has he *done* or *not* done, which makes the Tsar so furious ? *What* are the accusations against the Prince ? Let the Tsar state them to the Powers, for really it is not enough for him merely to say he dislikes him, and therefore Europe must bow to his will, and go on looking for a Prince, whom they will *never* find. The Queen spoke quite openly to Prince Alexander on this subject, and he said he had always wished this to be done, as he was *sure* he could answer all the accusations against himself.

He, however, made another suggestion, which strikes the Queen as the *best* solution for a *time*, at *least*, which would give breathing time to Europe and

¹ Afterwards Sir Nicholas O'Connor and Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

enable the Emperor of Russia to recover himself and to get out of the great mess he has got into, and which he clearly will have great difficulty in getting out of. This suggestion¹ is, that the Powers should agree on some distinguished General being named, who can be appointed European Commissioner of United Bulgaria, until passions should have calmed down enough, to render the choice of a Prince possible. The following persons would be well fitted for such a post :

1. *Aleko Pasha*, a Bulgarian by birth, who was for five years Governor of Eastern Roumelia and for whom the Bulgarians have much sympathy. As he has no children and is old, there could be no objection on dynastic grounds.

2. *Goltz Pasha*, an excellent and very gentleman-like and clever man, whom the Sultan is very fond of, and who in every respect would be well qualified to govern in an unbiased manner. He is thoroughly acquainted with the East. Goltz is a German Staff officer, and well known as a military author.

The Queen thinks this would be by far the best solution and arrangement, for a time at least. The Delegation will very likely discuss the whole question, and this might be mentioned.

The Queen always thinks and hopes that this really very remarkable and distinguished, as well as excellent, young Prince may not be lost to the world ; for there are *very few* like him, and she is, therefore, very anxious, if possible, to avoid a dynasty being founded by some inferior other Prince.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 23rd Dec. 1886.—Read in the papers with great astonishment the startling account of Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation, which we could hardly believe, though it was announced in a very authoritative way. But directly after came a cypher

¹ Prince Alexander had drawn up, on 21st December, a memorandum embodying this suggestion.

from Lord Salisbury, announcing the fact ! Sent for Sir H. Ponsonby, who was as astonished as I was. I sent him off at once to see Lord Salisbury, who is at Hatfield, where there had been a ball last night.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd Dec. 1886 (11.15 a.m.).—Just received your startling communication, which I read without crediting it in *The Times*. He dined here on Monday, and spoke of the procedure very sanguinely, and generally of Parliament not fatiguing him ; and not a symptom of resigning. . . .

*Lord Randolph Churchill to the Prince of Wales.*¹

[*Extract.*]

TREASURY CHAMBERS, 23rd Dec. 1886.—. . . A strong divergence of political views and opinions had always existed between the other Members of the Government and myself, and it was better that such difference of opinion, which was certain to produce weak executive action, should be brought to a close before Parliament. I regret intensely being deprived of the high honour of being a servant of the Queen ; and I part with Lord Salisbury's Government with melancholy, anxiety, and apprehension. But these things were fixed and could not be altered or controlled. . . . The enclosed correspondence will show you how wide and deep is the chasm.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 24th Dec. 1886.—Very busy, arranging the things for Christmas, which it seems quite strange to be spending at Windsor. The newspapers full of anger and indignation against Lord Randolph

¹ Forwarded by the Prince of Wales to the Queen who, in returning the letter to the Prince, wrote of "that strange unaccountable man, Lord Randolph Churchill, who has been a perpetual thorn in the side of his colleagues since he has been in office. Why did he take office if he thought there was such 'a chasm' between him and them? The fact is *he* expected all to bow to him, as indeed some were inclined to do."

Churchill. Lord Rowton¹ sent to ask if I could see him, which, inconvenient though it was, I did. He spoke of the state of affairs as serious. That Lord Salisbury had written to Lord Hartington proposing to him to join the Government. If he does so there might have to be a Coalition, and great changes. Some would have to go. The other alternative would be merely to take Mr. Goschen to replace Lord R. Churchill. This is what I wished for, for I rather deprecated changes. Lord Rowton expected to hear more to-morrow, but Lord Salisbury had wished me to know what might happen. Mr. Chamberlain was a difficulty. A family dinner, but before it I saw Lord Rowton again and wrote a note for him to take to Lord Salisbury. Feel low and anxious. These political troubles are very trying.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.

[Copy.] *Confidential.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 24th Dec. 1886.—I have so often written to you of late on events of great importance and difficulty that I feel bound to do so again now, and you will doubtless guess *why*. This resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill has placed Lord Salisbury in considerable difficulty; and its abruptness and, I am bound to add, the want of respect shown to me and to his colleagues have added to the bad effect which it has produced. Lord Randolph dined at my table on Monday evening, and talked with me about the Session about to commence, and about the *procedure*, offering to *send me* the proposed rules for me to see! And that *very night at the Castle*, he wrote to Lord Salisbury resigning his office! It is unprecedented!

Lord Salisbury has written to Lord Hartington asking him if, under these now altered circumstances, he will not join the Government, bringing with him some of his friends. I have also written to him, urging him strongly not to refuse Lord Salisbury's

¹ See above, p. 24.

offer. The danger of Lord Salisbury's Government being beaten on a side issue is one not to be lost sight of, and it is the duty of all true and loyal patriots to do all they can to defeat the Separatists and extreme Radicals, who will certainly ruin the country.

It may be that Lord Hartington would still refuse to join Lord Salisbury, and, in such a case, I hope and trust you will not hesitate to do so. These are times when all true patriots should rally round the Throne and Country, to defend and support it, at home and abroad, where there is much explosive matter in the air.

I believe that one of your chief objections to join Lord Salisbury's Government was Lord Randolph Churchill; consequently the difficulty of doing so would no longer be so great.

It must be several days before we can hear from Lord Hartington, who is in Italy. Ever yours truly,
V. R. I.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25th Dec. 1886.—The Queen believes that Lord Salisbury has written to Lord Hartington in the hopes of inducing him to form a Coalition of the two great Parties who are opposed to the Home Rule policy, and who, the Queen believes, really agree with each other on many points.

The resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill has removed one of the main reasons which, it was alleged, influenced Lord Hartington when he refused to join Lord Salisbury in the summer. If this be so, the Queen earnestly appeals to Lord Hartington to take part in the Government with such of his political friends as may be agreed upon between himself and Lord Salisbury.

Lord Hartington must see that the general position in the House of Commons is changed. He came to his decision in the summer on the avowed ground that by abstention from office he and his Party would best aid the cause of the Union. But now the secession

of Lord Randolph largely increases the chance of a defeat of Lord Salisbury on a side issue. In such a case a Coalition, according to precedent, might not be possible until either after a dissolution or until a chance has been afforded to Mr. Gladstone and the Separatist Party to form a Government, a course, she need not say, which would be most deeply to be deprecated, as likely to be productive of the most disastrous consequences.¹

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 28th Dec. 1886.—Saw Lord Salisbury, and talked of course a great deal about Lord Randolph's extraordinary conduct. He had evidently made a great mistake, for he had no following, and the excitement at his resignation was beginning to subside. Lord Salisbury said Lord Randolph's hatred of Lord Iddesleigh was as wrong as it was incomprehensible. He had seen Count Hatzfeldt, who was very friendly. He had to tranquillise the Ambassadors, for they were all so alarmed lest Lord Randolph's resignation should shake the Government. He also talked a good deal of what could be done to replace him. He hoped Mr. Goschen would come into the Government. He had not yet heard from Lord Hartington, but did not think he would join.

About the Cabinet there are great difficulties. If Mr. Goschen joined, he might be Leader, or if he refused, Mr. Smith, which I strongly advocated. But in that case, he would unfortunately have to relinquish the War Office.

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

SEACOX HEATH, 28th Dec. 1886.—Mr. Goschen with his humble duty begs to thank your Majesty for the gracious letter which he received this morning.

¹ Lord Hartington's reply, dated 31st December, is published in Holland's *Devonshire*, vol. ii, p. 179. A summary of his reasons for refusing Lord Salisbury's offers and the Queen's appeal is given in Lord Salisbury's cypher telegram of 31st December to her Majesty printed below, p. 240.

Mr. Goschen need not assure your Majesty that his one desire will be to use all his influence in urging such action on the part of Lord Hartington and other Unionists, as may most effectually strengthen the Unionist cause, which, he must confess, seems to him seriously endangered by Lord Randolph Churchill's most rash act, and to a certain extent also by Mr. Chamberlain's speech,¹ which followed it. . . . The widest differences exist as to what would be the wisest course to be followed, looking simply and solely to the interests of the Union and of the country, and disregarding all party and personal considerations.

A coalition would probably work best in the House of Commons ; and no one can be blind to the very strong arguments in its favour. For the moment it would clearly strengthen the cause of good government most ; for the future it is more doubtful ; and therefore it will be necessary to consider whether or not, and to what degree, the present crisis is so grave that the future must take care of itself. Whether a coalition may not damage both Conservative and Liberal Unionists in the country, in the event of a dissolution becoming unavoidable, is a very serious question, especially if Lord Randolph should fight for his own hand. Your Majesty is aware how strongly the argument that the democratic forces ought not to be left to the control of Radicals and Tory Democrats alone, but should, if possible, be won over in part by the Moderate Liberals, and be restrained by being bound up with the Liberal Party as a whole, has weighed with Lord Hartington before ; and it may be argued that, if he and his friends now join the Conservatives, the great bulk of the Liberals, who form a majority in the country, will be left entirely at the mercy of those whom some call demagogues, and amongst whom we must now, I fear, enrol some very great names ; and that thus, while the Union would be saved for the moment, the

¹ Mr. Chamberlain had eulogised Lord Randolph's sympathy with popular causes, and had held out an olive-branch to the Gladstonians.

Union, and much besides, would be in all the greater peril afterwards.

But Mr. Goschen does not wish to be understood by your Majesty to consider this argument decisive. He only thinks it is one which must be weighed with the gravest attention; and, if it should ultimately be considered to be so strong as to prevent Lord Hartington from separating himself so distinctly from the bulk of his party as union with Lord Salisbury would be represented to have separated him, it ought not to be thought that his action was in any sense due to what are commonly called party considerations, but only to a conviction of what would in the long run be the most statesmanlike course. . . .

As to his own position, if Lord Hartington does not join Lord Salisbury, Mr. Goschen feels himself unable to come to any conclusion as to which way his duty would lie, without having consulted with Lord Hartington and other political friends. . . .

Mr. Goschen begs to thank your Majesty for having placed such confidence in him as your Majesty's gracious letter implies; and adds the humble assurance of his deep desire so to act in this crisis as may merit your Majesty's approbation.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

29th Dec. 1886.—Lord Iddesleigh presents his humble duty to the Queen, and has the honour to inform your Majesty that he has to-day received a visit from the three Bulgarian delegates, who sat with him about an hour and gave him a full account of their visits to Vienna and Berlin, and a good deal of interesting information as to the actual condition and immediate prospects of Bulgaria. They spoke warmly of the reception they had met with at Vienna, and of the sympathetic tone adopted by Count Kalnoky. At Berlin they said Count Bismarck had received them singly, and that his advice had been chiefly directed to recommendations that they should make terms with Russia, and should with that view

agree to accept the candidature of the Prince of Mingrelia. This, they said with emphasis, the Bulgarian people would never agree to.

In answer to questions put by Lord Iddesleigh, they stated that Bulgaria was tranquil, that the taxes were paid and the conscription regularly carried on; and that, but for the danger of Russian occupation, they saw nothing to fear. They were convinced that any Assembly, whether the present or any other that might be elected, would at once elect or re-elect Prince Alexander; but they were aware of the difficulty which such a challenge to Russia might probably raise. They seemed to think not unfavourably of some provisional or temporary arrangement, and of the appointment of Aleko Pasha. Their leading idea appeared to be that, if some of the Great Powers would encourage them, they might proceed at once to an election; and, if Russia or any other Power refused to consent to their choice, they might go on without such consent in a provisional fashion. . . .

Lord Iddesleigh was much struck by the manner and intelligence which they displayed. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

30th Dec. 1886.—Humble duty. The interview with Sir R. Morier lasted nearly an hour. He strenuously denied that he had ever supported or indicated to M. de Giers any views except those prescribed to him by his chiefs. He ascribed reports to the contrary to his effort to win their attention by a candid statement of their side of the question.

He admitted that he had attached himself closely to the German Ambassador, and that he had tried to get into his confidence. Evidently he had done so by flattering the German Ambassador's Russian prepossessions. Lord Salisbury warned him earnestly of the danger of this course, as it created distrust of him with Prince Bismarck and elsewhere, and also distrust of English alliance. Lord Salisbury also

warned him strongly to keep his unorthodox opinions to himself and to support view of Foreign Office in every society. He says he did warn Lord Rosebery of the danger of Prince Alexander becoming a Turkish subordinate.

Lord Salisbury is to see Lord Hartington to-morrow, to-day he will consult with his friends.

31st Dec.—. . . Lord Hartington replies, as his own opinion and the unanimous view of his friends, that he could not, without losing all influence over the Liberals in the country, either join a Conservative Government or form a Coalition Government. He might do this last to avoid a dissolution, or if the Conservatives by resignation declared that they were unable to carry on the Government, but in no other case. I said I could not make, on behalf of the Conservative Party, a confession which would not be true and which would be humiliating; but I pointed out to him the many advantages to the Unionist cause inside and outside Parliament which would result from his taking the Premiership; and the danger of a chance of overthrow in the House of Commons, to which the cause would be exposed, if he refused to join us. He referred to the alleged unwillingness of the Conservative Party. I explained to him the exact state of opinion in the party, so far as it had reached me, and expressed my clear conviction that, if the arrangement were made, they would cordially support it. He adhered, however, to his opinion. He was hearty in his promises of support, even if Mr. Chamberlain left us; but he thought Mr. Chamberlain's opinions unchanged. I then made certain propositions, as to which he has gone to talk to Mr. Goschen. I will telegraph the result.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER III

ON 20th June, 1887, Queen Victoria completed the fiftieth year of her reign; and the Jubilee was celebrated with enthusiasm throughout her Empire. The crowning event was the Thanksgiving Service on 21st June in Westminster Abbey, whither the Queen proceeded in State through cheering throngs and garlanded streets; where her Majesty was attended by her whole family, sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, and their wives and husbands; and where was gathered a vast congregation representative of the whole British Empire and of almost every foreign country. Her Majesty's guests included four Kings—those of Denmark, Belgium (with his Queen), Greece, and Saxony; the Queen of Hawaii; the Crown Princes of Germany, Austria, and Portugal; numerous German Royalties, most of them relations; and distinguished Princes from Persia, Siam, and Japan. There was a brilliant representation of the Indian Princes, Maharajah Holkar at their head. Among other memorable Jubilee functions, the Queen opened the People's Palace at Mile End in May; laid the foundation-stone of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington in July; and during the same month reviewed the Metropolitan Volunteers at Buckingham Palace, the Army at Aldershot, and the Navy at Spithead. The Jubilee was marked, in almost every locality, by local memorials—statues, public improvements, notable buildings, beneficent institutions; the Imperial Institute and the Queen's Nurses bearing similar witness in the heart of the Empire.

The unanimity thus shown about the Queen was in pleasing contrast to the bitterness of the party struggle at home. Owing to Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation, the most important posts in the Ministry changed hands at the beginning of the year. Lord Salisbury resumed the Foreign Secretaryship, while remaining Premier. Mr. Goschen became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. W. H. Smith, First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons; and, after a few weeks, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland, because of the failure of Sir Michael Beach's eyesight. Lord Iddesleigh, on vacating the Foreign Secretaryship to facilitate reconstruction, died suddenly in Downing Street. In the confusion and uncertainty caused by Lord Randolph's action, an unsuccessful attempt was made, through a Round-Table Conference between

Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Morley on one side, and Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan on the other, to bring the Liberals together on an agreed Irish settlement.

The Queen's Speech foreshadowed proposals "to secure the prompt and efficient administration of the Criminal Law" in Ireland. But the introduction of a Bill was postponed by prolonged and obstructive debates, in which the Opposition leaders rather encouraged than restrained faction, first on the Address, and next on a Government proposal (which was eventually carried), for a simplified and workable Closure rule. Accordingly, it was not till 28th March that Mr. Balfour was able to produce the Crimes Bill, by which it was hoped to secure order in Ireland, and in particular to counter the Plan of Campaign, which the Irish Court of Appeal had pronounced illegal. It differed from previous Coercion Bills in having no provision for duration. It was vehemently opposed and delayed at every stage by Mr. Gladstone himself, the Opposition front bench, and the bulk of the Liberals, as well as by the Irish Nationalists; but it was piloted with acuteness and determination by the new Chief Secretary, supported by Mr. Smith and Mr. Goschen; and the Liberal Unionists, under Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, stood, with few exceptions, steadily by the Government, giving them majorities sometimes a little above and sometimes a little below a hundred.

While these debates were in progress, *The Times*, which had been endeavouring, in a series of articles on "Parnellism and Crime," to make the country realise the close connection between the Nationalist agitation and the murders and outrages in Ireland during recent years, published the *facsimile* of what purported to be a letter from Mr. Parnell, palliating the Phoenix Park Murders.¹ Mr. Parnell at once in his place in the House of Commons denounced the letter as a forgery; but apparently proposed to take no further steps. When the matter was brought up in the House as a question of privilege, the Government offered to consent to a prosecution being instituted by the Attorney-General against *The Times*, the Nationalists having the conduct of the proceedings. This offer was rejected by the Nationalists; and the Government refused to agree to a proposal by Mr. Gladstone to refer the enquiry to a Select Committee of the House of Commons.

¹ See Second Series, vol. iii, pp. 251, 252, 283-308.

The Committee stage of the Crimes Bill, after the measure had occupied thirty-five Parliamentary days, had to be brought to a close by a special time-limit. Meanwhile the Government had introduced in the Lords an Irish Land Bill, further improving the position of tenants; and though its appearance in the Commons was greeted by the Nationalists with derision, it was ultimately, after amendment, accepted by them as an instalment. It was past the middle of August before both Bills had become law; and, as they had practically absorbed all the legislative time, Parliament could not rise till the middle of September. In fact, it was still sitting when the first clashes under the Crimes Act between the authorities and the Nationalists took place in Ireland. Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon intensified their campaign to resist evictions consequent on the adoption of the Plan of Campaign. The Government at once put the Act in force, and proclaimed the National League as a dangerous Association. On 9th September at Mitchelstown, a Plan of Campaign centre, where a warrant had been issued in the morning for Mr. O'Brien's arrest, a great demonstration of several thousand people was held, and addressed by Mr. Dillon, supported by some English Radical M.P.'s. A struggle arose—exactly how was disputed—between the crowd and the police, who were forced back into their barracks, and thence fired a volley which resulted in two being killed and several injured. There was a vehement debate of protest in the House of Commons, in which Mr. Gladstone took a prominent part; and "Remember Mitchelstown" became a slogan of Gladstonian Liberals. Other similar meetings were held on various Plan of Campaign estates, and in the course of the autumn several leaders of the agitation were convicted and imprisoned—notably Mr. O'Brien, who refused to wear the prison dress, Mr. Wilfrid Seawen Blunt, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin. The contagion of lawlessness spread to England, and Trafalgar Square in London became a forum for agitators. The Government prohibited public meetings there; and an attempt by Radicals and Socialists on Sunday, 13th November, to defy the order led to serious riots.

1887 was a year of considerable unrest in Europe owing to the instability of French politics and to the uncertainty of the Tsar's intentions in the Balkans. There were unfortunate incidents on the Franco-German frontier which, with Prince Bismarck on the one side pressing on a reluctant

Reichstag a Septennate Bill for the German army, and General Boulanger making himself a centre of Chauvinism on the other, produced temporary war-scares in the spring. But a dissolution gave Prince Bismarck a large majority for the Septennate in the new Reichstag, and General Boulanger lost his official leadership of the French army, though not his popularity, on a change of Ministry in the summer. Scandal followed scandal in French political life, and eventually attached itself to M. Wilson, the President's son-in-law. M. Grévy endeavoured to shelter him, only to be forced himself to resignation in December, when M. Sadi Carnot was elected President in his place. As Russia had only suggested impossible names for the Principate of Bulgaria, the Sobranye accepted the advice of the Regent Stambouloff and his friends, and unanimously elected in the summer Prince Ferdinand of Coburg. Russia prevailed on the other Powers not to recognise the election; but Prince Ferdinand went to Bulgaria in August, was well received, and assumed the Government. Sir Henry Wolff's negotiations with the Porte over Egypt resulted in the conclusion in the spring of an agreement under which British troops were to evacuate Egypt within three years if the country was then exposed to no danger at home or abroad. But because Britain reserved the right to re-occupy on the first alarm of further troubles, France and Russia persuaded the Sultan to withhold ratification so indefinitely that the agreement fell through.

The general unrest induced Lord Salisbury in the spring to come to a secret understanding first with Italy and then with Austria for a common defensive policy in the Mediterranean and the Near East—an arrangement which was agreeable to Prince Bismarck, whose success in drawing Italy in 1882 into the Austro-German Alliance was openly acknowledged this year, and emphasised by the visits to Friedrichsruhe, in September of Count Kalnoky, and in October of Signor Crispi, who had just become Prime Minister of Italy.

In the grand procession which accompanied the Queen to the Abbey on Jubilee Day, the most admired figure was that of the German Crown Prince, the husband of our Princess Royal, in his white uniform. The public little knew that he was then suffering from serious throat trouble, which was definitely diagnosed as malignant in November; though the Queen, always sanguine, did not abandon hope of his recovery, especially as later reports from San Remo, where the Crown Prince and Princess were passing the winter, were more favourable.

CHAPTER III

1887

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1st Jan. 1887.—A small family party for New Year, quite unusually so. Only Beatrice and Liko, but the children were there. Gave each other cards; even the sweet little baby, who was brought in, had one tied to a string round his little arm. Telegrams pouring in and being sent out, and letters and cards innumerable. Bertie most kindly sent me a Jubilee inkstand, which is the first that has yet been sold. It is the crown, which opens, and on the inside there is a head of me. It is very pretty and useful.

I had a letter from Lord Salisbury to the same effect [as his yesterday's cypher]¹ this morning, saying he did not see how Mr. Goschen could refuse to join. Also had a long and very nice one² from Lord Hartington, giving all his reasons, in which *I* agree. I am on the whole relieved that Lord Hartington does not join, as it would entail a complete unhinging of every present arrangement, which would have been still more so had he accepted the Premiership. Had a telegram from Lord Salisbury saying that Mr. Goschen was taking time to consider. "He wishes to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, without the leadership at present," and also "to bring some Peers of his friends with him into the Cabinet." Lord Salisbury "agreed to both. Lord Hartington is

¹ See above, p. 240.

² See note on p. 236.

urging him very strongly to join," and that a telegram from me to Mr. Goschen would do good.¹

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

1st Jan. 1887.—. . . The resignation of Lord R. Churchill is not deplored here on account of his person ; but it is feared that the Government will fall, and that a Liberal Government will mean *total inaction* in foreign affairs, and that this will have the most nefarious influence on the fate of the world in general.

For instance, at this present moment, if England could only regain her power over Turkey, it would be an immense boon ! The sight of our ships alone would affect the Sultan's decisions at *once*. Austria is in a most painful position, and Germany at the present moment is alienating her sympathies, which I deeply regret. It seems to me as if Prince Bismarck were solely *bent* on avoiding the *double war*, *i.e.* on separating Russia from France and winning Russia as an ally ! I think this hope is *vain*, as, after having sacrificed more to Russia than our honour and dignity and our other interests can well afford, and after having made the most humiliating concessions, we shall NOT buy her friendship or be able to rely on it. The Tsar, who is to be propitiated at all costs, is in the hands of the Panslavists, and a true and honest friendship between them and Germany is impossible. But Prince Bismarck fears Austria's weakness and England's "inertia," so he sees no other course. Turkey, under English guidance, with Italy and Austria and the Balkan States, would indeed be strong enough to resist Russia and overcome her ; Germany would then be able to fight both her foes without fear, and the Eastern question would be solved once and for all. Lord Salisbury is a man in whose mind and in whose energy, whose powers, Europe has confidence, and to see him hampered is a grief to everyone. ALL feel that England has *so much* in her power to put straight the painful and constrained state of things

¹ The Queen sent a telegram in this sense.



*The Royal Family on the occasion of
Queen Victoria's Jubilee, 1887
From a picture by L. Tuxen in Buckingham Palace*

caused by Russian preponderance. This *peace* is a state of dread and uncertainty which *cannot last*; and, if England stands aloof, matters will settle to her disadvantage and to *Europe's* disadvantage.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

2nd Jan. 1887.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Lord Hartington writes that Mr. Goschen will accept it, after conversation with Lord Salisbury, no fatal divergence of policy shall appear.

Lord Salisbury regards the attainment of this result as a matter of enormous importance at this juncture, and would make great sacrifices to secure it. He earnestly hopes that your Majesty will [take] the same view of the situation and will give him the necessary powers.

It would be a grave national misfortune if this arrangement were to break [down] on any personal grounds.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 2nd Jan. 1887.—Delighted at good news which telegram from Mr. Goschen last night led me to expect. Quite agree as to great importance of this; and, though I should regret seeing any change, I will make only one exception, and that is, that one Member of your Cabinet, who is a real personal friend of mine¹ and has been of great use to me, who was twice nearly sacrificed to please Lord Randolph and was made a Peer which he did *not* wish, should on no account be moved. On this I must insist; any other arrangement which can be made without causing too much pain to others I will not object to.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to Queen Victoria.

PYNES, 2nd January 1887.—Lord Iddesleigh presents his humble duty to the Queen and has the

¹ Viscount Cross.

honour to inform your Majesty that the delegates from Bulgaria were good enough to accept the only invitation which it was in his power to give them, and came down here on Friday to dine and sleep, returning yesterday to London.

Though the visit was short, Lord Iddesleigh hopes that it was not altogether without its agreeable and useful sides. The delegates seemed to like seeing a new country and a specimen of a small unpretending country house; and they expressed themselves as particularly pleased at seeing the sun for the first time since they had been in England. There was no time to get a party together to meet them, but Lord Iddesleigh fortunately found the Bishop of Exeter disengaged, also Sir John Duckworth, so many years Member for Exeter. . . .

Lord Iddesleigh has just received your Majesty's gracious letter. He feels confident that if the Conservatives have courage they will be in no degree weakened by what has taken place. Of course anything which looks like a shake is unfortunate on account of the impression it produces abroad. But it is to be hoped that such impression will soon wear off.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 3rd Jan. 1887.—A kind letter from good Sandro. He had met two of the delegates, Grueff and Kaltschoff, at Cologne, on his journey; also Stoiloff at Darmstadt, the evening he arrived. They had spoken in high terms of the reception they had met with at Vienna and from Kalnoky, and of the very reverse from Prince Bismarck at Berlin. That they wanted a Prince: the Mingrelian would never be elected; and they wished to re-elect Sandro, wishing him to govern Bulgaria from Darmstadt by a sort of Stadthalter, as they knew he could not come now. This Sandro declined, but proposed what he had told me, and what Lord Iddesleigh had also told the delegates, viz., to have a temporary arrangement

of a Governor, the idea of which pleased them. Sandro is full of gratitude to me for past kindness, and for his stay at Windsor, where he had felt so happy.

A telegram from Lord Salisbury, saying Mr. Goschen accepted, but without the lead of the House of Commons, which Mr. Smith is to have. It is proposed to offer Lord Lansdowne the War or Colonial Office, and that Lord Hartington should telegraph to him, strongly recommending him to agree.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

4th Jan. 1887 (5 p.m.).—Humble duty. He submits that Mr. Smith should take the office of First Lord of the Treasury and lead the House of Commons. It appears to be quite impracticable that he should lead the House of Commons and continue at the War Office, and Sir M. Beach cannot be spared from Ireland. This will necessitate Lord Salisbury's going to the Foreign Office. Lord Iddesleigh has intimated his willingness to make way. This he understands is in accordance with your Majesty's wishes. With respect to Canada, it might be offered to Lord Iddesleigh, if he was strong enough for it. Lord Salisbury would be disposed to prefer Lord Stanley of Preston.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 4th Jan. 1887 (7 p.m.).—To see you again at the Foreign Office will be a great comfort to me, and inspire immense confidence abroad. If only it is not too much for you! Approve of Mr. Smith as First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons. Think Lord Iddesleigh would do well for Canada, on account of his connections there. Are you sure of Lord Lansdowne? You don't mention Lord Northbrook. Conclude he is not coming in.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

5th Jan. 1887 (7 p.m.).— . . . It is evident now there will be no Liberal peer at present. . . . We wish, however, to keep the way open for Lord Lansdowne later.

I propose to offer the Colonial Office to Lord Idlesleigh, telling him that Canada will be vacant if he likes to take it later. . . . At present Mr. Goschen will be the only new member of the Government: four others will change places. Submissions will be sent down to-night.

[*Later.*]—Lord Salisbury . . . proposes Mr. Stanhope should take the War Office as our best speaker available for the purpose; and it is necessary to have a strong debater to defend our estimates against the late Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.*

OSBORNE, 5th Jan. 1887.—The Queen has not yet thanked Lord Hartington for his kind letter, but wished to wait till the negotiations were ended, which by the telegrams she has received to-day she learns to be the case.

She therefore wishes now to express to Lord Hartington her high sense of the patriotic manner in which he has acted, facilitating Mr. Goschen's acceptance of office¹ and trying to induce Lord Lansdowne to join also, though as regards the latter as yet without success.²

The Queen thinks that Lord Hartington's reasons for abstaining from taking office are sound and cal-

¹ The Queen wrote on the same day to Mr. Goschen, expressing "her great satisfaction at his having consented to join Lord Salisbury's Government. Both at home and abroad this will be of immense importance, and will be a source of great strength to the Government and the cause of order."

² Lord Lansdowne, as Lord Salisbury told the Queen on the 8th January, "declined to leave Canada at this juncture on account of the imminent dissolution, and also on account of the critical state of the Fisheries Question."

culated to promote the success of the Unionist Party as well as the cause of order, which has been so much endangered by the Home Rule Party. She fears Mr. Chamberlain's conduct is not quite clear, but hopes Lord Hartington may be able to keep him straight.

The Queen feels sure that she can rely on Lord Hartington's continued support of Lord Salisbury's Government; and she rejoices to see that he appreciates the great generosity and unselfishness of Lord Salisbury in his late transactions with Lord Hartington, which are characterised by true patriotism and loyalty to his Sovereign.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 9th Jan. 1887.—Heard last night from Lord Salisbury by telegram that Mr. Smith and Mr. Akers-Douglas¹ (the Whip) thought it would be very undesirable to “appoint Lord Iddesleigh to the Colonial Office, because his apparent feebleness would be talked of, and would have so bad an effect in the Colonies.” Regret this very much. Had a telegram from Lord Salisbury saying Lord Iddesleigh did not wish to accept office, at any rate not at present. Am distressed at this, and wrote and telegraphed to Lord Salisbury hoping that Lord Iddesleigh might still consent to remain in the Cabinet, if even without office.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 9th Jan. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that he has received the enclosed letter from Lord Iddesleigh; and also encloses a previous letter of December 30th. Your Majesty will see from the marked passage that there is no foundation for the statement made by the *Western Times* (to which your Majesty's telegram referred) to the effect that Lord Iddesleigh had not offered to place his office

¹ Afterwards Viscount Chilton.

at the disposal of the Prime Minister for any combination.

As soon as Lord Salisbury has seen the new Leader of the House of Commons, he will make a submission to your Majesty with respect to the new Colonial Secretaryship. His impression at present is that in standing, acquaintance with the subject, and popularity with the Party Sir H. Holland is superior to every other competitor.

ENCLOSURES.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Extract.] *Private.*

30th December 1886.

MY DEAR SALISBURY,—Knowles¹ reports that Gladstone is in high spirits at what has occurred, and that he says “the natural sequel is a coalition.”

I have abstained from troubling you with my views of the situation; but I need not say that if you want places for any combination, I am only too ready to make way.—IDDESLEIGH.

The Earl of Iddesleigh to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.] *Private.*

OSBORNE, 8th January 1887.

MY DEAR SALISBURY,—I received your kind letter last night: but after reflecting over the matter I have come to the conclusion that I would rather not resume office, at all events at present. Yours very faithfully, IDDESLEIGH.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.] *Confidential.*

OSBORNE, 9th Jan. 1887.—The Queen has just received Lord Salisbury's telegram about Lord Iddesleigh. She is grieved that Mr. Smith and others, who she thinks take too much a House of Commons view, should oppose his being appointed to the Colonies. It would do harm, she thinks, if he were to be *sacrificed* to M.P.s' opinions, and she greatly regrets this step. Few men have clearer, wiser views than Lord Iddesleigh; and anything that looked like his management of Foreign Affairs being considered a failure, the Queen would consider as *very* wrong and most unjust, as well as impolitic. How can this

¹ Founder and Editor of the *Nineteenth Century*.

now be avoided? The only faults Lord Iddesleigh can possibly be accused of are slowness and too great mildness in the way in which he expressed himself. But he was very firm, and carried out the policy the Queen and Lord Salisbury wished for very judiciously. The Queen cannot help fearing, by acceding to Mr. Smith's representations, we are condemning our *own* policy and giving way to the shameful attacks of Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir D. Wolff, which the Queen would consider very disastrous.

Depend upon it, you are doing no good to the Government by lowering and depreciating your former Foreign Secretary. Lord Salisbury must excuse the Queen's observations, but she feels strongly on the subject, and has such a regard for Lord Iddesleigh.

[Copy.] *The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.*

10th Jan. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's letter.

He has made another effort through Mr. Henry Northcote to prevail upon Lord Iddesleigh to join the Cabinet; and has just heard of its failure by telegraph. Lord Iddesleigh's own letters will show your Majesty that his refusal has nothing to do with the Colonial Office not being offered to him. He has not received from any of Lord Iddesleigh's friends or from his son any suggestion to that effect, or of any wish to have that office. It has never been once hinted at. On the other hand, Lord Salisbury thinks that a good deal of dissatisfaction would have been felt if a man in manifestly failing health, who was universally believed to have thought the Foreign Office too much for his strength, should have been sent to the Colonial Office. It is an office of much labour: the Colonies are exceedingly jealous about [it]; and there was a probability that during the present year many of the leading Colonists would be in London, and Lord Iddesleigh's apparent feebleness would have provoked very disagreeable comments.

Lord Salisbury is as far as possible removed from desiring to depreciate Lord Iddesleigh's action at the Foreign Office. He only hopes it may be in his power to avoid disadvantageous comparison. He has done all he could to impress on those with whom he has come in contact that the difficulty arising from Mr. Goschen's refusal to take the leadership and the consequent necessity of giving the Treasury to Mr. Smith was *the* cause of Lord Iddesleigh's retirement. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 12th Jan. 1887.—Dreadfully grieved that dear excellent Lord Iddesleigh has died. It was quite sudden. He fainted at the top of the stairs, at Downing Street,¹ and died in twenty minutes! Most shocking and dreadful, though a peaceful and painless end for him. But I feel very much losing again one of my best friends, so truly attached to me *personally* and so kind; whether in or out of office, in "weal or woe," always the same. Doubtless it must have been the heart, an affection of which he had been suffering from for some years; and the work at the Foreign Office has evidently been too heavy for him. He was so wise; his judgment so good, so conciliatory; he was so courteous; it was painful for him to say a hard word to anyone. Now, when every good and wise man is so necessary for his country, he can ill be spared! It is dreadful for poor Lady Iddesleigh, who was devoted to him. I felt quite bewildered and stunned, at first, for I could not believe or realise it. People are dreadfully shocked, as Lord Iddesleigh was immensely beloved and respected by all shades of politicians. For Lord Salisbury it is a very severe blow.

13th Jan.—Lord Salisbury arrived before luncheon, and I saw him at once. He looked pale and sad, and repeated the sad details. It was clear now that

¹ He was on his way to see Lord Salisbury.

Lord Iddesleigh's health had been much worse than anyone was aware of, even his family. He was never conscious again after he fell into Mr. Manners'¹ arms, who had run out on hearing a moan near his door. Everything was done to try and revive him, but in vain. Lord Salisbury, his Secretaries, and the two doctors were present, but his son arrived too late.

Saw Lord Salisbury again after tea, and talked over the whole sad affair, which he said had taken a great deal out of him, and that he had been asleep the greater part of the afternoon. As regards the division of labour, Lord Salisbury said he meant to give Mr. Smith all the patronage, excepting Bishops and Honours, and he would find great help in Sir J. Fergusson, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Italy was certainly very ready to join us. Mr. Goschen was very nervous about foreign affairs, thought this country would not like fighting for Austria, as she is weak, but we think that the English people would not either like to see her attacked. The Bulgarians, Lord Salisbury hoped, might be able to keep things as they are for a time, so as to avoid a new Prince (and an acceptable one will never be found) there. He had spoken in that sense to the delegates. He said poor dear Lord Iddesleigh had lost precious time about Bulgaria, whereas Lord Salisbury wanted him to send out Sir F. Lascelles instantly to meet Sandro. This is very sad, and much to be regretted. Lord Salisbury considers Lord Randolph Churchill as a most selfish statesman, not caring for the good of the country, for commerce, etc., provided he could make *his* Budget popular!

Lord Salisbury, the three ladies, Sir Howard and Lord Elphinstone, Sir H. Ewart, and Major Edwards dined. Lord Salisbury talked of Mr. Goschen's address being excellent. He wished to be returned

¹ Lord Salisbury's private secretary, ultimately 8th Duke of Rutland.

by Liberal Unionists as well as Conservatives, and therefore is standing for one of the Divisions of Liverpool. Lord Salisbury does not think much will come of the meeting between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Morley, etc.¹

Queen Victoria to the Countess of Iddesleigh.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 13th January 1887.

DEAREST LADY IDDESLEIGH,—*How can I say or attempt to say what I feel on this terrible event! For you my heart bleeds, for I know how devoted a wife you were to him, who so truly deserved all love and respect. A kinder, better, more high-minded and patriotic man never breathed, and his country could ill afford his loss! As for me I mourn the loss of another dear and trusted friend, who for more than twenty years I had known and respected, and whose personal devotion to me I truly valued, and had had so many proofs of it!*

I cannot deny that I had felt anxious about his health for some years and feared the fatigue of hard work and strain of anxiety in these times for him; but never anticipated so fearfully sudden a blow.

Beatrice and Henry were most anxious that I should say how truly they share my feelings, for dear Lord Iddesleigh was so kind to them and to ALL my children, and his dear memory will ever live in our hearts!

That God may support and comfort you and your children, and that you may be soothed by the universal feeling of respect and regret for your dear and honoured husband so strongly evinced, is the earnest prayer of yours affectionately, VICTORIA R. I.

Pray express my feelings to your children who

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter. Lord Salisbury was right in anticipating the failure of this "Round-Table Conference." The only result was that one of its Liberal Unionist members, Mr. Trevelyan (who became Sir George in June on the death of his father Sir Charles Trevelyan), returned to his allegiance to Mr. Gladstone.

have lost so kind and good a father, but do not think of answering this yourself.¹

*The Marchioness of Salisbury to Jane
Marchioness of Ely.*

HATFIELD HOUSE, 15th January 1887.

MY DEAREST LADY ELY,—Salisbury came back last night much knocked up by all he had gone through, but otherwise well.

The scene must have been a terrible one, and especially to him, as he had never seen death before. But one can hardly call it a shock, as Lord Iddesleigh's state of health, which was well known to us all, made us all sure that such an end was probable and might soon take place.

We are both very grateful for the Queen's kind thought for Salisbury, and I am sure the quiet and fresh air of Osborne did him good.

We shall now remain here quietly till the meeting of Parliament, and I hope by that time he will have quite recovered. I am, yours affectionately, G.
SALISBURY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 16th Jan. 1887.—Received a letter from Lord Salisbury this morning, and also one in the afternoon sending enclosures: a very touching letter from Mr. H. Northcote, written in his poor mother's name to Lord Salisbury, expressing sympathy with him at what had occurred. It was beautifully expressed. Then a strange, mournful letter from Lord Randolph Churchill, also expressing regret, and saying how strongly he had always stood up for Lord Iddesleigh, and how wrong it was to

¹ The Queen wrote a second letter of sympathy to Lady Iddesleigh on the 16th January, saying that her "thoughts and prayers" would be with her and her children on the day of the funeral. In reply Lady Iddesleigh wrote that "Lord Iddesleigh's personal devotion to your Majesty was so profound that Lady Iddesleigh and her children have long learned to regard your Majesty with feelings far deeper than those of ordinary loyalty to a sovereign."

accuse him of the contrary. A letter from Sir E. Malet, saying that he heard from one of the Russian Secretaries that Lord Randolph had told him one of his chief reasons for resigning had been impatience at the policy of the Queen and Salisbury respecting Russia and Bulgaria!! Monstrous! He never gave *that* as his reason. Sir E. Malet remarked, what could one say when people in such a position held such language? "In former years it would have been the Tower and the axe." And lastly, the beginning of a letter from Lord Iddesleigh to Lord Salisbury, written because he thought he would not have time to see him, as he was going to the Mansion House to speak for the Imperial Institute. The notes for this letter were found on Lord Iddesleigh's table.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Sir Robert Morier.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 18th January 1887.

MY DEAR MORIER,—I have shown your letter to the Queen, who was glad that you saw the Crown Princess in Berlin.

Lord Salisbury I believe explained to you the points on which you asked me for information; and of course I am not in a position to discuss with you the policy which is advocated by her Majesty's Ministers. I think, however, that I am safe in saying it is the same as that desired by the Queen and I should imagine by the nation at large.

No one wants war with Russia or with any other Power. But if the language held to the Russian Government is such as to induce them to believe that we should let them do what they please, even to the detriment of our own interests, they would be led on to a point where war would be inevitable. Whereas firm language to let them know we are determined to maintain our rights will lead to clear understandings and a more friendly intercourse between us. Yours truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 18th Jan. 1887.—. . . The service in Westminster Abbey¹ was profoundly impressive—very well arranged, and the music beautiful. It was very touching. The choir was more than full. A strange dense fog came on just before the service began, making the windows absolutely dark. Nothing at all was visible through the East window. It lasted till just the end of the service—and lent a strange unearthly gloom to the scene. All the Cabinet were present except Mr. Goschen, Lord Ashbourne, and Mr. Matthews. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.] Confidential.

OSBORNE, 20th Jan. 1887.—. . . The Queen is quite furious at anyone daring or presuming to say *she* wanted to make war on Russia to replace Prince Alexander. But *what* is worse is that the Queen hears from a totally reliable source that Lord Randolph has *held the same language* as Sir Ed. Malet reported in *the Clubs in London*!! The Queen owes to herself that *he* should be made aware of her indignation at such language, for, if he behaves in this way, while he writes to Sir H. Ponsonby expressing his gratitude for the Queen's kindness, it is monstrous!! Lord Salisbury could surely, through Mr. Balfour or someone, *get at* this impertinent and *not* reliable or loyal ex-Minister of hers.

Lord Salisbury knows that her interest in the *Prince of Bulgaria* AS RULER of Bulgaria was because she saw in him the champion of the cause of liberty and independence opposed to barbarism, tyranny, and encroachment; and that she took interest in him and in his cause when he went there seven and a half years ago—five years before his brother became her son-in-law. That *she* is personally very fond of him is another thing, and is the case with all who

¹ The memorial service for Lord Iddesleigh.

know him; but to say (and *that* is Madame Novikoff¹ in the *Pall Mall*) that she wishes to fight for him as he is a connection of hers is *too* abominable and makes the Queen *angry*. If Prince Alexander was as unfit as her young cousin Ferdinand of Coburg, she would no more care for his cause than she did for the latter's. What the Queen would be ready to fight for is to *prevent Russia* being all powerful in the East and in the Black Sea, and to prevent our honour and position being lost, as they would be if we remained passive spectators of what Russia is doing. Bulgaria and the Balkans are the *stepping-stones* to *Constantinople*. The Queen does not care a straw for such nonsense, as she *knows no reasonable* people believe it.

The British nation has shown its sympathy for Prince Alexander and for Bulgaria as strongly as she has done. Italy and Austria too. The Queen is very indignant, but is well accustomed to wild ill-natured talk and inventions, and does not care for them. She does what she knows is right, and will not be deterred by gossip.

*Sir James Linton*² to the Princess Beatrice.

ETTRICK HOUSE, N.W., 20th January 1887.

MADAM,— . . . I now venture to explain the matter which I am anxious to lay before you. It has been felt for a long time past by a large section of her Majesty's subjects who are connected with the Arts and Letters, and more especially the Arts, that during this auspicious year of her Majesty's reign she would graciously concede to them some personal mark of her royal favour in the form of an order comprising the degrees of Knight and Companion to those who have distinguished themselves in those particular branches of the intellectual activity of her illustrious reign.

¹ A Russian lady living in London, of strong national feelings, who first came into public notice as a keen supporter of the Bulgarian atrocity agitation in 1876.

² Then President of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-colours.

It is hoped also that her Majesty would graciously extend the honour to ladies who have similarly distinguished themselves.

I would beg respectfully to point out to your Royal Highness that there are existing orders for the Army and Navy and all the branches of the Civil Service, and again for India and the Colonies, but that this is the only country where men who have devoted themselves to the cause of culture and the advancement of Art have no special decoration to signify the Sovereign's approval of their labours, which after all constitute the chiefest glory of this kingdom. In taking the liberty of bringing this very important subject before her Majesty, I am encouraged to enter into the matter by the few very kind and sympathetic remarks her Majesty was graciously pleased to make on this subject recently to Mr. Caton Woodville, a member of the Royal Institute over which I have the honour to preside. As the order would be for those only who are most worthy in their different spheres, it is hoped that it might become absolutely personal to the Queen (non-political, non-official, and non-academical) in order that all who form in the highest sense the aristocracy of their day and generation may be gradually led to look to the Queen (without the intervention of any official of a public character) for the supreme appreciation of their merits, and to feel in its fullest sense the great honour which so distinguished a recognition would bestow upon them. . . .

I have the honour to remain your Royal Highness's most humble and obedient servant, JAMES D. LINTON.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

24th Jan. 1887 (8.15 p.m.).—Humble duty. Following just received from Lord Lyons :

“*Private.*—There is great alarm here. A person entirely in Prince Bismarck's confidence writes that the Prince declares he must go to war forthwith if France continues her warlike preparations. Fears

are felt that Germany will declare war, if Boulanger¹ remains in office ; and that, if the French Government try to dismiss him, he may attempt a *coup d'état*."

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 24th Jan. 1887.—Think you should urge Germany and France to declare to us or Great Powers that they do not intend to attack each other. We must try and prevent a general conflagration.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HATFIELD, 24th Jan. 1886 (? 1887).—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits that the German Ambassador called this afternoon at the Foreign Office. Lord Salisbury has reported the substance of his conversation by telegraph. The most remarkable feature in it was his assumption that war with France was very near, joined to a constant disclaimer of any wish for war on the part of Germany. He again and again asked if we should be able to look quietly on, especially if Turkey and Austria were involved. He pointed out the advantages which we enjoyed from the position of Germany towards France, in that France could not do us any mischief because of the fear of Germany ; and he pressed for "reciprocity." He ended by telling Lord Salisbury that he thought that no more salutary thing could happen to England than to be involved in a "good war"; and he expressed ever recurring astonishment at the ignorance of public opinion in this country.

Lord Salisbury indicated his own personal opinion that Austria and Turkey ought not to be abandoned if seriously pressed ; but he did not conceal his entire uncertainty as to the course which Parliamentary opinion might take.

M. Waddington called shortly after, and was

¹ General Boulanger (1837–1891), a smart reforming officer, who, with his black horse, had become a favourite of the Parisian populace—"C'est Boulanger," they sang, "qu'il nous faut"—had now been Minister of War for a year. See Introductory Note.

evidently very uneasy. Lord Salisbury was able to inform him that no information had reached the Foreign Office during the past week calculated to aggravate the prospect. It was not till an hour later that he received Lord Lyons' telegram which he directed to be repeated to your Majesty at once.

The prospect is very gloomy abroad ; but England cannot brighten it. Torn in two by a controversy which almost threatens her existence, she cannot, in the present state of public opinion, interfere with any decisive action abroad. The highest interests would be risked here at home ; while nothing effective could be done by us to keep peace on the Continent. We have absolutely no power to restrain either France or Germany ; while all the power and influence we have will be needed to defend our influence in the South-east of Europe.

Lord Salisbury had an interview with Col. Swaine,¹ whose report was most interesting. But his advice now at once "to court a war in the Black Sea" is of doubtful wisdom in itself ; and quite impracticable under a Parliamentary Government.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 27th Jan. 1887.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and in venturing upon his first letter to your Majesty from the House, he cannot refrain from saying how greatly he personally regrets the circumstances which have placed him in the position he occupies.

The House was full at the commencement of business, and great interest was manifested in the anticipated statement of Lord Randolph Churchill ; but for more than an hour proceedings were delayed by a perfectly unprecedented number of Motions for Bills. About six o'clock Lord Randolph made his statement, which was received most sympathetically by the Opposition and particularly by Sir William Harcourt, who in a sonorous voice cheered almost every sentence.

¹ Military Attaché in Berlin, afterwards General Sir Leopold Swaine.

Mr. Smith followed with a few observations, which were of necessity confined to facts, as the Speaker had previously intimated that he could not permit debate to arise. Before Mr. Smith sat down, he took the opportunity of referring to the great loss sustained by your Majesty and by the country in the death of Lord Idedesleigh. Mr. Gladstone followed in cordial and feeling terms, but at much greater length.

The Address to your Majesty was then moved very ably and very modestly by Lord Weymouth and seconded by Mr. Gerald Balfour.

Mr. Gladstone immediately availed himself of the opportunity to praise Lord Randolph for the great sacrifice he had made on the altar of Economy, and with great skill he invited the supporters of your Majesty's Government to assist Lord Randolph in his efforts to bring about a reduction of armaments and of expenditure. He then went on to criticise the arrangements recently made, insisting on the impropriety of the absence of the beneficent controlling influence exercised by the Prime Minister in his administration over the Foreign Office. Subsequently he obliquely defended the Plan of Campaign, and excused his colleagues in the National Party.

Mr. Smith replied shortly, pointing out that obviously Lord Salisbury was the most fit Member of the Government to be Foreign Minister, and that he himself could not be called upon to answer for his position as First Lord of the Treasury on any other footing than that he was discharging a duty he did not seek, but which, being imposed upon him, he sought to fill to the best of his ability. Mr. Smith also remarked on the singular fact that Mr. Gladstone defended a combination and agitation pronounced to be illegal by the Irish High Court of Justice. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria

HATFIELD, 30th Jan. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for the enclosed letter from the Crown Princess,

which he returns. He is glad of the opportunity of explaining his views on the effect of recent German policy on English action in the East. He thinks the Crown Princess's letter consists of two parts which do not entirely agree. Germany has made it more and more clear that we are to expect no help from her in resisting the pretensions of Russia. She will not even promise to rescue Austria; she will thwart Russia in nothing; her whole thoughts are devoted to the apprehended struggle with France. The effect of this attitude on our policy in the South-east of Europe is, that it makes any conflict there very much more hazardous than it was. Our own interests, in the case of a Balkan war, we can protect: we can prevent Russia acquiring any foothold on the *Ægean* and on the Straits. But such a conflict would *now* menace Austria also; and we can do nothing effective to save Austria. Yet it is of great importance to us that Austria should not succumb. So long, therefore, as Germany is paralysed by this terror of France, it is a matter of very great importance that no conflict should break out in the Balkan peninsula; for Austria would probably be involved in it, and would probably be overthrown.

This is *not* a reason for allowing the occupation or domination of Bulgaria by Russia: to do so would only be to bring about the same result in a more circuitous fashion. But it *is* a reason for gaining time; and for avoiding any policy which would be so obviously derogatory to the Tsar in the eyes of his subjects, that it would force him into war. He is a passionate but slow-witted man: in his cooler moments hesitating and helpless, and nervous as to the political effects of war on his own country. If he can employ himself for some months on negotiations at Constantinople, which are very unlikely to come to any practical issue, the acutest moments of the crisis which paralyses Germany will have passed by; and when Germany has resumed her freedom of action, Austria will again be safe.

Lord Salisbury is aware that there is a weak point in this reasoning. The Bulgarian Regents may lose heart or nerve ; and they may be overthrown by some internal movement. In view of this danger, Lord Salisbury discussed at considerable length the advantages of gaining time, and postponing any breach with Russia, with the Bulgarian delegates, when they were here at the beginning of this month ; and they seemed entirely to acquiesce in the policy, and not to apprehend any danger of internal convulsion.

Lord Salisbury received your Majesty's telegram expressing a hope that we should get Austria and Italy to take the same line in opposing the removal of the Regents. The assurances on that head that we have received from Count Kalnoky¹ and Count Robilant,² are so precise, that it is very difficult to believe there is any danger of their receding from them. The only danger the Regents run is from their own people. If they are safe in that quarter, Lord Salisbury believes that they are absolutely secure for some time to come.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 31st Jan. 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has again to report a dull and unexciting evening, with the single exception of a speech from Lord Randolph Churchill, in which he sought to clear himself from the charges brought against him by some of his own friends ; and with very great ability he suggested reasons for his retirement which were intended to place him in a better position before the country. But in the course of his speech he fell foul of the Unionists who are Liberals, and spoke of them as “a crutch the Conservative Party must learn to do without” ; and he made fun of the Round-Table conference, insisting, amidst cheers from Conservative benches, that anything approaching to a Parliament in Dublin would not and could not be entertained.

¹ Austrian Foreign Minister.

² Italian Foreign Minister.

Lord Randolph Churchill urged that a statement explaining Army and Navy Estimates should be circulated with them, and that the Estimates themselves should this year be referred to a Committee for examination. Mr. Smith is disposed to advise his colleagues to accept these suggestions, as it is extremely difficult to convey to the minds of ordinary Members of Parliament in any other way the information which is required to justify the large demands made upon the taxpayer, or to prove the necessity for the existing armaments and the new defences which are required.

The ordinary Irish Members succeeded each other in dreary succession. But Lord Ernest Hamilton after dinner made a sharp and interesting speech, and he was followed by Mr. Shaw Lefevre,¹ who graciously patronised Lord Randolph, and delivered his view of affairs in general with an authority which no Member on either side appeared to recognise or to accept.

Mr. George Curzon² then rose, speaking for the first time, but with a coolness and self-possession which was most enviable. He referred lightly to Lord Randolph's speech, and said he had no intention of "wrestling" with Lord Randolph, as he knew his fate would be that of Jacob when he wrestled with the Angel; and one of my colleagues remarked to me that it is the first time in his life that Lord Randolph has been likened to an Angel! Mr. Labouchere then rose and denounced Lord Salisbury as the great "perturbator" of the peace of Europe, and as most anxious to take a part in the impending war. Amongst other things he said no individual has any right to ownership in land. He claims that the tenant has the first right to proceeds of land, and the landlord only that which remains, if anything. Mr. Labouchere denounced Lord Hartington for his "bad taste" in

¹ Afterwards Lord Eversley.

² Afterwards Viceroy of India, Foreign Secretary, Leader of [the House of Lords, and Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, K.G.

sitting on the Liberal front bench, and Mr. Chamberlain was exhorted to return to the fold and acknowledge Mr. Gladstone as the only true leader, and his policy as the only possible "truth."

Lord Wolmer¹ then denounced Mr. Labouchere and Lord Randolph Churchill for speaking slightly of the Liberal Unionists, and the debate was adjourned, so that another weary night must follow this; and Mr. Smith fears very many more after, before the House really enters upon business.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

2nd Feb. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits the following.

Yesterday Count Corti² came to see Lord Salisbury. He was the bearer of propositions from the Italian Government for a closer understanding between Italy and England. He left a memorandum with Lord Salisbury, of which the effect was to offer an alliance in case of war against France. There were other propositions of co-operation which were more acceptable, such as common efforts for maintaining the *status quo* in the Ægean, the Adriatic, the Black Sea, and on the African Coast. But the paper ended with a proposal that, in case either Power was at war with France, the other Power would give it naval assistance. Lord Salisbury promised to bring the matter before his colleagues; but told Count Corti, first, that England never promised material assistance in view of an uncertain war, of which the object and cause were unknown; secondly, that any promise even of diplomatic co-operation could not be directed against any single Power such as France. But that, on the other hand, the policy of Italy and Great Britain was very similar; and that, within the limit of the principles mentioned by Lord Salisbury, we

¹ Succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Selborne in 1895; First Lord of the Admiralty 1900–1905; High Commissioner for South Africa 1905–1910.

² Italian Ambassador.

should be glad to co-operate with them ; especially in the maintenance of the *status quo*.

To-day the matter was discussed at length in the Cabinet ; and it was resolved Lord Salisbury should draw up a reply in the above sense. This afternoon he saw Count Hatzfeldt, who brought a message from Prince Bismarck, earnestly recommending an understanding of this kind as a means of preserving peace. A similar message had been sent by Sir E. Malet in a private and secret telegram.¹ Lord Salisbury discussed the matter at length with the German Ambassador in the same tone. He impressed upon the latter that, though the assistance of England might be confidently looked for to maintain the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, and might be very probably looked for if France were to attack Italy, and Italy found herself in any danger, it was very unlikely to be given if Italy made an aggressive war on France. Count Hatzfeldt pressed the case of a war in which Italy should be the nominal assailant, having attacked merely to anticipate a certain attack from France. In this case, Lord Salisbury did not hold out any hope of English sympathy and aid. It was arranged that Lord Salisbury should see Count Corti again, and discuss the matter, before answering Count Robilant's memorandum. Lord Salisbury then represented to Count Hatzfeldt your Majesty's earnest horror of the possible calamities of an impending war, and impressed considerations of that kind as strongly as possible. He only replied, as Lord Salisbury expected, by the most earnest asseverations of the pacific intentions of the German Government. Nevertheless, Lord Salisbury thought he traced, in a very long conversation, indications of great anxiety ; and a disposition to press the idea that the beginner of actual operations was not

¹ Prince Bismarck took the unusual step of calling personally at the British Embassy in Berlin on the 1st, and spending an hour in urging, in conversation with Sir Edward Malet, this course on the British Government.

necessarily the aggressor, but might be forced into war by the preparations of his opponent.

This matter is to be treated with the utmost secrecy. Lord Salisbury is forbidden to say anything to the Austrian Ambassador about it, a suspicious circumstance which Hatzfeldt attempts to explain by a reference to Karolyi's individual character and modes of proceeding. Lord Salisbury greatly fears that the Trentino is in issue.

Lord Salisbury prays your Majesty to let him have this letter back to copy, as it is the sole record he has kept of their conversation. At present he is keeping the matter secret even from the Foreign Office, and has told no soul except his colleagues.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Sir James Linton.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 4th February 1887.

DEAR SIR JAMES,—Princess Beatrice has requested me to reply to your letter of the 2nd inst. Her Royal Highness gave your first letter¹ to the Queen, who had no directions to issue on the subject.

Princess Beatrice presumes that you are aware that questions of this nature cannot be discussed by her Majesty without previous communication with her responsible Ministers.² Yours truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

I confess I do not understand your proposals, which are at variance with others submitted for the same object. You contemplate a merely private and personal ornament. I cannot think the artists would like this.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 5th Feb. 1887.—The debates in the House of Commons go on and on, and the Address is not yet voted. An amendment about Ireland is still to be debated. I receive daily excellent

¹ See above, p. 260.

² Lord Salisbury had written, through his Secretary, to Sir Henry Ponsonby on the 1st February that he could hardly consider Sir James Linton's suggestions "altogether practical or desirable."

reports¹ from Mr. Smith. In the one to-day he said that "he has to observe that the prevalent view of highly instructed and advanced Liberals appears to be that property in land in a landlord's hands is more or less criminal (!!), while the property of the tenant is absolutely sacred, and that disregard, contempt or defiance of old-fashioned laws in defence of the landlord is evidence of an enlightened mind and of the highest Christian virtue." Dreadful.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 5th Feb. 1887.—. . . Lord Salisbury has seen Count Corti and Count Hatzfeldt to-day, and has discussed with them further the projected Italian understanding. He has made them understand that this country cannot promise its assistance to any other country till it knows what the *casus belli* is; and that we could not, under any circumstances, take part in an aggressive war against France. On the other hand, England has great interests that neither France nor Russia should increase their domination over the shores either of the Mediterranean, the Ægean, or the Black Sea; and would be disposed to co-operate heartily with Italy for that end.

It seems likely that some informal understanding will be arrived at; but both the Ambassadors understand that we can enter into no formal treaty, and that we can only speak for the existing Ministry with certainty.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 7th Feb. 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty ventures to return his most grateful thanks for the gracious letter he has received to-day.

Mr. Smith does not disguise the fact that patience

¹ It is, of course, only possible to give a very small selection from these reports. In that of the 8th February, he mentions that Sir Edward Grey (now Viscount Grey of Fallodon) "made a maiden speech of much promise and interest."

is severely tried by the open and cynical waste of public time, which is perpetrated for party purposes, but he is much more concerned for the danger to which it exposes Parliamentary institutions than for any personal inconvenience which may be inflicted upon the Servants of your Majesty. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10th Feb. 1887.—Lord Salisbury . . . encloses—in print—two documents which have been the result of the Cabinet Council held to-day. The first is the exchange of despatches which constitute the *entente* with the Italian Government. The English despatch, which, of course, is the only one binding on this country, is so drawn as to leave entirely unfettered the discretion of your Majesty's Government, as to whether, in any particular case, they will carry their support of Italy as far as "material co-operation." But, short of a pledge upon this subject, it undoubtedly carries very far the *relations plus intimes* which have been urged upon us. It is as close an alliance as the Parliamentary character of our institutions will permit. Your Majesty's advisers recommend it on the whole as necessary in order to avoid serious danger. If, in the present grouping of nations, which Prince Bismarck tells us is now taking place, England was left out in isolation, it might well happen that the adversaries, who are coming against each other on the Continent, might treat the English Empire as divisible booty, by which their differences might be adjusted; and, though England could defend herself, it would be at fearful risk and cost. The interests of Italy are so closely parallel to our own that we can combine with her safely. The despatches are only drafts; and the English one will of course not be signed till it has your Majesty's approval.

The second paper is in a less forward stage. It consists of "Suggestions" for the settlement of the Egyptian question; and is designed to furnish a

basis of Sir H. Wolff's negotiations at Constantinople. It has become evident that a *permanent* occupation of Egypt will not only be against our pledges, and exceedingly costly; but it also means permanent disagreement with France and Turkey, which may at any moment take an acute form. On the other hand we are pledged not to leave Egypt to the danger either of internal anarchy, or of foreign invasion. The enclosed "suggestions" are designed to reconcile these difficulties. England undertakes to leave Egypt in five years, if at the time there is no apprehension of internal or external disturbance; but she retains the power of entering again at any time if there shall be danger of invasion, or anarchy, or of Egypt not fulfilling her engagements.

It is very probable that France will not consent to these proposals, and that the negotiations may be protracted; but they will be acceptable to Turkey, which chiefly desires to see the flag of the infidel disappear; and they will exonerate your Majesty's Government from any charge of attempting to ignore their pledges.

Mr. Goschen's majority¹ is very satisfactory. Even so late as last night Lord Hartington was expressing his apprehensions that Mr. Goschen would not get in.

[Copy.] *Viscount Lewisham*² to *Sir Henry Ponsonby*.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 18th Feb. 1887 (1.30 a.m.).—

Mr. Parnell's amendment was negatived by 242 to 107, and the procedure rules were put down for Monday. Mr. Dillon, who had come over from Ireland, rose to resume the debate on Address, and impeached the manner in which his trial was being conducted. He then got on to the question of alleged Jury-packing, when he was ruled out of order, and after one or two more attempts to bring back the discussion to that point he finally gave up the attempt and resumed his

¹ At St. George's, Hanover Square, over 4,000. The Queen sent Mr. Goschen a telegram of congratulation.

² Vice-Chamberlain of H. M. Household, M.P. for West Kent; succeeded his father as 6th Earl of Dartmouth, 1891.

seat. Mr. O'Connor then moved the adjournment of the debate, but the motion was negatived by 261 to 119. Mr. Cox then rose to move an amendment to the Address dealing with the state of the working-classes in England—a most palpable afterthought, as when he was called on to bring up the amendment he had not even written it out, and took some time to formulate it amidst derisive cheers from the Government Benches. The amendment was seconded by Mr. A. O'Connor, and having been continued for a considerable time the Speaker rose and stated that in his opinion the question had been sufficiently discussed. Mr. Smith then rose and moved that the question be now put. This was accordingly done, and the Clôture was most successfully applied by 291 to 81. There was considerable excitement over the division, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain being hooted by the Parnellites and cheered by the Unionists as they walked down the House. The amendment was then put, and negatived.

On the Speaker rising to put the main question Dr. Clark rose, but was immediately overruled by the Speaker, who again gave it as his opinion that the question had been sufficiently discussed. Mr. Smith then made the customary motion, and the Clôture was again applied; two of the Opposition Whips and several Radicals voted with the Government in support of the Speaker's ruling. The Address was then agreed to by 283 to 70. Mr. Sexton tried to object to the appointment of the Committee, but the Speaker promptly suppressed the attempt on the ground that the appointment of the Committee was merely a formal and supplementary measure to the voting of the Address, and declined to entertain the objection. The Committee was agreed to, and the exciting episode came to a conclusion.

The Speaker¹ was loudly cheered on leaving the Chair. LEWISHAM.

¹ Mr. Smith, in his report of the debate, wrote that "any success which may have been attained is due to the admirable firmness and

Mr. Speaker Peel to Mr. Smith.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 19th February 1887.

MY DEAR MR. SMITH,—I thank you very sincerely for the terms in which you convey to me the communication from her Majesty.

May I be allowed to express through you my dutiful acknowledgments to her Majesty for her very gracious message, and the expression of my deep sense of the honour which her Majesty has conferred upon me by her approbation of the course which I took in the exercise of what I believed to be my duty? I remain, my dear Mr. Smith, Most truly yours,
ARTHUR W. PEEL.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 23rd Feb. 1887.—After dinner had a long conversation with Mr. Goschen. He praised Mr. Smith very much, and said that he was beginning to feel his power now. He is naturally so very modest. The Separatists were very much discredited in the country. Spoke of Germany, Turkey, and Russia. Ireland was a dreadful difficulty. Mrs. Goschen seems very happy at her husband's position; Mr. Gladstone had sent him a very civil message, saying he did quite right. He had also sent a civil message to Mr. Smith, wishing to help in passing the rules of procedure.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 26th Feb. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits that at the Cabinet to-day it was resolved to prosecute Archbishop Croke.¹

strength of the Speaker, who asserted the dignity and the authority of the Chair under circumstances of great difficulty, in which a less courageous man would have failed."

¹ He had expressed his support of the Plan of Campaign, and was understood to recommend the people to pay no taxes. But he explained that what he favoured was the constitutional agitation of the Irish party; and he was not prosecuted.

It was also resolved that your Majesty's Jubilee day should be celebrated as a holiday by Order in Council under the Bank Holiday Act.

A Tithe Rent Charge Bill was approved, placing the liability for tithe upon the owner, so as to prevent the conflicts which have taken place with the tenant farmers, especially in Wales.

Count Karolyi¹ called this afternoon, and after thanking Lord Salisbury for the communication of the Italian agreement which had been made at Vienna, proposed that a similar exchange of ideas should take place between England and Austria. He observed that he was fully aware that under a Parliamentary form of Government it was not possible to give any promise of material assistance, until the occasion for it arose. Lord Salisbury reserved a definitive answer until he had consulted his colleagues; but intimated that personally he thought some such exchange of views might have a considerable moral value, and would be free from objection, if carefully limited in the manner the Ambassador had suggested.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 27th Feb. 1887.—I spoke to Lord Hartington for some time after dinner, and he was gloomy, saying he saw no prospect of governing Ireland; that he thought the Government not energetic enough; there was no danger of their being displaced by an adverse vote, but he thought they would come to a deadlock about Ireland. He feared the Coercion Bill, which would cause a desperate fight, would not do much good; he thought the Irish Members would all have to be suspended, as well as Sir William Harcourt, whom he blamed very much. Lord Hartington met Lady Harcourt last night, and she told him she heard he wished to hang her husband, to which he replied, "I don't want to hang him, but I do want to see him suspended."

¹ Austrian Ambassador.

Mr. Chamberlain, he said, was hopeful about some plan being arrived at, which Lord Hartington was not. He sometimes wondered whether some discussions between the parties (four, he called them) might not be a good plan. He said he should support the Government as long as they kept out of Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule.

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

CALCUTTA, 28th Feb. 1887.— . . . All the accounts from every part of India go to show that the celebration of the Jubilee has been an extraordinarily successful as well as a most spontaneous and enthusiastic celebration on the part of the people. In a previous letter Lord Dufferin communicated to your Majesty the programme for the two days which were set aside as public holidays. Nothing could have been more brilliant than both the fireworks and the illuminations, and Lord Dufferin is sure that it will be a satisfaction to your Majesty to know that in all our arrangements it was the enjoyment and the tastes of the masses of the people that we endeavoured to consult and gratify.

The natives of India are passionately fond of pyrotechnic displays, and on the 16th they were shown fireworks far superior to any that they had ever seen before. The principal feature was the outline of your Majesty's head, traced in lines of fire, which unexpectedly burst on the vision of the astonished crowd. The likeness was admirable, and caused an enormous shout of pleasure and surprise. In the same manner portraits of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the same gigantic scale appeared from out a fiery rose-bush. These were equally like and were similarly recognised. Lord and Lady Dufferin were honoured in the same manner, and the Viceroy thought he had never looked so well. Thirty thousand schoolchildren, both native and European, were entertained in a very successful manner under the superintendence

of the wife of one of your Majesty's new Knights, a certain Lady Wilson, a very influential personage in Calcutta.

On the night of the illuminations a procession was formed, and Lord Dufferin with his Council and all the Civil and Military authorities drove through the town. The streets were crowded with thousands and thousands of people, and though an Indian crowd is generally very impassive, on this occasion Lord Dufferin was received with continuous cheers and clappings as he proceeded.

The same unanimity and loyal feeling has been evinced both at Madras and Bombay, as well as in every city and town in the Peninsula. Everywhere, Lord Dufferin understands, your Majesty's image was carried up and down the streets, accompanied by religious processions chanting praises in your Majesty's honour, and prayers for your safety and long life. At the Courts and Capitals of the native Princes an equal amount of enthusiasm was manifested. Large subscriptions have also been set on foot in various centres, and although there is undoubtedly a very great unwillingness on the part of the people that any of the money subscribed should go out of the country, they have been generally induced, Lord Dufferin understands, to set apart a portion of the funds for the Imperial Institute, to which also a good many of the rich Zemindars and Rajahs are beginning to subscribe. The matter, however, is a very delicate one, and requires to be very carefully handled in order to avoid rousing a spirit of discontent and opposition, but by patience and discretion Lord Dufferin hopes to ultimately bring about a satisfactory result. . . . DUFFERIN.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 2nd March 1887.—Saw Lord Salisbury, who is in great trouble about Sir M. H. Beach, he having suddenly completely broken down in health, besides being threatened with blind-

ness, and cannot go on. This is dreadful. Lord Salisbury named his clever and agreeable nephew [Mr. Arthur Balfour] as the person fittest to succeed him, and I was just going to make the same suggestion to him. Lord Salisbury wishes it all still to be kept a secret. Sir M. H. Beach has been asked to remain in the Cabinet without office. Sir R. Buller¹ had not been a success as Under-Secretary and would come away; but there must also be another [Under-] Secretary to assist him [Mr. Balfour] in Parliament.

Talked of the Socialists and the necessity of putting a stop to their proceedings in attempting to enter the churches; of Bulgaria and the risings in Silistria and Rustchuk, which looked uncomfortable; of Bertie's going to Ireland, which Lord Salisbury agreed ought to be postponed; and of Arthur getting leave, the great difficulty about it. He thought the law against it unwise, and unpractical, and that a very short Bill should be brought in for *all* Commanders-in-Chief in India as soon as the Coercion Bill was passed. If that was too late, an indemnity clause could be added to make it all straight.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 3rd March 1887.—. . . Lord Salisbury consulted [the Cabinet] as to the project for creating an order of literary, artistic, and scientific merit. The opinion was that such a step would be desirable if agreeable to the leading men of those vocations; but that careful steps should be taken to ascertain that point. At the same time some Members of the Cabinet expressed the apprehension that any obtrusive activity of the Ministry in pushing a project of that kind, at a moment of such gravity as the present, might be open to unfavourable comment.

¹ On the formation of the Government Sir Redvers Buller had been sent on a special mission to the disturbed West and South-West of Ireland. See above, p. 178.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Draft.]

4th March 1887.—Queen hopes you will consult Leighton about decoration.

H.M. hopes you don't mean that Cabinet are opposed, but rather that question should be postponed for others more important. H. P.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 4th March 1887.—The behaviour of the Irish in the House of Commons is simply dreadful ; such language, such delay, and yet the Government always have excellent majorities. Mr. Smith writes daily admirable reports. A day or two ago he described “the proceedings of the evening” as having been “of a stormy character.” Tiresome questions first and then great wrangling over amendments on the Rules of Procedure. He concluded by saying, that it would not surprise me “to hear that Mr. Smith has been charged, in the course of the debate, with tyranny and with want of nerve, with incapacity and stern unbending resolve, and that indeed Mr. Smith is in the opinion of the Irish Party quite unfit for the office he holds.” Last night they were prepared to sit all night, which however Mr. Smith did not agree to, as he declared the Procedure must finish this week, which it has not done. He told me before that he considered Sir William Harcourt's speech and that of some others very mischievous. The questions and amendments made, and the determination to worry the Government to death, are really quite wicked. The Irish hope to force Home Rule by making themselves as disagreeable as possible.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

4th March 1887.— . . . Lord Salisbury still thinks that it would be a gracious act, and tend to allay the bitterness of feeling which exists, if your Majesty were to include Mr. Gladstone in your Majesty's in-

vitations. He is so famous a man that many people would be shocked by any neglect of him, even where they differ from him. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 5th March 1887.—Lenchen and Christian, Lord Lewisham, Duchess of Roxburghe, Lord Bridport, Mr. A. Balfour, Evelyn Moore, and Dr. Walsham How, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford, dined. Mr. A. Balfour has just been appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and is going there directly. Poor Sir M. H. Beach resigned to-day, and the accounts of his illness and threatened blindness appeared in to-day's papers. Mr. Balfour said it was terrible, for poor Sir M. H. Beach had completely broken down. Ireland, he said, was a fearful difficulty, and the fight in the House of Commons would be desperate; but I observed that they [the Opposition] would be sure to be beaten. Mr. Balfour feared Lord Salisbury had too much to do, and we agreed that he ought to be helped, but Lord Salisbury said he felt that would be more trouble than good. Mr. Balfour is singularly charming and agreeable, and very like his uncle in manner. Lord Lewisham (brother to Amy Legge's husband and Vice-Chamberlain) is very pleasant. The Bishop of Bedford is most pleasing, an elderly man, kind, gentle, very simple, large-minded, and unsophisticated. He does an enormous amount of good amongst the very poor.

Lord Salisbury's Reconstructed Ministry in March 1887.

<i>Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary</i>	MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.
<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>	WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	LORD HALSBURY.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	VISCOUNT CRANBROOK.
<i>Home Secretary</i>	HENRY MATTHEWS.
<i>Colonial Secretary</i>	SIR HENRY HOLLAND (created VISCOUNT KNUTSFORD in 1888).
<i>War Secretary</i>	HON. EDWARD STANHOPE.
<i>Indian Secretary</i>	VISCOUNT CROSS.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.
<i>Lord Chancellor of Ireland</i>	LORD ASHBOURNE.
<i>Chief Secretary for Ireland</i>	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	LORD JOHN MANNERS (became DUKE OF RUTLAND in 1888).
<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON (succeeded by SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH in 1888).
<i>President of Local Government Board</i>	CHARLES T. RITCHIE (admitted to Cabinet in 1888).

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Londonderry.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th March 1887.—The Queen has to thank the Viceroy for a kind and interesting letter which she received some days ago, and which she regrets she could not answer sooner.

She fears the state of Ireland is very serious and the spirit of the greater part of the people is very bad. It is the more distressing, as some time ago there seemed to be a decided improvement.

The large attendance at the Drawing-Rooms is very gratifying, and shows a desire on the part of the upper classes to support the Queen's representative, who so worthily discharges his duties.

The Queen is anxious to express to Lord Londonderry the opinion (which Lord Salisbury shares) that the present moment would not be a good one for the *Prince of Wales to visit Ireland*. She thinks it should be delayed till, at any rate, the Coercion Bill has passed. The Queen told the Prince of Wales that she would write to the Viceroy expressing her opinion that the visit should be postponed.

She hopes Lady Londonderry is better.

Poor Sir M. H. Beach's complete breakdown is very sad and distressing.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 6th March 1887.—Feel very tired and exhausted, being really much overdone; and fell asleep in my chair, after tea—a very rare thing for me.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, S.W., 7th March 1887.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—In compliance with the intimation contained in your letter, I will consult Sir

Frederick Leighton¹ and some other leading men in the artistic, literary, and scientific world. I do not think there is any opposition to the idea, but it is felt that there are other more important questions under consideration, and there is a fear lest our activity in the present case might be disadvantageously compared with what is supposed to be, but unjustly supposed to be, our inactivity in other more important matters. Yours very truly, SALISBURY.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Sir Michael Hicks Beach.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 8th March 1887.—The Queen is anxious to express to Sir M. H. Beach her deep concern at the severe indisposition which has obliged him to retire for a time from his active duties. This is indeed a serious loss to the country and to herself, both of whom he served so ably. That his health may speedily be restored is the Queen's sincere and earnest prayer.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach to Queen Victoria.

OAKLEY HALL, BASINGSTOKE, 10th March 1887.—Sir Michael Hicks Beach presents his humble duty to your Majesty and wishes that it were in his power to convey to your Majesty how much comfort such kind sympathy and such generous appreciation of his work, as your Majesty has been pleased to express, are to him in his present trouble.

To serve your Majesty, however humbly, is his greatest wish; and he is thankful to say that his medical advisers bid him entertain a confident hope that he may again be able to take an active part in public affairs; though, so far, they have expressed no definite opinion as to the time which may elapse before this will be possible. Meanwhile, he can only beg your Majesty to be graciously pleased to accept his heartfelt gratitude.

¹ President of the Royal Academy, afterwards Lord Leighton.

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

TREASURY CHAMBERS, 11th March 1887.—. . . There has been some fear that a portion of the Liberal Unionists would not support the Government on a Coercion Bill, and this view has been held strongly by Sir Henry James. He has not stated, so far as Mr. Goschen is aware, that he would not himself support such a Bill; but he had fears as to others. Some of the Liberal Unionists are strong on the point that some decided reforms as to Irish land (in consequence of the Report of the Cowper Commission) ought to be introduced simultaneously with the Crimes Bill, e.g. in the Lords, whilst the latter is introduced in the Commons. This is Mr. Chamberlain's view, and Mr. Goschen thinks it will be quite possible to meet this point. In that case even a strong Crimes Bill would be supported by the bulk of Liberal Unionists, though it would be fought *à outrance* by the Radicals and Irish. Your Majesty is doubtless aware that it is the firm intention of the Cabinet to ask what *they* think indispensable for restoring law and order in Ireland, and to stand or fall by the essential parts of the measure they introduce. It will no longer do to count heads and to see whether, by modification here and there, the support of certain doubtful Members can be secured.

Mr. Goschen feels sure that the Government will have the loyal support of Lord Hartington, who, though anxious as to what may be the result, has not shown the slightest symptom of faltering himself; and the attitude of Mr. Chamberlain is also promising.

Mr. Goschen earnestly trusts that the Government may succeed in obtaining the necessary powers for governing Ireland, and thus hold its ground as the defender of the Union; but it would be far better to be driven from office in the attempt than to propose any weak measure which would ultimately fail.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, 11th March 1887.— . . . Lord Salisbury has intimated to Lord Lathom your Majesty's decision that the innocent wife, if divorced, is not to be excluded from the Drawing-Room on that account.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 18th March 1887.—Saw Bertie for some little time, and took leave of him, as he was going to Berlin for the old Emperor's ninetieth birthday. Alix, with her three dear girls, looking like four sisters, and Mary and May¹ Teck, who was in great good looks, dined. Have rather a cold and feel very shivery.

The Earl of Lathom to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE, 21st March 1887.

MY DEAR PONSONBY—I have received the accompanying letter from Lord Salisbury as to the reception at Court under certain circumstances of ladies who have divorced their husbands, and it will, of course, be my duty to carry her Majesty's wishes into effect.

I understand that each case as it arises is to be submitted separately for her Majesty's commands; and I must venture to record my fears that, as foretold in the memoranda of Lord Sydney, Lord Kenmare, and Lord Selborne in 1881, it will be found in some cases that trustworthy data on which her Majesty can be enabled to form an opinion will be difficult to obtain, or at any rate may prove to be to a certain extent of an *ex parte* character.

But assuming that this difficulty may be overcome, there are certain points which must inevitably arise at once, which I have detailed on a separate sheet, upon which I will ask you to take her Majesty's commands in order that I may be enabled to answer, without unnecessary reference to her Majesty, the

¹ The present Queen.

various questions which will be surely addressed to me by those interested in this question. Believe me, very truly yours, LATHOM.

ENCLOSURE.

Memorandum by the Earl of Lathom.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE.—Memorandum as to the reception of Divorced Ladies at Court.

By the law of England a woman divorced under any circumstances loses the name and status of her husband, and reverts to her own, though by custom some of them retain the husband's name or a part of it.

Her status being changed, in the same manner as by marriage, these questions arise :

1. Are they to be presented afresh ?
2. Under what rule as to name are they to be presented or received, *i.e.* as Mrs. (husband's name)
or Miss (maiden name) ?

In the case of there being children, the latter would be liable to misconstruction.

Where the Queen has already refused to receive certain ladies, . . . are the cases to be allowed to be reopened ?

In the United States divorce may be obtained cheaply and easily. Hitherto the American Minister has acted under the general rule that divorced ladies are not received. Must that rule be maintained, or must it be left to his discretion ?

Although divorced men have been allowed to be presented in their official or other capacity, it has been the rule that they shall not be invited to the Court entertainments. Will this rule be maintained with them, and also with the divorced ladies in question ?

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 23rd March 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully returns the papers covering the Lord Chamberlain's letter : and submits the following observations.

Two difficulties appear to have been raised : one with respect to the names of these ladies, the other with respect to their characters. With respect to their names, Lord Salisbury submits that they should be allowed to bear at your Majesty's Court the names they ordinarily bear in Society. Your Majesty receives numberless ladies under names which legally

they have no right to bear—what are called the courtesy titles. It suffices that they appear under the names they ordinarily bear; but in any legal process they would be described in a very different manner. Your Majesty does not raise this technical legal question in the case of the daughters of Dukes and Marquises, and there is no reason for raising it in the case of the divorced ladies. It may be said, when the Marchioness of Blandford¹ appears, that she has no legal right to be called by that name. It is perfectly true. But neither had she any legal right to be called by it *before* she was divorced. It was never more than a courtesy title; and it remains so still.

As to the names, therefore, Lord Salisbury submits that these ladies, like all other ladies, should be received under the names they ordinarily bear.

As to their characters. It appears from Lord Lathom's and from Sir H. Ponsonby's notes, that it is supposed that there is some special danger that a lady who has divorced her husband on account of *his* adultery should be herself a person of bad character. Lord Salisbury thinks this fear must arise from a misapprehension of the present state of the law. It is the uniform rule, that no person whose character will not stand investigation shall have the benefit of the Divorce Court. A husband cannot divorce his wife if any conjugal infidelity can be proved against himself; and the same is true of a wife seeking to divorce her husband. It follows that a woman who has divorced her husband has a special certificate of character. It does not rest on mere presumption. The fact that she has gained her suit shows that neither her husband's Counsel nor the Queen's Proctor have been able to attack it.

In answer, therefore, to your Majesty's gracious request for advice, Lord Salisbury humbly submits that:

1. The fact that a lady's husband has been

¹ Who had in 1883 divorced her husband, the Marquis of Blandford (afterwards 8th Duke of Marlborough), for his misconduct.

divorced from her at her suit should not form any presumption against her.

2. That she should go to Court like any other lady, and that no question should be raised or reference be made to your Majesty, unless other grounds exist for inferring immorality.

3. That these rules apply to foreign as well as to English ladies; because with many foreigners divorces are granted on grounds unconnected with morality; but that Foreign representatives be informed that they are responsible for the respectability of those whom they present.

[*Same date.*]—In the accompanying submission, Lord Salisbury has not dealt with the question of *nullity* of marriage. . . . He does not feel he could make any confident recommendation thereupon; as disagreeable, as well as difficult, questions are raised by cases of this kind. . . .

With respect to *men* who have been divorced for their own adultery, Lord Salisbury would be very glad if your Majesty should decide to give them no social recognition of any kind. It would have a very valuable effect on public morality. But this would be a very considerable change.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE [? 24th March 1887].—The Queen sent all the papers about the ladies to Lord Salisbury and sends his decision, which she thinks excellent. Let it be copied and sent to Lord Lathom and be adhered to.

She entirely agrees about the gentlemen. It would have the best effect. Society is too bad *now*; some stop should be put to it.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 23rd March 1887.—This was a most successful day. Had a good night, with very little cough, and felt better. Started at 10.30 for Birmingham. The morning cleared and the sun shone

brightly. We were received at the station by the Mayor, Mr. T. Martineau, his wife (giving me a beautiful bouquet), and Lord Leigh, the Lord-Lieutenant. We first went to the Small Heath Park, a recreation ground, where 20,000 children lined the road on either side, and they sang the National Anthem or were by way of doing so, but chiefly cheered. From here we passed into the town, going through the old part, where there are some very curious old houses. Some of the streets are very narrow and high, and the flags and decorations waving in the wind looked very bright and gay. The crowds were tremendous, and the greater number were of the poorest class, excepting those who filled the windows from top to bottom. Though the crowd were a very rough lot, they were most friendly, and cheered a great deal. We went at a foot's-pace the whole time, and it took us three-quarters of an hour, being about three miles to the Town Hall, where we got out. We proceeded in procession up the Hall to a dais, where there were three chairs, the National Anthem being sung. An address was read and presented, to which I read my answer. Fortunately, my voice was clear and audible. After this followed several presentations, and Beethoven's *Hallelujah Chorus* was well sung. The Hall was very full. I spoke to Mr. Chamberlain, Lord and Lady Bradford, Lord Warwick, Lord Hertford, etc.

On leaving the Town Hall we drove a different way, the crowds almost larger, and passed under two very remarkable arches. The first was put up by the brass-workers, with samples of their manufactures; the second by the Fire Brigade, composed of fire escapes, some of the men standing at the top. We passed King Edward's Grammar School, where one of the scholars presented an address, and the whole school cheered very much. Stopped at a tent, under which I was to lay the foundation-stone of the Law Courts. The ceremony was much the same as usual on such occasions.

Before entering the train, I expressed to the Mayor in warm terms the gratification I had experienced at the splendid reception I had received. It was as good as at Liverpool, but I think that, while there were not such ragged people as we saw there, there were at Birmingham more *generally* poor and rough ones. Here the weather was very different from that terrible rain at Liverpool. What was very remarkable was that in that very Radical place, amongst such a very rough population, the enthusiasm and loyalty should have been so great.¹ We got back to Windsor at seven, not over-tired.

24th March.—Received a long account yesterday evening from Mr. Smith of the dreadful long sitting they had had, and the violence of the Irish and Radicals, Mr. Gladstone having made a violent speech, declaring he would do all he could to oppose the [Crimes] Bill. To-day Mr. Smith wrote that he had informed Mr. Marjoribanks (the Opposition Whip) privately last evening “that he felt it would be necessary to ask the House to read the Irish Bill a second time before adjourning for the holidays, however late it might make them. Mr. Gladstone has taken umbrage at this step, and refused to be bound by any of the usages under which there is always an understanding between the two sides of the House as to the period for concluding a great debate. It was arranged that a division on Mr. Morley’s amendment should be taken to-morrow night, but that is now off altogether, and each Party left to take its own course,” which Mr. Smith said would be most detrimental “to the Parliamentary Government we lived under.”

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

24th March 1887.— . . . The motion for precedence for the Irish Bill was reached at half-past six, and Mr. Gladstone spoke very much in his old manner for more than an hour. He devoted himself, first of all,

¹ “The visit,” wrote Lord Salisbury to the Queen, “will be of the greatest value, politically and publicly.”

to Mr. Smith, whose motion he denounced as unprecedented, and then to Mr. Balfour; and the gist of his speech was that the Government sought power to oppress the poor for the benefit of the rich, that the National League was a combination necessary for the protection of the occupiers of land, and that the proposal of the Government to bring leases under the purview of the Land Commission with power to reduce rents was an iniquity which he had refused to sanction, while it was reasonable to review rents fixed under his own Act of 1881. The whole tenor of his speech was to express pity for the tenant whose sufferings the Government were bound to relieve; and he relied greatly on the evidence of Sir Redvers Buller, quoting only those passages which supported his view. Mr. Goschen was to have replied to him, but it was about ten minutes to eight when Mr. Gladstone sat down and the House emptied for dinner. The Speaker rose and put the question, when at the last moment Mr. Chance, an Irish Member, rose to continue the debate. He was succeeded by a flight of men on both sides, to keep up the debate, amongst whom were Mr. Osborne Morgan and Colonel Saunderson.

Mr. Asquith,¹ a new Member, spoke with considerable ability from the Liberal benches, and then came Mr. Chamberlain, who maintained the necessity of doing in 1887 what he had concurred in doing as a Member of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1881 and 1882, when measures for the restoration of law and order preceded the Land Act and the Arrears Act. He quoted passages from Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley sustaining his view with great effect, and he contended that the indications given by the Chief Secretary of the land legislation promised by the Government were satisfactory. . . . Mr. Smith hopes to secure a division to-morrow evening,² so that on Monday the Chief

¹ Prime Minister (1908-1916), created in 1925 Earl of Oxford and Asquith, and died in 1928.

² This hope was justified: the motion was carried the next evening by 349 to 260 votes.

Secretary may make his motion for leave to bring in the Bill ; but it is impossible to foretell what the result will be, as the Opposition is extremely factious.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, 25th March 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully encloses a printed copy of the secret letters that have passed between Count Karolyi and himself in the form in which they were actually signed. They were signed yesterday.

Letters similar in purport have passed between Count Corti and Count Karolyi.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR, 26th March 1887.—Saw Lord Salisbury before dinner. He had been very unwell, with a bad cold and loss of voice. Talked of the Jubilee arrangements, some of which he did not seem to understand, till I explained them to him ; of the debate, and he said they would have to sit all Holy Week, as else the recess would be taken advantage of to agitate against the Bill, and it must be read a second time before Easter, so they must go without holidays, and get them later. This will show that they are in earnest. Lord Salisbury returned again to London. Lady Erroll, Rosa Hood, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Waldegrave, Lady Collins, and Sir H. Ponsonby dined. I had some conversation with Mr. Matthews, who spoke highly of Mr. Goschen. I also spoke to Mr. Chamberlain, who said everybody was delighted at Birmingham with my visit. I told him I was very glad he had supported the Government, and he bowed and said he feared we had very troublous times before us, that he was “not sure that we were on the right course,” but agreed that order must be maintained or, rather, restored in Ireland.¹

¹ Later in the evening, when talking with the Household about the Royal visit to Birmingham, Mr. Chamberlain rather complained that, while the town had made a supreme effort in decoration, there had been

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 2nd April 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty is able to report that at 2.40 this morning leave was given to introduce the Irish Criminal Law Amendment Bill. There was a great scene in the House before the permission was obtained.

Mr. Gladstone was in his place about 10.30, and was greatly perturbed, talking to his colleagues on the Opposition bench and gesticulating from time to time to them, showing great emotion. The debate dragged on until 12.35, when Mr. Conybeare sat down. It had evidently been arranged that an adjournment should be moved by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, a prominent Home Ruler, in order to test the determination of the Government and the extent to which the Speaker would support them.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor moved and Mr. Smith opposed the adjournment, which Mr. Gladstone had supported with great evidence of excitement and feeling. Lord Hartington strongly supported Mr. Smith, and, after half-an-hour's conversation, a division was taken, giving the Government a majority of 107, increased from 89, at which it stood on Friday preceding. Another adjournment was moved, and Mr. Smith appealed to Mr. Gladstone to use his influence to save the House the trouble of dividing after so marked a proof of the view of the majority. He responded with heat, and the House then gave the Government a majority of 108.

Thereupon Mr. Smith moved that the question be hardly enough show in response ; there should have been more carriages and the Household Cavalry in the procession. The explanation that the Queen liked everything done simply and that the Household Cavalry never went out of London he countered by saying that simplicity was suitable to a Republic, but that a Sovereign should make such visits with all possible state ; that the Household Cavalry were paid for by the taxpayer, and therefore people in the provinces had a right to see them. The Queen was told of this conversation, with the result that, for the remainder of her reign, whenever a state procession took place in the provinces, the Household Cavalry were there.

put under the new rules ; and there was great excitement on the Opposition benches, Mr. Gladstone exhibiting great emotion. The majority was again 108 ; and, when it was announced, Mr. Gladstone, his colleagues, and the party following him, left the House, the Irish vociferating and crying " Down with the Speaker." The uproar was greater than anything Mr. Smith has witnessed in the House. Meanwhile, the Speaker was steadily putting the several questions following upon the Motion that the " Question be now put," and they were declared to be carried with only one dissentient, Mr. Dillwyn, the sole remaining Radical in the House. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *Monday, 4th April 1887.*— . . . Lord Salisbury, as the result of many conversations with Count Hatzfeldt, and piecing together indications furnished by chance expressions, is disposed to believe that Prince Bismarck *did* wish for war with France ; that the Emperor of Russia, afraid of being left without an ally, informed Prince Bismarck, or allowed him to see, that France would not be altogether abandoned ; and that since that time the Prince has been trying to make trouble between Russia and Bulgaria, hoping that thereby the Tsar's hands would be too full to suffer him to interfere on behalf of France ; and on the other that no harm would come of it in view of the recently concluded understanding between Italy, Austria, and England.

This is mere conjecture ; but Count Hatzfeldt's evident desire to persuade Lord Salisbury to advise the Bulgarians to pursue an adventurous policy, has led him to think there must be some explanation of the kind. It is to be hoped, however, that, if this be true, he will be foiled, for the Bulgarians, though under great temptation, are behaving prudently.

Lord Salisbury trusts that your Majesty is obtaining repose and strength from the beautiful climates of

the Riviera and of Aix. The weather has improved here, but is very changeable.

The Ministers will scarcely get any holiday, and the Speaker's health is a good deal affected.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

AIX-LES-BAINS,¹ 12th April 1887.—Have heard again from Prince Alexander that he knows as a fact that Bismarck's object now is to push on the Regents and Bulgarians to elect him in hopes of ruining him, if he refuses (which he will do), with the Bulgarians; and equally if he were to go back and in the old position. Such spite is as wicked as senseless, for one does not see the object. Trust you may help to counteract such wickedness and mischief.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

13th April 1887.—Your Majesty's cypher received. Spite is not, I think, the whole of Prince Bismarck's motive, though doubtless it is part. If the Prince accepts, Russia is certain to occupy Bulgaria; but, if he should refuse, there is good chance that the Bulgarians in their perplexity may take some desperate step which will give Russia an excuse for intervention. Either way the Tsar will be entangled in a Balkan war, which will prevent him from interfering with Germany's designs. Prince Bismarck's policy seems to be to make disturbance in the Balkan Peninsula, which we must prevent if we can.

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

VICEROY'S SPECIAL TRAIN, ALLAHABAD, 31st March 1887.— . . . Having learned that it was your Majesty's desire that a few representatives of the mounted branch of the Indian Army should take part

¹ Before going on to Aix-les-Bains, the Queen had stayed a few days at Cannes, where she arrived on April 1st, in order to visit there Villa Nevada, the place of Prince Leopold's death.

in the Jubilee procession in June, the Government of India has arranged to send over a dozen cavalry men, representing different regiments, in charge of Captain Muir, who Commands the Viceroy's Body-guard. Lord Dufferin has no doubt that they will prove a telling and significant accession to the cavalcade.

A certain number of Indian Princes are also about to repair to your Majesty's Court. Lord Dufferin has given orders that the India Office should be kept informed both of their relative rank and of every circumstance connected with them, so that they may be properly accommodated, and their exact position accurately explained to your Majesty. Lord Dufferin is sorry to say that the chief of them—Holkar the head of the Indore State—is not a very satisfactory personage. He is a coarse Mahratta, with bad manners and vicious tastes, supplemented by a perfect knowledge of English and a pince-nez. While extending to him your Majesty's kind hospitalities, it would be well that your Majesty should not give him too much encouragement. He will be accompanied by Sir Lepel Griffin, a very clever and brilliant Indian civilian, who, however, is unfortunately at this moment in a very bad humour with Lord Dufferin because he has appointed Mr. Lyall, brother of Sir Alfred Lyall, to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab instead of himself.

There is one very nice young Prince going from Bombay, the Rao of Kutch, who will undoubtedly make a very favourable impression on your Majesty. From Bengal there is going the Maharajah of Kuch Behar, a thoroughly anglicised and very good-looking young man. He will be accompanied by his wife, who is the daughter of Keshab Chander Sen, the great religious reformer, of whom perhaps your Majesty may have heard when he went to England some fifteen or twenty years ago. Lord Dufferin would especially recommend this lady to your Majesty's favour and attention. She is very nice-looking, very refined, and

altogether an excellent specimen of an Indian Princess. Amongst other things Lord Dufferin hopes that your Majesty will send her a message requesting her to wear her native Indian dress. The milliners have got hold of her and want her to dress like a European, which would be fatal to her appearance. Lord Dufferin has told her that he was quite sure your Majesty would wish her to go to the Drawing-Room in native dress. DUFFERIN.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 18th April 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to draw your Majesty's attention to a remarkable publication in *The Times* of this morning connecting Mr. Parnell with knowledge of and an apology for the Phoenix Park murder.¹

It was supposed that questions would be asked on the subject at half-past four, but as Mr. Parnell was absent, they were not put to the Government. Mr. Smith would have replied that it rested with Mr. Parnell to vindicate his own character and his own honour. . . .

The House is very crowded, but the aspect of the Liberal benches is grave and depressed and there is little cheering when Mr. Sexton makes his points, except from the Irish benches. . . .

19th April.—. . . The House last evening was greatly excited with the publication of Mr. Parnell's letter in *The Times*, or rather that which they allege to be his letter; and with the Second Reading debate.

¹ The publication was the *facsimile* of a letter purporting to have been written by Mr. Parnell to one of his associates in the Land League after the Phoenix Park assassinations in 1882. It contained the statements that "to denounce the murders was the only course open to us," and that, "though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death, I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." It appeared eventually that *The Times*, though it acted in good faith, had been imposed upon. See Introductory Note, and below pp. 372, 422-3, 430, 434, 463, 480, 550, 578.

Mr. Gladstone's speech was less interesting and Lord Hartington's more direct and effective than usual. Mr. Gladstone's voice was low and less strong than is generally the case, and he was apparently embarrassed by *The Times* incident, to which he did not refer in direct terms. Lord Hartington on the contrary spoke out plainly and almost bluntly, that mere denials were insufficient in such a case as this.

Mr. Balfour marshalled his facts well, but he spoke at a disadvantage, as he rose after Mr. Gladstone at twelve o'clock, and the House was curious to hear what Mr. Parnell had to say for himself, which however consisted in nothing more than denials without any attempt at proof beyond his word ; Mr. Sexton, however, having dragged in Lord Spencer in an earlier part of the evening as a witness to character in favour of Mr. Parnell and his associates. . . .

The division last night¹ was a very satisfactory one. Every supporter of your Majesty's Government either voted or paired in favour of the Government. There were but nine absentee Liberal Unionists and three Parnellites absent unpaired, in addition to Mr. Healy, so that an adequate majority appears to be ensured for the Bill. . . .

22nd April (6.30 p.m.).—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has most respectfully to return his thanks for your Majesty's gracious letter of the 20th inst.

Mr. Smith has been in communication with the Speaker and with his colleagues from day to day on the subject of *The Times* statements ; and their unanimous opinion is that it might defeat the ends of justice if any premature action was taken by Mr. Smith in the House of Commons. It is hoped that the repetition of the charges made against Mr. Parnell and his friends may at last compel a judicial investigation ; and that is the object which the

¹ On the Second Reading of the Crimes Bill, when the Government majority was 101.

Government desire to obtain. The most satisfactory course would be that the Members of the House of Commons incriminated by *The Times* should bring an action for libel; and time must be allowed for them to do so; but it will be Mr. Smith's aim, supported by his colleagues, to look rather to the decision of a trial in a Court of Law than to the action of the House of Commons.

Lord Hartington repeated to-day in the House in detail the charges he had made in debate on Monday against Mr. Boyton and Mr. Sheridan as agents for Mr. Dillon. He charged them with advocating sedition and murder. Mr. Dillon made a lame statement in reply, and rather confirmed than weakened *The Times* statements which Lord Hartington quoted.

Mr. Gladstone's condition appears to Mr. Smith to be quite extraordinary. Sitting on the bench opposite to Mr. Smith he exhibits signs of excitement and anger which would be unaccountable in any other man, and it is difficult to believe that he is completely master of himself.

Mr. Goschen spoke yesterday for nearly three hours, and even his opponents admitted he had made a great success. Sir William Harcourt disparaged the Budget, but it is a popular one, and it has established the reputation and authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

AIX-LES-BAINS, 23rd April 1887.—This was the day for our long-planned and wished-for expedition to the Grande Chartreuse. It was a splendid day. The scenery of the Gorge frequently reminded me of the St. Gothard, and is very grand. We passed the distillery of the celebrated and excellent liqueur, called Chartreuse, made by the monks, who alone possess the secret. It is made of herbs and flowers gathered by them in the country round.

The Monastery nestles in among the high mountains.

As we approached, we could see a monk standing under the doorway, who approached our carriage in his white habit and cowl and bare shaven head, a fine-looking man, the Procureur, who wished us *la bienvenue*. Just inside the Monastery the Grand Prieur Général received us, a stout, burly, rosy-cheeked man, wearing spectacles. The interior struck one as very cold. We were led along the Cloisters, which are immensely long, into a room in which were assembled several of the other principal monks, who were introduced to us. Amongst them was a Russian General Nikolai, who had served in the Caucasus, and had also been attached to the Embassy in London. He has been a monk at the Grande Chartreuse for nineteen years. Pictures of St. Bruno and other heads of the Monastery hung on the walls. Then we proceeded down another very long Cloister, and went into the Gallery, which overlooks the Chapel, where Vespers were going on. From there, to the Chapter Room, a large room full of pictures depicting events in the life of St. Bruno and the portraits of the various Généraux. We were also shown a very pretty small Chapel of St. Louis, with mosaics, and a fine large newly finished Library. One part contains small rooms for male visitors who come to the Monastery, and they may spend two nights there and attend Mass, etc. The Grand Prieur showed us the burial-ground, most dreary-looking and small, with flowers, and little low stone crosses, only for the Généraux. The other poor monks had nothing but flowers over them. Some snow was lying there, in the garden, which was quite hard frozen, and yet the sun was burning hot.

We were shown where the cells were, and told I should see a young *compatriote*, an Englishman who had been there for some time. The Grand Prieur unlocked the cell, which is composed of two small rooms, and the young inmate immediately appeared, kneeling down and kissing my hand, and saying, "I am proud to be a subject of your Majesty."

The first little room looked comfortable enough, and he had flowers in it. The other contained his bed and two little recesses, in one of which stood a small altar, where he said he performed his devotions and said his prayers. In the other deeper recess, with a small window, is the study, containing his books. I remarked how young he looked, and he answered, "I am 23," and that he had been five years in the Grande Chartreuse, having entered at 18!! I asked if he was contented, and he replied without hesitation, "I am very happy." He is very good-looking and tall, with rather a delicate complexion and a beautiful, saintly, almost rapt expression. When we left the cell and were going along the corridor, the Général said I had seen that the young man was quite content, to which I replied that it was a pleasure to see people contented, as it was so often not the case.

As I felt very tired, I asked not to go up any more stairs, and we turned back and went down again. The Général expressed his regret at our visit being so short, but excepting the Refectory and kitchen we had seen everything of real interest. He walked across with us to the Hôtellerie des Dames, only a few hundred yards, where the ladies who wish to see the fine scenery and position often come up to spend a night or two. Here two very friendly Sisters, sort of Sœurs de Charité, welcomed us. Refreshments were prepared in a big room, and here the Général took leave of us, but the Procureur remained. He offered me wine, but I asked for some of their liqueur, and by mistake he gave me some of the strongest. Got home, much satisfied with our expedition, at eight. Rather tired.¹

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 30th April 1887.—The Queen approves of these answers, but always wishes the

¹ The Queen sent the Monastery her portrait, and the Minister-General, in thanking her on the 1st May, wrote: "Nous sommes

words "my dear Mother" to be *inserted*.¹ Not only on this occasion, but ALWAYS. If Sir Henry thinks that it could come in in any other place better, he can alter it. But the Queen wishes it should *never* be omitted when her children represent her.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 3rd May 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to report a very disagreeable evening.

Sir Charles Lewis, without previous notice, moved that the statements in *The Times* of Monday were a breach of privilege, as they affected Mr. Dillon.

Mr. Smith and his colleagues felt unable to accept this proposition without any deliberation; and Mr. Smith moved the adjournment of the debate. At first the front Opposition bench took no part in the discussion, but ultimately Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Gladstone came to the rescue of Mr. Dillon, and urged the acceptance of the motion without adjournment; but the latter was carried by a small majority.

The Parnellites now demand an enquiry by a Committee, which would in the opinion of the Government be a most unsatisfactory tribunal to investigate the charges made by *The Times*; and it is probable that on the meeting of the House to-morrow Mr. Smith will move an amendment to Sir Charles Lewis's motion which will decline to recognise the statements of *The Times* as a breach of privilege.

The rest of the evening was wasted on the Crimes Bill—the Government making very slow progress, but sustaining their bill by a majority of 258 to 176.

4th May.— . . . The motion formulated by Sir

heureux d'avoir pu fonder une maison de notre ordre dans vos états, où la Liberté semble s'être réfugiée, et où nous pourrions être appelés à nous réfugier nous-mêmes si les temps devenaient plus mauvais. Nous irions alors nous mettre avec pleine confiance sous la haute protection de votre Majesté, comme l'ont fait déjà tant d'autres familles religieuses que l'exil a contraintes de chercher une autre Patrie."

¹ The reference is to the official speeches to be made by the Queen's sons and daughters on public occasions when they appeared as representing her Majesty.

Charles Lewis was met by your Majesty's Government this morning by an amendment declining to treat the words complained of as a breach of the privilege of the House.

Mr. Smith explained that the Government were unwilling that the House should take the course proposed without previous enquiry into alleged facts and the conclusions based upon them; and the Government further hold that a Committee of the House is wholly unfit to deal judicially with questions of this gravity; and Mr. Smith was authorised by his colleagues to announce that the Government would concur in a motion ordering the Attorney-General to prosecute *The Times* for libel and defamation, any counsel selected by the Irish Members being associated in the prosecution.

Mr. Smith was followed by the Solicitor-General, who traced all the precedents for the last three centuries, and showed conclusively that the proposal to appoint a Committee was opposed to the practice of the House, and that the only impartial course was to submit the question to a Court of Law. The Solicitor's speech was a most able one, and gave great satisfaction in all parts of the House.

Later Sir Charles Russell¹ spoke and combated his argument and traversed his precedents; but the speech did not at all destroy the good effect of the Solicitor's speech. . . .

5th May.— . . . The night has been occupied by a renewed discussion on the Dillon-*Times* question of privilege. A division was taken, giving the Government a majority of 79 against treating it as privilege; and, after a clever speech from Mr. Bradlaugh, Sir Wm. Harcourt made a characteristic speech, and Mr. Gladstone then made a long and clever speech moving for a Committee. Mr. Gladstone sought to upset the facts, precedents, and arguments of Sir E. Clarke, the Solicitor-General, speaking of an "inter-

¹ Attorney-General in 1886 and 1892; afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen, and Lord Chief Justice.

national difficulty" with Ireland; although he had disclaimed any connection with the movement for the Repeal of the Union, he apparently unconsciously relegated Ireland to the condition of a foreign country.

Mr. Gladstone objected to the course proposed by the Government chiefly on technical grounds, and as there was no precedent precisely on all fours with it, and he warned the Government of the danger of allowing it to be supposed that the Irish Members were treated less fairly than other Members. The Attorney-General¹ then spoke, going step by step through every allegation, making an eloquent defence of trial by judge and jury in England as compared with the tribunal of a Committee; and his speech, although made in the dinner-hour, was listened to by a very good House, and exercised a very powerful influence over those who listened to him. . . .²

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 9th May 1887.—Went to the Throne Room (wearing my orders), where the Court were assembled; and stood on the steps of the Throne. The Lord Mayor, with about 100 of the Corporation, marched slowly up, and an Address was read by the Recorder, to which I read my Answer. Then came the Lieutenancy of London, also with an Address. After this, I received in Audience-room the Maharajah of Kuch Behar and his wife. Lord and Lady Cross presented them. He kissed my hand and I embraced her. He is tall and good-looking, and wore a peculiar black turban with jewels, and a velvet dress with gold embroidery. She wore a silk dress made in Indian fashion and a lace veil on her head, and is very pretty and attractive. Both speak English quite fluently. Then Sir Partab Singh was presented, who also kissed my hand. He is the brother of the Maharajah of Jaipur, a Rajput, and a

¹ Sir Richard Webster, afterwards Lord Chief Justice and Lord Alverstone.

² In the division, on the 6th, the Government had a majority of 84.

very good, loyal, and faithful man. When kissing my hand, he knelt down on both knees and kept his hands in the attitude of prayer.

10th May.—Terrible trouble in Parliament. They sat till six this morning!! But the Government carried their point, and on Friday disposed by a large majority of that dreadful question raised by Sir C. [Lewis].

After luncheon held a Drawing-room, to which besides Beatrice, Alix, Victoria, Lenchen, and her Victoria (for the first time in white), Bertie, George C., Christian, and Liko came. It was an interminable Drawing-room. I stayed over an hour and then Alix took my place. I sat down several times, but stood better and was less tired. The Duchess of Athole presented her third daughter, also pretty, and a pretty niece, Miss Violet Mordaunt, daughter of her unfortunate sister Lady Mordaunt, who is mad. Lady Blandford came by, I having allowed poor divorced ladies, who have had to divorce their husbands owing to cruelty, desertion, and misbehaviour, but are in no way to blame themselves, to appear at Court. Lady Henry Grosvenor (just married, Mrs. Wemyss's daughter, very handsome) and Sybell Grosvenor (who has married a young Mr. Wyndham¹) were presented.

Took a drive in the park, quite late, with Beatrice, Ethel C., and Maud O. Many people out and cheering. Lenchen and Victoria, the Goschens, Lord Elphinstone, and the Duchess of Athole dined. Afterwards talked for some time with Mr. Goschen. He spoke with regret of the line Mr. Gladstone had taken, and said the Unionists were becoming more and more cordial, strong and ready to support the Government. That he believed, when once this Bill was passed, Ireland would quiet down. That the behaviour of the House of Commons was quite disgraceful. He was very tired, having only got to bed at six this morning, and was going back to the House, when he left the Palace.

¹ Mr. George Wyndham, afterwards Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, 10th May 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully transmits a more ornamental key which the Foreign Office have prepared for your Majesty, requesting that your Majesty's present similar key be given back.

They also are anxious to obtain your Majesty's permission that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales should have a similar key. The despatches of a highly confidential nature are now by your Majesty's command communicated to the Prince; and the old Cabinet key, which he has, is not quite reliable now.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11th May 1887.—Again a mild morning. At 11 drove with Beatrice, Liko, and the Duchess of Athole, the Equerries riding, to Westminster Abbey, getting out at the well-known Deanery door, where I had not been since I went with dear Dean Stanley to visit dear Augusta's grave in Henry VIIth's Chapel. The present amiable little Dean,¹ Sir H. Ponsonby, and the Lord Chamberlain met us there, as well as Sir Ponsonby Fane, and Mr. Plunket of the Office of Works. We went at once into the Abbey, and into the Choir, which is one mass of boarding and lumber, so that it looks dreadful. The dais has been put in the same place where the Throne was when the homage took place at my Coronation, and the old Coronation Chair, with the stone from Scone, is placed on it for me to sit in. Various discussions took place, and I hope there will be room for everybody and everything. Then went down through endless planks, etc., to see the tombs of dear Augusta and the Dean, and placed some flowers on them. On our way back, we looked at a few of the fine monuments. All the modern ones not in the side chapels have to be covered over for preservation.

¹ Dr. Bradley.

Saw Lord Salisbury, and talked a great deal about the Jubilee, and the honours for my relations and own people, about which he was most kind. But there are great difficulties about many. He talked of the troubles in the House of Commons, and said these very late and all-night sittings must not be often repeated—also of the Clôture. Talked of my opening the People's Palace¹ and my having agreed to take tea privately at the Mansion House, the City people having made such a point of it. Talked of Bulgaria, and how much the best thing it would be that things should go on as they were. Talked of the shameful treatment of dear Fritz by Bismarck and others.

Took a cup of tea before [going] to Earl's Court, where we saw a very extraordinary and interesting sight—a performance of Buffalo Bill's "Wild West." Returned to Windsor by half-past seven.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

11th May 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to repeat the same story again. Unblushing obstruction has prevailed the whole afternoon; and, after disposing of a series of amendments, the five hours and a half sitting advanced the Bill by six words! and then only by the use of the closure with a majority for Government of 100.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14th May 1887.—At half-past three left Windsor for London for the opening of the People's Palace, accompanied by Beatrice and Liko. At Paddington we entered an open landau with four horses and postillions, in Ascot livery. Lenchen joined us, and she drove with Beatrice and me, the two sisters sitting opposite and I alone in the front

¹ In February, when the Queen expressed her intention of opening the People's Palace, Lord Salisbury had expressed his satisfaction, writing on the 13th Feb.: "He is convinced it will do the utmost possible good."

seat. From the moment we emerged from the station the crowds were immense and very enthusiastic with a great deal of cheering; in the City especially, it was quite deafening.

Still, what rather damped the effect of the really general and very enthusiastic reception, to me, was the booing and hooting, of perhaps only two or three, now and again, all along the route, evidently sent there on purpose, and frequently the same people, probably Socialists and the worst Irish. Everyone says it was wonderful that the reception was so cordial and enthusiastic, considering the masses of Socialists of all nationalities, and low bad Irish, who abound in London.¹ In the City, where the crowd was densest, and the cheering tremendous, there was nothing to be heard of this. There were a great many festoons, decorations, and inscriptions on the houses, but hardly any arches.

The drive was a very long one, and at times the officer commanding the escort could hardly get between the carriage and the crowd. At Holborn Hill, especially, there was a tremendous crush, where the Lord Mayor was waiting with his coach and got out to present me with the sword, which I returned. This caused a delay, and a terrible rush of the crowd; fortunately, however, they were all kept back, and we went on, preceded by the Lord Mayor and four carriages to the boundaries of the City at Aldgate, where they stood on one side and let us pass. I cannot exactly describe where the People's Palace is, and there have been new openings and broad streets made there, but it is called Mile End.

At first the building does not look very imposing, but after ascending a few steps one comes into a very fine hall. We walked up, much as we did at the Law Courts, numbers of people being seated on either side.

¹ Mr. Matthews, in reply to enquiries from Sir H. Ponsonby as to the police views, wrote on 18th May: "Col. Pearson, who rode behind the escort, informs me that, after an experience of eighteen years, he never remembers so enthusiastic a reception, or a more remarkable display of loyalty."

Bertie, Alix, little Louisa, Mary and May Teck and George C. were there. Bertie declared the hall open, which was announced by a flourish of trumpets, followed by the singing of the 100th Psalm. There was great cheering and applause throughout. This part of the ceremony concluded, I left the dais, shaking hands with Lady Rosebery, Lady Salisbury, and old Lady Stanley (whom I had not seen for years), and walked a short way, where I laid the first stone of the Technical Schools, with the usual ceremony and prayer.

We returned through the lower part of the Hall and re-entered our carriage, continuing our progress through the large cheering crowds. We stopped for a moment near the Albert Docks, where were a number of Barnardo's boys or rather boys from his Homes, all in sailors' dresses, each waving a little Union Jack, which had a very pretty effect. Many schools were out and cheered tremendously. The drive back was even longer than the one going, the two together making fifteen miles. We stopped at the Mansion House where, strange to say, I had never been before, and were received by the Lord Mayor, who walked upstairs before us, going through the Egyptian Hall, which was filled with Aldermen and their wives. The Lord Mayor took me to a private room, where the Lady Mayoress, their daughter, and son were standing. They seem to be very nice people. The Lord Mayor's name is Hanson, and he is a lawyer. Bertie, Alix, Louise, George C. and the Tecks soon followed, and we took tea. Then we all signed our names in a book and left. The Lord Mayor's pretty little girl of eleven gave me a bouquet done up in the arms of the City, a red cross and dagger in geraniums.

We got to the station three-quarters of an hour late, and got back to Windsor at half-past eight very tired. I was most thankful all had gone off so well. It was indeed a most satisfactory event, and showed the loyalty of the people.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

11th [?15th] May 1887.—Lord Salisbury . . . is much grieved to hear that any booing, however slight, should have taken place. But the conflicts that are going on between the police and the Socialists on the one side and the Government and the Irish on the other, have left a certain number of very resentful men who would stick at nothing to show their fury. It is of course impossible for any organisation to prevent such ill-manners; and London contains a much larger number of the worst kind of roughs than any other great town in the island; for all that is worthless, worn out, or penniless, naturally drifts to London. . . .

Lord Salisbury has noted your Majesty's wishes in the case of Sir H. Ponsonby, Col. Edwards, Col. Bigge, General Gardiner and Lord Alfred Paget.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th May 1887.—After luncheon received six Addresses!! Mr. Bright came with the Quakers, and I sent for him afterwards, to speak to him, as he has behaved admirably about the Union and against Home Rule. I found him much aged, bent, and his voice weak. He said it was most painful for him to speak of Mr. Gladstone, and he had rather not, for he could not understand him. He was delighted at my reception in the City.

18th May.—The Maharajah and Maharani of Kuch Behar (come for two nights), Lord and Lady Cross, Lady Waterpark, J. Ely, Lord Mt. Edgecumbe, Lord Elphinstone, Mr. Smith, Sir T. Stephenson (commanding the British troops in Egypt), Sir J. Fergusson, and Mr. Fitzgerald dined. Gave the Maharani, who is such a dear gentle little woman, the Order of the Crown of India, which pleased her much. She was dressed in white and gold, with a lace veil over her head and diamond pins. The Maharajah had his velvet and gold dress on and his

black turban, but no jewels. He is very pleasant, and speaks English perfectly. He was greatly shocked at the poor Maharajah Duleep Singh's behaviour, who has quite gone to the bad. They both belong to the sect, of which his father-in-law, Chander Sen, was the founder, and when I asked if that did not make them lose caste in India, he replied, that this sect had done away with caste, which enabled them to do what they liked, and that there were many belonging to it all over India.

After dinner the Rao of Kutch, one of the highest independent Princes in India, a Rajput, came into the corridor and was presented by Lord Cross. He only arrived yesterday evening, and was very distressed at his jewels not having come yet. He is only twenty-one, handsome, and wore a very picturesque dress, and rich red and gold turban. He also speaks English fluently. I shook hands with him, and expressed my satisfaction at seeing him. When I said how fond Arthur and his wife were of India, and what interest I took in the country, he replied, "It is a great thing for India."

19th May.—Got a cypher telegram from Vicky begging me to send Dr. Morell Mackenzie at once for consultation. We therefore concluded it was Fritz's throat, which has been causing him a good deal of trouble lately. Dr. M. Mackenzie is a celebrated specialist for the throat, and I sent Dr. Reid at once to him to try and get him to start as soon as possible. In the evening got another urgent telegram, asking for the doctor to come without delay, and a distracted letter from poor Vicky, saying that two eminent professors at Berlin had examined dear Fritz's throat in which there is a very small growth, which they had declared to be suspicious, and possibly malignant. They consider that the only safe thing would be to remove it from the outside, a most alarming remedy; that, however, they would not do this without having the first European opinion, which they considered Dr. Mackenzie to be. Greatly distressed, and cannot

bear to think of poor darling Vicky's anguish and sorrow. We could hardly believe it; Fritz was otherwise well, but depressed at his loss of voice, and was to know nothing. Dr. Reid returned, having seen Dr. M. Mackenzie, who will start to-morrow morning. Such an anxiety.¹

Saw Lord Salisbury, to whom I confided my anxiety about dear Fritz. He was horrified, for Fritz's life is so precious! Talked of the House of Commons and of the fearful delay, for which something must seriously be done, of the different honours, etc., of Mr. Bright (who, Mr. Smith told me yesterday, had shaken hands with him, wishing him success), of Mr. Chamberlain and his behaving well, etc.

BALMORAL, 24th May.—Could hardly realise the fact of its being my 68th birthday. Beatrice came in quite early to wish me joy, as she generally does, and brought in the sweet little boy, who held a bunch of lilies of the valley tightly in his hand. I thought so much of my former happy birthdays at Osborne. Found a pile of letters on my table, amongst them a very sad and anxious one from poor dear Vicky, which made me very sad. When dressed, I went into my sitting-room, where Beatrice, Liko, Lily, and the darling children met me, each with flowers. My present table was in dearest Albert's room, and such a lovely quantity of things I received! So many people wished to give me something separately for the Jubilee, and sent it for this birthday. From my dear children many pretty things. Little Arthur, as well as Daisy, lunched with us, and dear fat Patsy and the little baby were brought in at dessert time. I gave all my people Jubilee brooches and pins. No end to loyal telegrams. Drove with Lily, Beatrice, and Liko to the Dantzig, where we took tea and found all the dear little children there. Very warm. Dined with all the Household.

¹ The illness of the German Crown Prince, and the correspondence of the Crown Princess on the subject, are fully treated in Sir F. Ponsonby's *Letters of the Empress Frederick*, chaps. ix, x, and xi.

I have been greatly touched and moved by the great affection and loyalty displayed on all sides from high and low towards me on this occasion. May God help me on in my arduous task !

25th May.—Was immensely relieved by a telegram yesterday from Dr. Mackenzie, saying that a second very careful microscopic examination of the small piece he had removed from dear Fritz's throat had proved entirely satisfactory.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, *22nd May 1887.*—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty thinks it right to mention that the service at St. Margaret's Church this morning, at which the House of Commons attended, in commemoration of your Majesty's Jubilee, was a most remarkable and interesting event.

The Speaker in full dress robes, preceded by the Mace and the Officers of the House, and followed immediately by the Clerks of the Table in wig and gown, and by the Members, Lord Hartington, the Chairman of Committees, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Smith being in the front row, were met in Westminster Hall by the clergy and choristers of the Abbey and St. Margaret's, and passed out to the church in procession, the ground being kept by the Queen's Westminster Volunteers. Mr. Gladstone talked incessantly to Mr. Smith throughout the walk, which, being very slow, occupied fifteen minutes. There was a dense crowd behind the Volunteers and police, and some cheers and some hooting for Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Smith alternately was heard. Inside the church the side aisles were filled with ladies, the centre being reserved for Members, who attended so numerously that the provision was not sufficient. The service was choral, and, beginning a few minutes past eleven, was not concluded until half-past one. It commenced with the National Anthem, and the effect of choir and congregation singing together was quite marvellous.

The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Ripon.¹ It was a most instructive and eloquent one, and was delivered extempore without reference to a note, without a pause, with great rapidity, and with such complete success that there was no sense of weariness or of fatigue.

Mr. Smith sat next to the late Speaker, Lord Hampden, Viscount Eversley being between him and Mr. Speaker Peel, so that three generations of Speakers sat together. On Mr. Smith's right was Mr. Gladstone, and beyond him Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen. The two Archbishops took part in the service, which was wound up with the *Hallelujah Chorus*, concluding one of the most memorable religious services Mr. Smith has ever attended—and one in which there was an evident prevailing sense of gratitude and thankfulness for the blessings which have attended the fifty years of your Majesty's reign.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 5th June 1887.—A sad and very anxious letter from poor dear Vicky, as the German doctors will insist that Fritz's throat is in a dangerous state, which Dr. M. Mackenzie says it is not. The latter was to arrive to-day or to-morrow, and they hoped soon to leave for England. It is terrible for poor dear Vicky.

8th June.—A very satisfactory telegram from Dr. Mackenzie. He had again made a slight operation in the throat, and a further small piece had been detached, and proved on examination to be perfectly healthy.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10th June 1887.— . . . The business of this evening commenced with the motion of which Mr. Smith had given notice, requiring the Committee on the Crimes Bill to conclude its labours on Friday, the 17th.

Mr. Gladstone followed Mr. Smith in a very

¹ Dr. Boyd Carpenter.

moderate speech, acknowledging the deplorable condition of public business, but objecting that the Crimes Bill itself was bad and that progress could have been made if the Government had accepted his suggestions to modify it. He also scolded Mr. Smith gently for having spoken of obstruction in moving the new order to the committee; and he wound up by announcing that on a future day he would review the course pursued by the Government, but that neither he nor his friends would divide against Mr. Smith's motion. This decision was quite unexpected, and afforded evidence that he was conscious of the strong feeling out of doors against the obstruction which has become rampant.

Mr. Parnell followed, and of course denounced the Government and Mr. Smith, who are wicked and incapable. Mr. Smith said a few words in reply. Sir Wilfred Lawson followed with his usual buffoonery, and then came Mr. Healy with his bitterness.

Sir William Harcourt spoke in his usual tone, and Mr. Goschen answered him, and then followed the rank and file of the Irish Party; and divisions began which gave the Government large majorities and continued up to 3 a.m., the front Opposition bench being entirely deserted by its occupants.

The close of the evening produced many disorderly scenes, which on one occasion the Speaker denounced as a disgrace to the House, and Mr. Smith has the painful impression that further restrictions will be necessary on the freedom, or rather licence, of Members. At one time it appeared to be possible that the Irish Members would keep the House sitting far into Saturday.

17th June.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to give an account of a night memorable in the history of Parliament.

There were rumours of something that was about to happen when the House met. The Speaker was apprehensive, but he had heard nothing positive. Questions were asked about the evictions in Ireland

and the tithe war in Wales, either of which might have afforded an opportunity for moving an adjournment, but nothing was attempted, and the House got into Committee on the Crimes Bill and plodded on as if the end of the discussion was remote. Divisions were taken on amendments, giving the Government majorities of 62 and 76, and at last the question was put that Clause 6 stand part of the Bill. On that Sir Charles Russell, the late Attorney-General, rose to make an excited and exciting speech against the Clause and the Bill. This was about 9.30. The House was filling, as it was known that at ten precisely Mr. Courtney must cry "Order," and put the clause under discussion and all the remaining clauses of the Bill.

He stopped Sir Charles Russell, and said "the question is that Clause 6 as amended stand part of the Bill." On that the whole of the Irish Members rose, and coming down by the centre gangway trooped out of the House one by one. Meanwhile, the question had been put, and on the division Mr. Gladstone passed down the House first, the Radical Members rising, waving their hats and cheering, as he passed into the "No" lobby. The tellers of the Noes soon returned, but every Member, with one or two exceptions, as he came back from the lobby having voted "No," passed out of the House like a funeral procession, and did not return. It was difficult to restrain the jeers and laughter of the supporters of the Government; but, when the numbers were announced, 332 for the clauses and 163 against, there was great cheering. Every successive clause, from 7 to 20, was put, and the "Ayes" were pronounced loudly and as one voice, and there was not a single "No," so that nine pages of amendments were passed over and disregarded, and the Bill was reported to the House at 10.20 p.m. . . .

The House will go to bed at an earlier hour than it has done for many weeks.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 18th June 1887.—Received in the White Drawing-room the following Indian Princes and Deputations: Maharajah Holkar of Indore, Thakore of Morvi, Thakore of Limri, and Thakore of Goudal; Deputations from the Nizam of Hyderabad, from the Maharajah of Bhurtpore, from the Rajah of Kapurthala. Then followed the representatives of the Indian Army who have come over to form an escort: eight from different regiments of the Bengal Cavalry, one from Madras Cavalry, two from Bombay Cavalry, one from Hyderabad Contingent, and one from the Central Indian Horse. Their head-dresses and uniforms were very fine, and the jewels of the Princes magnificent. All the Indian officers held their swords out for me to touch. Just before I went out, saw Dr. Tyler with the two Indian servants he has brought over for me, two fine-looking men handsomely dressed in scarlet with white turbans.

The Marquis of Lansdowne to Queen Victoria.

OTTAWA, 8th June 1887.—Lord Lansdowne . . . is glad to have this opportunity of bearing witness to the general feeling of loyalty which has been provoked throughout Canada by the approach of your Majesty's Jubilee, a feeling to which expression has been given by the numerous Addresses which he has had the honour of forwarding for your Majesty's acceptance. . . . It may be of interest to your Majesty to know that these Addresses were carried in the Dominion Parliament and in the local legislatures amidst the utmost enthusiasm, the Members rising to their feet and singing the National Anthem after the resolutions had been carried.

Lord Lansdowne hopes that your Majesty will have learned with satisfaction that Mr. O'Brien's ill-advised visit to this country failed entirely to effect the objects with which it was undertaken. Mr. O'Brien had no doubt assumed that, because the

Canadian Parliament had declared itself in favour of Home Rule, he would, as a member of the Nationalist Party, be well received in Canada. These declarations of the Canadian legislatures against "coercion" and in favour of Home Rule do not, however, by any means afford a trustworthy indication of the feeling of the country even as to these subjects, much less as to the conduct of the Nationalist agitation. The Irish vote is powerful in many constituencies, and it is notorious that a large number of Members supported the Home Rule resolutions merely in order to propitiate that vote, and not from a sincere conviction or because they had studied the question.

Be this, however, as it may, Mr. O'Brien's doctrines, his notorious disloyalty, and his attempt to interfere in Canadian affairs rendered his presence most unacceptable to the people of this country. In one or two places he succeeded in collecting a considerable number of Irish, but in no single instance were his meetings attended by any persons of character and reputation. The Roman Catholic hierarchy discouraged him, the Press, excepting two or three low Fenian papers, declared against him, and in Toronto he not only did not get a hearing, but narrowly escaped being severely handled. . . .

Lord Lansdowne has much pleasure in adding that the result of Mr. O'Brien's action has been to elicit a very remarkable outburst of loyalty which has manifested itself in the striking demonstrations with which Lord Lansdowne was received at Toronto and again on his return to Ottawa last month. The telegrams which have appeared in the English newspapers give no idea of the enthusiasm which was shown upon that occasion. It is scarcely too much to say that, whereas Mr. O'Brien came to Canada with the object of helping the Irish cause and driving Lord Lansdowne out of the country, he has in fact not only strengthened Lord Lansdowne's position, but also opened up the eyes of the people to the real

character of Irish grievances and struck a serious blow at the interests of his own Party. . . .

15th June.—Lord Lansdowne presents his humble duty to your Majesty and will not lose a moment in acknowledging the receipt of the kind letter ¹ dated the 3rd inst. which he has had the honour of receiving from your Majesty. He is the more pleased at being congratulated by your Majesty upon Mr. O'Brien's failure, because, as your Majesty will have seen from his letter of the 8th, he had ventured to assume that you would not be indifferent to the events of the last few weeks. . . .

This country is exhibiting not less than other parts of the Empire that "universal affection and loyalty" of which your Majesty speaks. These feelings are in many cases manifesting themselves by the foundation and endowment of useful public institutions in connection with the Jubilee. Lord Lansdowne received last week from Sir Donald Smith² and Sir George Stephen³ a deposit receipt for *one million dollars* which they have placed to his credit as trustee for the Royal Victoria Hospital at Montreal. Sir Donald has also contributed over \$100,000 for a college for the higher education of women, and will probably raise the sum to *half a million*. He is now in England, and Lord Lansdowne has no doubt that he would be deeply touched were it possible for your Majesty to let him know that you were aware of his generous acts. He is a fine specimen of a rugged old Scotsman who commenced his career under the Hudson Bay Company amid the roughest surroundings in the far North-West. . . .

Your Majesty's anxiety with regard to home

¹ Printed in Lord Newton's *Lord Lansdowne*, p. 45. After congratulating Lord Lansdowne on Mr. O'Brien's failure, the Queen adds that "he will have followed with interest and disgust the accounts of the debates on the Crimes Bill and the language and conduct of the Irish, and not only of them, but of Mr. Gladstone and a few others. It is dreadful to see a man who was three times Prime Minister fall so low!"

² Afterwards Lord Strathcona. ³ Afterwards Lord Mountstephen.

political questions is only too intelligible. All the indications, however, point to a steady accession of strength to the Unionist Party: it will probably never be called upon to fight against heavier odds than those which it has had to encounter this Session. The Crimes Bill once passed, its position will be greatly strengthened. A double victory over obstruction in the House of Commons and disorder in Ireland will produce an immense effect upon public opinion, and will render possible a successful attempt to deal finally with the agrarian question. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19th June 1887.—Saw Lord Salisbury. He said the state of excitement and preparation in London was quite marvellous; the only anxiety one felt was about the enormous number of people, half a million being expected to come into London.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 20th June.—The day has come, and I am alone, though surrounded by many dear children. I am writing, after a very fatiguing day, in the garden at Buckingham Palace, where I used to sit so often in former happy days. Fifty years to-day since I came to the Throne! God has mercifully sustained me through many great trials and sorrows.

I hurried my dressing this morning, in order to get down early to breakfast at Frogmore. Drove from there with Beatrice and Liko, through the beautiful decorated town to the station. At Paddington we got into an open landau with the usual escort. Enormous crowds and immense enthusiasm. Drove by Edgware Road into the Park, and everywhere the crowds were enormous. Leopold and Marie of Belgium, who arrived two days ago, most kindly met me at the Garden Entrance, also Ernest Coburg and Arthur. I went at once into the Picture Gallery, where all the Royalties were assembled—the King of Saxony, Rudolph of Austria, Prince Louis of Bavaria,

Willy and Dona,¹ Carlos and Amélie of Portugal, Henry of Prussia, Antoine d'Orléans, and the Infanta Eulalie, the Hereditary Grand Duke of Weimar, Ludwig of Baden, Louis, Ernie, Irène and Alicky of Hesse, Charlotte and Bernhardt and his brother Ernest, Prince Hermann of Weimar, Hermann Hohenlohe, Victoria and Ludwig Battenberg, and Philip and Louise Coburg—an enormous party. Afterwards I received the Queen of Hawaii, and then saw, in quick succession, the Japanese Prince Komatzu and the Siamese Prince, and finally the Persian Prince, who speaks no English.

Rested a little, and then came the luncheon, an enormous one, in the large Dining-room, which I had not used since '61. The King of Saxony took me in. I omitted to say that the Crown Prince of Austria came in uniform to thank me for having given him the Garter. Left the company soon, as I had many audiences to give, which lasted till four, and I was very tired. At half-past four came Bertie and Alix with the King of Denmark and Willy² of Greece. The former had been at my coronation, when he was quite a young man. Willy has brought with him two fine gigantic sons. After this, I rested for a little while in my room. Telegrams and letters pouring in, and I did nothing but open them. Had tea in the garden with Beatrice. Helen arrived and joined us.

Had a large family dinner. All the Royalties assembled in the Bow Room, and we dined in the Supper-room, which looked splendid with the buffet covered with the gold plate. The table was a large horseshoe one, with many lights on it. The King of Denmark took me in, and Willy of Greece sat on my other side. The Princes were all in uniform, and the Princesses were all beautifully dressed. Afterwards we went into the Ball-room, where my band played.

¹ Afterwards German Emperor and Empress.

² King George of Greece, who amongst his family kept the name "Willy," which he changed officially to "George" on becoming King of the Hellenes.

I talked to as many as I could, and sat down with Marie of Belgium. At length, feeling very tired, I slipped away.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

20th June 1887.— . . . Mr. Smith ventures most humbly to offer his most hearty congratulations on the day which has arrived. The evidence of loyal rejoicing, which the aspect of London affords, is a proof of the loyalty of the vast majority of your Majesty's subjects, and of their gratitude to Providence for a reign which has been fruitful in blessings to your people.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 21st June 1887.—This very eventful day has come and is passed. It will be very difficult to describe it, but all went off admirably. This day, fifty years ago, I had to go with a full Sovereign's escort to St. James's Palace, to appear at my proclamation, which was very painful to me, and is no longer to take place.

The morning was beautiful and bright with a fresh air. Troops began passing early with bands playing, and one heard constant cheering. Breakfasted with Beatrice, Arthur, Helen, and Liko, in the Chinese room. The scene outside was most animated, and reminded me of the opening of the Great Exhibition, which also took place on a very fine day. Received many beautiful nosegays and presents. As I left the breakfast-room, met the Connaught children and little Willy of Prussia,¹ who is a dear little boy. Then dressed, wearing a dress and bonnet trimmed with white point d'Alençon, diamond ornaments in my bonnet, and pearls round my neck, with all my orders.

At half-past eleven we left the Palace, I driving in a handsomely gilt landau drawn by six of the Creams, with dear Vicky and Alix, who sat on the back seat. Just in front of my carriage rode the 12 Indian

¹ Now the German ex-Crown Prince

officers, and in front of them my 3 sons, 5 sons-in-law, 9 grandsons, and grandsons-in-law. Then came the carriages containing my 3 other daughters, 3 daughters-in-law, granddaughters, one granddaughter-in-law, and some of the suite. All the other Royalties went in a separate procession. George Cambridge rode the whole way next to my carriage, and the Master of the Horse, Equerries, etc., behind it with of course a Sovereign's escort. It was a really magnificent sight. Dear Fritz looked so handsome and well, and Liko had an English uniform for the first time. The route was up Constitution Hill, through the Arch, down Piccadilly, past Trafalgar Square, along the new Northumberland Avenue, the Embankment, and then turned to the right to the Abbey. At the door I was received by the clergy, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dean at their head, in the copes of rich velvet and gold, which had been worn at the Coronation. The Royal family and suite had all got out before. We Princesses went into a little waiting-room. The crowds from the Palace gates up to the Abbey were enormous, and there was such an extraordinary outburst of enthusiasm as I had hardly ever seen in London before; all the people seemed to be in such good humour. The old Chelsea Pensioners were in a stand near the Arch. The decorations along Piccadilly were quite beautiful, and there were most touching inscriptions. Seats and platforms were arranged up to the tops of the houses, and such waving of hands. Piccadilly, Regent Street, and Pall Mall were all alike most festively decorated. Many schools out, and many well-known faces were seen.

When all was ready, the procession was formed, my grandsons and grandsons-in-law, sons and sons-in-law, preceding me in the order in which they rode, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Steward and Garter walking immediately before me, and followed by my daughters, daughters-in-law, granddaughters and granddaughter-in-law, all the ladies (beginning with

the Mistress of the Robes, dear Louisa Buccleuch), the Master of the Horse, and other gentlemen. *God Save the Queen* was played, and then changed to Handel's *Occasional Overture*, as I walked slowly up the Nave and Choir, which looked beautiful, all filled with people. The Royalties of highest rank were seated within the altar rails. The House of Commons was below us to the left, and I recognised several persons amongst them, but did not see Mr. Gladstone, though he was there. The Ambassadors and the Household were to the right.

I sat *alone* (oh! without my beloved husband, for whom this would have been such a proud day!) where I sat forty-nine years ago and received the homage of the Princes and Peers, but in the old Coronation Chair of Edward III, with the old stone brought from Scotland, on which the old Kings of Scotland used to be crowned. My robes were beautifully draped on the chair. The service was very well done and arranged. The *Te Deum*, by my darling Albert, sounded beautiful, and the anthem, by Dr. Bridge, was fine, especially the way in which the National Anthem and dear Albert's Chorale were worked in. Dr. Stainer's beautiful *Amen* at the end of the service was most impressive. When the service was concluded, each of my sons, sons-in-law, grandsons (including little Alfred), and grandsons-in-law, stepped forward, bowed, and in succession kissed my hand, I kissing each; and the same with the daughters, daughters-in-law (poor dear Helen¹ being nearly upset and for whom I felt so deeply), granddaughters, and granddaughter-in-law. They curtsied as they came up and I embraced them warmly. It was a very moving moment, and tears were in some of their eyes.

The procession then reformed, and we went out as we came in, resting a moment in the waiting-room, whilst the Princes were all getting on their horses. The whole ceremony, particularly the outside pro-

¹ The widowed Duchess of Albany.



*The Jubilee of 1887 - Service in Westminster Abbey
From a picture by W. E. Lockhart, R. S. A., in Buckingham Palace*

cession and progress, took twenty minutes longer than was expected. The Sovereigns' procession started too late, which made us, who had waited, later in leaving the Palace, and there were many stoppages, which is almost unavoidable in long processions. Came back another way until we got into Piccadilly. The heat of the sun was very great, but there was a good deal of wind, which was a great relief. An incident occurred which might have been very serious. In leaving the Palace, Lorne's horse became very restive, reared, and fell upon him, but fortunately without any bad results. On a stand, just at the gate of Marlborough House, I descried good old Lord Sydney and Lady Sydney (who have given me a beautiful bust of him by Boehm). We only got back at a quarter to three. Went at once to my room to take off my bonnet and put on my cap. Gave Jubilee brooches to all my daughters, daughters-in-law, granddaughters, granddaughter-in-law, and pins to all my sons, sons-in-law, grandsons, and grandsons-in-law and George Cambridge.

Only at four did we sit down to luncheon, to which all came. The King of Saxony led me in, and the King of Denmark with Marie of Belgium sat on my other side. After luncheon, I stood on the small balcony of the Blue Room, which looks out on the garden, and saw the Bluejackets march past. After this we went into the small Ball-room, where the present given me by all my children was placed. It is a very handsome piece of plate. Here also was a magnificent cup from Leopold and Marie and Philip and Marie of Flanders. The Queen of Hawaii gave me a present of very rare feathers, but very strangely arranged as a wreath round my monogram, also in feathers on a black ground, framed.

I felt quite exhausted by this time and ready to faint, so I got into my rolling chair and was rolled back to my room. Here I lay down on the sofa and rested, doing nothing but opening telegrams, coming from every part of the country, so that they could no

longer be acknowledged, and this will have to be done through the papers. All the dear little children, including little William, who had appeared in the Picture Gallery after luncheon, came to wish me good-bye.

Dinner was again in the Supper-room. I wore a dress with the rose, thistle, and shamrock embroidered in silver on it, and my large diamonds. The King of Denmark led me in, and I sat between him and Leopold of Belgium. The King of Denmark, who is so kind and amiable, gave out my health at dessert saying, "I beg to propose the health of Her Majesty—God bless her." And after *God Save the Queen* had been played, Bertie proposed the healths of the Sovereigns and Royal guests now assembled here, doing so in my name. King Christian being the oldest Sovereign here (that is, the longest on the throne), the Danish national air was played. The pipers walked round the table. We went into the Ball-room, where I spoke to the Indian Princes and received all the Corps Diplomatique, Foreign Envoys and suites, the latter being each presented by their Princes. I was half dead with fatigue, and after sitting down a moment with Marie of Belgium, slipped away and was rolled back to my room, and to the Chinese room to try and see something of the very general illuminations, but could not see much. The noise of the crowd, which began yesterday, went on till late. Felt truly grateful that all had passed off so admirably, and this never-to-be-forgotten day will always leave the most gratifying and heart-stirring memories behind.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22nd June.—Very fine and hazy. Breakfasted in the Chinese room [at Buckingham Palace], but such a change from yesterday. No crowd or noise. The illuminations last night are said to have been splendid. Thousands thronged the streets, but there was no disorder. They shouted and sang till quite late, and passed the Palace singing *God Save the Queen* and *Rule Britannia*. Went into the

garden for a little while, and on coming home rested. Quantities of telegrams still continued coming in. Just before luncheon drove with Lenchen to St. James's Palace to see Aunt Cambridge, where I found Augusta, Fritz and Adolphus Strelitz and Mary and Franz Teck. Poor old Aunt was so kind and pleased at my coming. They presented me with two magnificent silver-gilt flagons, in which gift Ernest Cumberland, his mother and sisters also joined.

Again a big luncheon in the Dining-room. I sat between dear Fritz and the Crown Prince of Austria. The latter spoke most warmly and kindly of how anxious he was for a friendly alliance and the best understanding between Austria and England. Gave Jubilee medals to the Kings and most of the Princes. I then went with Beatrice, preceded by the Lord Chamberlain, to the Ball-room, where were assembled all my Household, and a great number of those who had served me from the beginning of my reign. Lord Mt. Edgumbe, as Lord Steward, made a pretty little speech, and presented their gift, a magnificent piece of plate, splendidly worked and executed, representing music and painting. I went round and spoke to as many as I could. Lord Bradford, Lord Granville, the former Mistresses of the Robes, the Duchesses of Roxburghe, Manchester, Bedford and Sutherland, many of the old Maids of Honour, who had married—were there. Then Bertie's Household, with the Duke of Abercorn at the head, gave me a beautiful pendant with a St. George and the Dragon on a blue enamelled ground surrounded by two rows of large diamonds and a pearl drop. It is really beautiful. Lord Salisbury presented me with a beautiful picture of himself by old Richmond. After which, a Deputation of the German residents in London presented me with a sketch for a picture by Werner of Vicky, Fritz, and their family, followed by the Households of the other members of my family, who gave me a pretty water-colour picture, and lastly Westerweller and Rohenau, on the part of Louis'

Household, gave me two very pretty water-colour views of Schönberg.

This over, I went through the Blue Drawing-room and Bow room, full of ladies, to the White Drawing-room, equally full. This was a Deputation from the "Women of England," who brought me the signatures of the millions who have subscribed to a gift, contained in a splendid gold coffer, of which Lady Strafford presented me with the key, and Lady Londonderry presented me with that of another very fine coffer, containing the signatures of the Women of Ireland. I saw a number of people I knew: Lady Cork (one of the principal members), Lady Salisbury, the Duchess of Westminster, Mrs. Gladstone, Lady Burdett-Coutts, Mrs. Benson, etc. From here I passed into the Picture Gallery, where were assembled all the people who came with other presents, which extended down the whole length of the Gallery. Was really greatly touched and gratified.

Rested on the sofa for some time, and took a cup of tea before leaving Buckingham Palace at half-past five. Vicky and Lenchen and Affie, driving with me, Arthur, Ernest Coburg, Marie, Eddy, and the ladies following. Louis and his children and Louischen had gone on. Bertie and Alix could not leave London on account of looking after the guests. Had an escort and the Indian escort. Enormous and enthusiastic crowds on Constitution Hill and in Hyde Park, at the entrance of which George Cambridge, as Ranger, received me on horseback in plain clothes. The Princes and gentlemen with us were in uniform. We drove past the statue of Achilles, right on to the grass in the middle of the park, where 30,000 poor children, boys and girls with their schoolmasters and mistresses, were assembled. Tents had been pitched for them to dine in, and all sorts of amusements had been provided for them. Each received an earthenware pot with my portrait on it. We stopped in the middle, and here Bertie and Alix, the two Kings, the girls, and many others were standing. Bertie at once

came up to the carriage, and a little girl gave me a beautiful bouquet, on the ribbons of which were embroidered: "God bless our Queen, not Queen alone, but Mother, Queen, and Friend." Then he presented the Committee, who had the whole management—Lord Rothschild, Lords Hartington and Derby, etc. Spoke a moment to Alix and the King of Denmark, also to Lady Salisbury, who brought her little grandchild to see me. The children sang *God Save the Queen* somewhat out of tune, and then we drove on to Paddington station. All the Princesses came into my saloon.

The train stopped at Slough, and we got out there, the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord-Lieutenant of the County, receiving me and presenting an Address. Different ladies and gentlemen were presented and bouquets were given. Then drove off with an escort to Windsor. All along the road there were decorations and crowds of people. Before coming to Eton, there was a beautiful triumphal arch, made to look exactly like part of the old College, and boys dressed like old Templars stood on the top of it, playing a regular *fanfare*. The whole effect was beautiful, lit up by the sun of a bright summer's evening. Stopped at the College to receive two Addresses and the Eton Volunteers were drawn up there. The town was one mass of flags and decorations. We went under the Castle walls up the hill, slowly, amidst great cheering, and stopped at the bottom of Castle Hill, where there was a stand crowded with people and every window and balcony were full of people, Chinese lanterns and preparations for illuminations making a very pretty effect. Those of the family who had not come with me were in the front row of the stand. Christian, as High Steward of Windsor, the Mayor and Recorder, came up to the carriage, and an Address was read, to which I read an Answer. After this my statue was unveiled by Mr. Richardson Gardner, the Member; Baron Schroeder and Mr. Barry of St. Leonards have contributed largely towards it. Amidst cheering,

the ringing of bells, and bands playing, we drove up to the Castle. This completed the pretty and gratifying welcome to good old Windsor.

We had a large family dinner, I sitting between Ernest Coburg and Louis of Hesse. Just as we were beginning dessert, we heard that the torchlight procession of the Eton boys was coming into the Quadrangle, and off we hurried, as fast as we could, to the Corridor, from whence we could see it beautifully. They performed all sorts of figures, the band playing marches, etc., and they sang an Eton Boat song, a Jubilee song specially composed for the occasion by Barnby and the words by Mr. Ainger,¹ finishing up with a Latin song, called *Carmen Etonense*. They did it so well and it had a most charming effect. The Head Master² came up, and I thanked him, and sent for the Captain of the school, young Lord Ampthill.³ They cheered tremendously. Then we all went down to the Quadrangle, and I said, in as loud a voice as I could, "I thank you very much," which elicited more cheering, after which they all marched past and out at the gate. The Round Tower was illuminated with electric light, and so were parts of the Castle. The town was also illuminated, but I was too tired to go and see it, and went to my room.

These two days will ever remain indelibly impressed on my mind, with great gratitude to that all-merciful Providence, Who has protected me so long, and to my devoted and loyal people. But how painfully do I miss the dear ones I have lost !

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

22nd June 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully and most earnestly apologises to your Majesty for his failure to be present when your Majesty passed through Hyde Park this evening. He was in good time, but by some mismanagement

¹ A well-known Assistant-master at Eton.

² Dr. Warre.

³ Governor of Madras, 1899–1906.

he was involved in the block and entirely failed to pierce it. He saw your Majesty pass, but could not get through.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd June 1887.—Felt very tired. Drove down to Frogmore with Beatrice to breakfast and met Vicky and young Vicky there. My two Indian servants were there and began to wait. The one, Mohamed Buxsh, very dark with a very smiling expression, has been a servant before with Gen. Dennehy, and also with the Rana of Dholpore, and the other, much younger, called Abdul Karim, is much lighter, tall, and with a fine serious countenance. His father is a native doctor at Agra. They both kissed my feet. . . .

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

23rd June 1887.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty and he ventures to express the hope that the events of the last three days, fatiguing but gratifying as they must have been to your Majesty, have not left any evil effects behind them.

Your Majesty's servants could not but be anxious as to the results of assembling vast crowds of people under circumstances of great excitement, but the temper and self-control of the people, and their devotion and loyalty to the Crown, augur well for the stability of the institutions of the country. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

23rd June 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for the very kind language of your letter as to the picture.

He congratulates your Majesty very cordially and respectfully on the wonderful scenes of the rejoicings of these last few days. He hears on all sides of the impression it has made on our foreign visitors. . . .

28th June.— . . . Your Majesty's letter¹ has

¹ Of thanks to her people.

been received with general expressions of gratification and admiration.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th June 1887.—Very hot and bright. Felt much better. Dressing for the Garden Party in London, and after luncheon left with Victoria, Alicky, Louise Schleswig Holstein, and the two ladies and Equerries. Driving from Paddington we went down Bayswater Road and turned into Palace Gardens—everywhere many people and decorations—and drove under a triumphal arch of greenery. Before coming to the [Kensington] Palace, stopped to speak to Louise and Lorne; and some of the people who were standing on the grass there gave me a lovely bouquet of roses. After saying a few words, we drove on and turned through the gates into the High Street; which was tremendously full of most enthusiastic people, and was most beautifully decorated with flowers, banners and flags, which, as the street is not very wide, had really a wonderful effect. We drove right up the street, past the church a little way, and then turned and came back again, stopping close to the old Palace gate, out of which I drove on my Accession, the day after, and almost daily when we lived there. There was a great assembly, and at an arch across the road leading to Knightsbridge stood the Vicar, Mr. Glyn,¹ Lorne's brother-in-law, who presented me with an Address and I said, "I am most grateful for this kind reception in my dear native town," which I was, and quite touched by it. A little girl was lifted up to the carriage to give me a bouquet. She was the great-granddaughter of the old doctor, Mr. Merryman, who used to attend Mama and me, when we lived at Kensington. His son, as well as his grandson, are now Kensington doctors.

Drove on to Buckingham Palace through great crowds, who were as enthusiastic as ever, getting there

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Peterborough.

a little after four. People were beginning to arrive. I went up to my Sitting-room and rested a little, Beatrice having met me at the door, and before five I joined all my family (which is legion!) and the enormous number of foreign guests, beginning with the four Kings (who were all there), excepting Ernest Coburg, and the Duc d'Aosta, who had left. People were spread all over the garden, and there were a number of tents, and a large one for me, in front of which were placed the Indian escort. I walked right round the lawn in front of the Palace with Bertie, and I bowed right and left, talking to as many as I could, but I was dreadfully done up by it and could not speak to, or see, all those I wished. Marie of Belgium and a number of the *Furstlichkeiten* came into my tent for tea, including Holkar and some of the other Indian Princes, who came up to speak to me. Isabelle, Paris, and their daughter were there, as well as Chartres and his son and daughter. Isabelle presented some Legitimist ladies. Took leave of Leopold and Marie, and with great regret of darling Ella and Serge, who were all leaving at eight this evening. I then walked round once more, very tired, and took my leave, going in at about seven. Wished also Affie good-bye, who was going to sail to-morrow morning to rejoin his ship. Vicky came up to see me for a moment, and then we left Buckingham Palace. The park was tremendously full, and the people as enthusiastic as last week. Got back to Windsor at half-past eight.

30th June.—After luncheon, at three, I had a great reception of Indian Princes and Deputations, in the Green Drawing-room, the Great Officers of State, Louisa Buccleuch, Gold Stick, and Lord Cross being in attendance. Beatrice, Arthur, Louischen, and Liko were with me. The Indian escort stood opposite and looked splendid. The whole was very imposing. Sir Partab Singh, who is an A.D.C. to Bertie, stood behind me with the Great Officers. Holkar was the first to enter and offer his present, after which I

gave him an enamel portrait of myself, and invested him with the Grand Cross of the Star of India, knighting him. He had great difficulty in kneeling down. Then came the handsome young Rao of Kutch, most beautifully dressed; really he and his brother were like a dream. He had wonderful jewels on. He brought me an Address in a golden case, and said a few appropriate words so nicely and in such good English, giving me besides some beautiful silver ornaments for the table. He likewise received from me an enamel portrait and was invested with the Grand Cross of the Indian Empire, which has been raised and increased from a mere Companion to three different grades, the one being a Grand Cross. The Maharajah and Maharani of Kuch Behar came next, also beautifully dressed. She gave me a lovely pendant, a carved ruby set with fine large diamonds, and he an inlaid ivory writing and work-box in one. I gave her a miniature of myself. Then followed the Thakores of Morvi, Limri, and Goudal, the two last bringing their presents, and the two former were each knighted, and I placed the K.C. Cross of the Order of the Indian Empire round their necks, Arthur helping me. The Deputations from the Nizam and from the Native Princes, who could not come, entered last, each giving a present. After this I received Deputations from the Municipalities and Corporations of Calcutta and Bombay. Sir Partab Singh then stepped forward, and placing his sword at my feet, offered me a lovely pearl ornament, which he had taken off his own puggaree, as a mark of fealty, saying everything he possessed was at my service. After which, Arthur, accompanied by his three gentlemen, presented four Addresses, in splendid silver cases, and Mr. Fitzgerald presented, according to ancient custom, an Address on a shield, from the District of Ajmere-Merwarra. Arthur presented his Staff.

We then went down to the entrance, where I stepped out and the Thakore of Morvi rode up on a

young horse of his own Chettawa breed, splendidly caparisoned and completely covered with what looked like a sort of coat of mail, with heavy ornamented tassels hanging down and an amulet on one leg. Two natives led the horse, and the Thakore got off, begging me to accept it as a present from him. I expressed my sincere thanks for it.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 30th June 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to speak of a somewhat eventful evening. . . . Mr. Smith's motion for closing the Report stage on the Crimes Bill on Monday was opposed vehemently by Mr. Dillon, who said the Irish Members would protest and debate until the guillotine descended on them on Monday. Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Tuite, and Mr. Harrington succeeded one another, all observing that the Government was stifling discussion and pushing the Bill through without permitting the consideration which was necessary. The division was taken at ten minutes to eight, and the motion was carried by a majority, no Member of the front Opposition Bench being present. The Irish Members did not return to the House, and, greatly to the astonishment of everyone not in the secret, the Members who had amendments on the paper did not answer to their names, and none were discussed at all, so that the Bill passed through the Report stage shortly after eight, instead of the hour fixed by Mr. Smith, seven on Monday evening. . . .

The Marquis of Londonderry¹ to Queen Victoria.

LONDONDERRY HOUSE, 1st July 1887.—Lord Londonderry . . . ventures to write your Majesty a short *résumé* of the visit of their Royal Highnesses Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales to Dublin. . . . *In all parts* of the town and neighbourhood they were well and cordially received, in many

¹ Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

parts with the greatest possible enthusiasm, especially on Tuesday in the Phoenix Park after the Review (which took place before an enormous concourse of many thousands), when on their Royal Highnesses' preparing to depart a large mass of the crowd adjacent to them (considerably over 5,000) broke through the line and surrounded their Royal Highnesses' horses, cheering vociferously, eagerly pressing forward to touch their horses or themselves. Also throughout the whole of yesterday's proceedings, which embraced a large number of functions and necessitated driving long distances, the Princes were heartily cheered; and they concluded their visit by opening a public park, on the top of a hill beyond Kingstown, crowded with an enormous and thoroughly enthusiastic mass of people. . . .

Lord Londonderry has no hesitation in saying that their visit has thoroughly roused the loyal feeling of Ireland; and he knows well that many thousands of people, strongly opposed to the Government to which he belongs, joined heartily in welcoming the members of your Majesty's family. . . .

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 7th July 1887.— . . . Mr. Gladstone moved the rejection of the Crimes Bill in a speech which exhibited great vigour and skill. It was very difficult to believe that he was seventy-eight. He denounced the Bill in the strongest language, and excused the obstruction with which it has been met. At one time he pointed out that this was the only alternative to Home Rule, and then that the provisions of the measure were unnecessary, tyrannical, and utterly subversive of liberty. He said that fifteen months ago he had acknowledged the complete failure of his own policy of coercion, and the utter and discreditable failure of English rule in Ireland for 700 years. In Ireland alone has the great political sagacity and capacity for rule, exhibited by England all over the rest of the world,

disgracefully broken down. His peroration was abuse of England and of her rulers, including himself among the number up to a recent date.

Mr. Balfour answered Mr. Gladstone in a short but powerful speech, showing from figures the inaccuracy of Mr. Gladstone's alleged facts, denying his statement as to the creation of new offences by the Bill, and insisting clearly that the aim of the Government was to relieve the people from the intolerable tyranny of boycotting as to which he quoted a passage from Mr. Gladstone of 1882. . . .

8th July.—. . . The Crimes Bill has at last passed the House of Commons, and by a majority of 87, notwithstanding the vacancies created by the promotion to the peerage of Conservative Members. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 8th July 1887.—Trust it will be made clear that we have no hand in Prince Ferdinand C[oburg]'s election.¹ The *Standard* says Prince Alexander's refusal is for ever. That is quite false. His refusal is till Europe will support him, and till he would be independent.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 8th July 1887. 4.58 p.m.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty has instructed the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs to give a positive [? assurance] that H.M. Government have nothing to do with the selection of Prince of Coburg.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13th July 1887.—Started at 3.30 with Beatrice, Liko, Louis, and his two girls for Hatfield. Lord Salisbury met us at the station as well as Lord Cranborne, who rode, as did also the Equerries. There was a large and most friendly

¹ As Prince of Bulgaria. See Introductory Note.

crowd. At the entrance of the house, Lady Salisbury, Alice Cranborne, and many others received me. We went through the Hall and Drawing-room to the terrace, where we found all my children, George C., Augusta and Fritz Strelitz, Isabelle Paris and her daughter Hélène, Carlos and Amélie, the Indian Princes, and about 300 people. After saying a few words we went back to the room we had come through, and I had tea there with Alix, Isabelle Paris, Amélie, Eulalie, and Lord Salisbury. Lady Salisbury took the others to tea in the Dining-room. We then went out again and sat for some time on the lower terrace, Lord and Lady Salisbury bringing up people of interest to speak to me. The Spanish Students played, sang, and danced. The band of the Engineers also played. We remained till past seven, and drove through the little town of Hatfield back to the station. It was most beautifully decorated, and there were enormous crowds. Really the kindness expressed on every occasion, and in every place, is most gratifying.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

14th July 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully brings under your Majesty's notice that some persons have been pressing for a change in your Majesty's title which should more distinctly include the Colonies. The representatives of the various Colonies who were here at the Conference expressed opinions in that sense; but there is no ground for believing that the Colonies themselves wish at present for any change.

Lord Salisbury respectfully submits that a negative answer should be given to any proposals of this kind.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 7th July 1887.

MADAM,—I have not hitherto ventured to address to your Majesty any congratulations on the auspicious

occasion of your Majesty's Jubilee; for I feared to intrude on your Majesty at such a time, and was doubtful moreover whether it was proper for one in an unofficial position to do so. But now the ceremonial pressure of festivity has to some extent subsided; and I am informed that your Majesty has been graciously pleased to receive communications from some of your Majesty's former servants. And so I cannot resist the impulse to send your Majesty a few humble lines. If in so doing I have offended I feel sure your Majesty's constant and abundant kindness will excuse me.

Last year on the occasion of your Majesty's birthday¹ I ventured to express my feelings on the memorable year that was then opening, being well assured that I should not be in your Majesty's service when the Jubilee actually occurred. Now it may be perhaps permitted to rejoice at the unclouded consummation of this national and historical festival.

Few even of those who are not your Majesty's subjects could view unmoved the procession from the Palace to the Abbey with its proud cavalcade of princes, its majestic representation of the sovereignties of the world, and the enthusiastic multitudes that hailed its passage; but fewer still that touching and magnetic moment in the Abbey when your Majesty appeared alone and aloft—symbolising so truly your Majesty's real position—to bear silent testimony to the blessings and the sorrows which it has pleased God to bestow on your Majesty and your people during two generations. And when later your Majesty passed from the Sovereign to the Mother, the touch of nature which has brought your Majesty into sympathy with the humblest of your subjects added the supreme emotion to a matchless scene. None who beheld that spectacle can ever forget it; for it was history and human nature blended and compacted in a single glowing picture.

There appears to have been not the slightest

¹ It was Accession Day, 1886. See above, p. 147.

failure or the most trivial drawback. All was worthy of your Majesty and of the Empire; all has tended to strengthen and to deepen the foundations of a monarchy which overshadows the globe, and represents the union and aspirations of three hundred millions of human beings.

I could not help feeling, as I gazed at the Thanksgiving, that your Majesty's mind must not improbably have returned to the past, and to those who are gone who would have rejoiced to witness and to share the triumph of that day. But when your Majesty turned to the present it could hardly be in a spirit of dissatisfaction with the august and genial ceremony, or the universal and unaffected joy. Neither class nor party had any monopoly of that festival: it was as national and spontaneous as the loyalty which dictated it.

I humbly hope that your Majesty has recovered the fatigue that could hardly fail to attend so much exertion, however pleasurable and gratifying; and that your Majesty may be spared to witness many years, which, though they will not be jubilee years, will nevertheless be years of loyalty and thankfulness for the benefits and splendour of your Majesty's unrivalled reign.

I again hope that your Majesty will excuse this intrusion, and allow me to subscribe myself, Your Majesty's devoted servant and subject, ROSEBERY.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Rosebery.*

OSBORNE, 21st July 1887.—I cannot answer your beautiful and most kind letter in the third person, which is so formal.

I would at once have answered it, had I not been just starting for Aldershot,¹ and had I not also wished to send you the accompanying Jubilee Medal which I hope you will wear in recollection of those never-to-be-forgotten days, but of which I had none by me just then. You have indeed so truly and kindly described

¹ For the Jubilee Review.

those scenes and the very mixed feelings which filled my heart, that I would wish to thank you warmly for it. It is impossible for me to say *how deeply, immensely* touched and gratified I have been and am by the wonderful and so universal enthusiasm displayed by my people, and by high and low, rich and poor, on this remarkable occasion, as well as by the respect shown by Foreign Rulers and their peoples. It is very gratifying and very encouraging for the future, and it shows that fifty years' *hard* work, anxiety, and care have been appreciated, and that my sympathy with the sorrowing, suffering, and humble is acknowledged.

Alone I *did* feel, in the midst of so many, for I could not but miss sadly those who were so near and dear, and who would have so rejoiced in those rejoicings, above all *him* to whom the nation and I owe so much !

Yesterday afternoon, I was most agreeably surprised by your kind and most valuable present, accompanied by such flattering words.

It is the beautiful little miniature in its quaint setting which you once sent for me to see, and which I shall greatly value, though I fear I have no sympathy with my great predecessor, descended as I am from her rival Queen, whom she so cruelly sacrificed. Still, I am delighted to possess this exquisite gem, which I *intend to wear*. In renewing my thanks, Believe me, Always yours very truly, VICTORIA R. I.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

DURDANS, EPSOM, 23rd July 1887.

MADAM,—It has been the singular fortune of your Majesty to make many millions of people happy during this Jubilee, but none I think happier than I was on receiving your Majesty's gracious communication yesterday.

It was not only the winning acceptance by your Majesty of the little locket, and the even more gratifying intimation of an intention to sometimes

wear it, nor yet the undeserved honour of the medal, but it was the eloquent condescension and simplicity of your Majesty's beautiful letter that I can never forget.

I can well understand that your Majesty should feel no very cordial affection for Queen Elizabeth, who, with all her force of character, seems to have been wanting in that very quality of sympathy which has been the subtle and pervading distinction of your Majesty's reign. By it your Majesty has cemented the strength of this ancient Monarchy, for it has the magic prerogative of uniting the highest and the lowest without impairing but even increasing mutual respect and regard. Never did I feel this so deeply as in reading last night your Majesty's affecting words, which can leave me only with my life.

I will not further intrude on your Majesty except to hope what I cannot doubt, that the pageant of to-day is worthy of the occasion, and of your Majesty, and of the Empire.

I have the honour to be, Your Majesty's devoted servant and subject, ROSEBERRY.

Chief Letsie to Queen Victoria.

RAKHUITI'S, 21st July 1887.—I and the other chiefs and the people of Basutoland have been very glad to hear that her Majesty has now completed the fiftieth year of her reign. We are rejoiced in knowing that her reign has been a happy and successful one. When my father Moshesh was still a young man, and the missionaries of the Gospel had been as yet but a few years in this country, the name of the Queen began to be spoken of amongst us, and for many years my father had negotiations with the Queen's representatives residing in the Cape Colony. Many of my people don't understand that a person can live so many years as Queen, and many even go so far as to say that she must long ago have gone to her rest, and that it is her fame and glory which remain. But I for one know better, and believe that, although

a woman, she has been as wise and good as she is said to be. For us, it is a curious thing that a woman should be a Queen, although we hear out of the Book of God that there was once a queen of Sheba who paid a visit to the wise King Solomon. If I was not old and infirm, I would have liked to go and see her Majesty with my own eyes, as I hear that many kings and princes from far countries have done.

We hear also that her Majesty's subjects are an immense multitude, numbering more than 300 millions of people, that the sun never goes down on her empire, and that all glory in being her subjects. I am not surprised at this, as we ourselves owe our present peace and our very existence to the deliverance she granted to us in 1868, when we were on the brink of an absolute ruin. And although since then we have gone through troubles and difficulties, still we exist as a people, and we have to thank, after God, her Majesty's Representative in this country for the confidence we have now that better times have dawned upon us and that peace and tranquillity shall henceforth reign in this land, and that, with the continuance of her Majesty's beneficial rule, we shall go on increasing and progressing, and shall prove ourselves worthy of the care and protection granted to us.

I and my people make our best wishes that her Majesty, with all the members of her family, may yet enjoy for many years the love and respect of her subjects, amongst which we desire to be counted as most loyal and devoted.

I have the honour to subscribe myself in my own name and in the name of all my people as the most obedient and faithful subject of her Majesty Queen Victoria. God save the Queen! LETSIE, Chief of the Basutos.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1st Aug. 1887.—Fritz brought Dr. M. Mackenzie for me to see him. He wants Fritz to

go to Braemar, as no other place would be so good or so bracing. There are many difficulties in the way of all the necessary arrangements.

3rd Aug.—Am learning a few words of Hindustani to speak to my servants. It is a great interest to me, for both the language and the people. I have naturally never come into real contact with it before.

4th Aug.—Received the sad news that my dear faithful old Skerrett, whom I am so distressed I could not visit, had passed away. She came to me at my accession, and was most useful at the head of my wardrobe, ordering everything, looking over my bills, etc., and arranging with the different artists. She was quite a superior person, very clever, read enormously, had an intense passion for animals, and was a great friend of Landseer's and of many of the artists. She was very shrewd and plain-spoken, most devoted and attached to me and mine. She used to come and see me at Windsor and in London. She was ninety-four and in full possession of her faculties. It is sad that she too is gone!

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

18th Aug. 1887.—Humble duty. In the Cabinet to-day, orders to proclaim the National League to-morrow were given; and Lord Ashbourne has gone to Ireland for that purpose.

It was resolved to adhere to the Lords' amendments¹ to-night. The rules of the House [of Commons] are to be made more stringent in order to close the Session earlier.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 19th Aug. 1887.—Rejoice at decision arrived at and at firm line taken. In spite of difficulties feel sure it is the right thing.

¹ On the Irish Land Bill.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 19th Aug. 1887.—News of Ferdinand's arrival. His haughty manner is said not to have pleased. He has gone to Bulgaria without the sanction of the Powers, who have not acknowledged him; therefore it is illegal, though the election in itself is legal, which the Russians do not admit.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

25th Aug. 1887.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty and most respectfully returns his grateful thanks for the extremely kind letter he received this morning, which has greatly cheered and refreshed him.

The most depressing part of Mr. Smith's duties consists in sitting almost helplessly on the bench while the authority and the reputation of the House of Commons are being destroyed by its own Members; but it is to be hoped that the country will wake up to the dangers which surround Parliamentary Institutions from the action of men who call themselves by the various names of Radicals, Democrats, Liberals, and Home Rulers.

The House was full this evening when Mr. Gladstone rose. His great complaint was that the Government had not furnished the House with papers to sustain the proclamation of the League. He repeated that our policy was directed against combination, which was the only resource against oppressive landlords and unfair rents. He did not defend boycotting, but, as Mr. Balfour remarked, he excused it; and he connected the abatements of rent made in the south and west with outrage and intimidation, which by no unfair inference were in his opinion almost necessary to secure reductions in rent. His voice was stronger than it has lately been; but there was evident hoarseness; and his speech, although an effective piece of declamation, was mostly repetition of previous speeches on the Crimes Act.

Mr. Balfour followed, and, in a most successful statement of facts showing clearly the present operation of the League, completely disposed of the few arguments advanced by Mr. Gladstone, winding up by making it clear that, under its baneful rule, liberty was impossible in Ireland. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 26th Aug. 1887.—Dear Fritz came over from Braemar to luncheon, where he has been staying at the Fife Arms. It has done him so much good and he is wonderfully better, still hoarse, but not without any voice, as when he arrived in England. He seemed in excellent spirits.

27th Aug.—Breakfast in the Cottage, and afterwards drove to the village to call on some of the people, and bring them my annual presents, then back to the Cottage to write. Not very good news from Bulgaria. The Government has had an excellent majority on Mr. Gladstone's amendment on (against) the proclamation of the National League, the majority amounting to 78. Sir William Harcourt's language very bad.

Fritz came over to luncheon again, and kindly helped me in receiving the Rao of Kutch and his brother, who have been staying for a month in the Highlands, having taken a moor. They lunched with us, but touched nothing but vegetables and fruit. They are very strict Hindus. They wore beautiful clothes and jewels. The Rao is most amiable, gentle, and unaffected, speaking very good English. His brother, who is seventeen, is also handsome, but very shy. Fritz took tea with us under the trees near the Cottage. It was so fine and warm and quite delightful. Drove Fritz back to Braemar, Beatrice and Irène going with us. It was a most lovely evening.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 27th Aug. 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty wishes to say

only a very few words as to the debate which concluded this morning.

In the opinion of the majority of the House on both sides the speeches of Mr. Balfour, of Mr. Robertson, and of the Attorney-General, were the best they have ever delivered; and they have established on a higher plane than before the reputation of these most able servants of your Majesty.

Your Majesty has most fitly characterised the conduct of Sir William Harcourt in the telegram Mr. Smith had the honour to receive.

Lord Hartington has acted throughout most honourably in every sense of the word, and has given evidence of his most earnest desire to do the best in his power for the country irrespective of personal interests; and Mr. Chamberlain also, as far as he could, has thrown aside all petty and party feeling.

The difficulties before the Government are great, but a step has been gained.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

28th Aug. 1887.—Humble duty. United States Government have proposed to refer Fishery Dispute to a Joint Commission of three on each side. With your Majesty's approval we propose to send Mr. Chamberlain as Chief English Commissioner. He will be acceptable to the United States.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 28th Aug. 1887.—Highly approve proposal to send Mr. Chamberlain as Chief Commissioner of the Commission to decide the Fishery Dispute. It is a wise measure in many ways.

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

SIMLA, 19th Aug. 1887.— . . . Your Majesty will be glad to hear that when Holkar landed at Bombay he was interviewed by a newspaper reporter, and took

the opportunity of expressing in very proper and fitting terms his sense of the great kindness he received from your Majesty in England. He said that nothing could have been more gratifying than the gracious manner in which your Majesty received him, and that he would always retain the happiest recollection of the many favours which he had been accorded at your Majesty's hands. He also acknowledged that Lord Cross had been exceptionally kind and courteous to him. As to the impression made upon the minds of the other Princes by what your Majesty has done for them there can be no doubt.

Immediately your Majesty in a former letter mentioned your desire in regard to a few Indian soldiers being in permanent personal attendance on your Majesty, Lord Dufferin put himself into communication with the Military Department here, and a plan is now being considered by which Lord Dufferin hopes, if the Secretary of State does not object, that your Majesty's wishes will be carried out.

Lord Dufferin is especially glad to hear that your Majesty has been fortunate enough to secure two good Indian servants. His own experience has been that, if only treated with something of the same gentleness and kindness as one is habitually inclined to use towards children, there are no servants in the world so affectionate and grateful and anxious to please as Indian servants. . . . DUFFERIN.

Princess Augustus of Coburg to Queen Victoria.

KLEIN ALM, 4 Septembre 1887.

MA CHÈRE VICTORIA,—Philippe me communique ta lettre. Je te remercie de ta sympathie pour mes émotions et mes angoisses ; elles sont *grandes*, mais j'espère que Dieu guidera et protégera mon fils bien aimé. . . . Je réponds maintenant à tes observations : le trône de Bulgarie étant vacant par suite de la renonciation du Prince Alexandre, et celui-ci ayant fait savoir d'une manière *positive* qu'il ne voulait ni rentrer en Bulgarie, ni être réélu, Ferdinand n'a manqué à

aucun des égards dus à son prédécesseur en acceptant la souveraineté qui lui était offerte par le vote unanime de l'Assemblée Nationale, et en répondant courageusement et loyalement à l'appel de cette malheureuse nation Bulgare si éprouvée. Les acclamations de la population, les témoignages de dévouement de la brave armée Bulgare prouvent que le peuple et l'armée ont jugé mon cher fils digne et capable de succéder au Prince Alexandre de Battenberg. Ferdinand ne s'est pas établi dans la maison d'un *autre*. Il habite à Sofia le Palais du souverain, propriété de la nation, racheté par le gouvernement Bulgare au Prince Alexandre pour faciliter le paiement de quelques dettes. En arrivant en Bulgarie mon fils a déclaré qu'il désirait que tous les souvenirs de son prédécesseur fussent respectés. . . .

En terminant cette lettre, ma chère Victoria, je ne puis que te répéter ce que je t'écrivais l'année dernière, que je croyais (le Prince Alexandre ayant renoncé) que tu préférerais un Cobourg, ton neveu, le neveu de mon cher beau-frère le Roi Léopold, à tout autre Prince pour le trône de Bulgarie, et que ton gouvernement donnerait autant que possible son appui et sa protection à Ferdinand, un fils d'Auguste et de sa triste veuve, pour lesquels tu voulais bien avoir jadis quelque affection. Je l'*espère* et le *crois* encore. . . .

Veuille, comme par le passé, recevoir l'assurance de l'affection de ta vieille amie et bien dévouée cousine,
CLÉMENTINE.

J'ai de bonnes nouvelles de Ferdinand qui a réussi à former un excellent ministère. Mon fils est plein de confiance pour les affaires intérieures du pays. Quant aux dangers extérieurs qui menacent la principauté et son jeune Souverain, tu es plus à même que moi de les connaître et de les apprécier.

Queen Victoria to the Countess of Rosebery.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 6th September 1887.

DEAR LADY ROSEBERY,—I must at once write and thank you for the extremely pretty and charming

present which you have sent me, and which I shall value very much. It is so very kind of you to have thought of working it for me. In answer to your enquiries as to whether I had recovered from the great fatigues of the past very eventful time, I can say that I am beginning to feel more rested, but I was extremely tired and exhausted during the last two months and a half, which were completely filled up with ceremonies, receptions, audiences, etc., so that, till I came here, I had *hardly a day's rest!* But I was amply repaid for my great exertion and fatigue, by the unbounded enthusiastic loyalty and devotion evinced from all parts of my vast Empire, by high and low, rich and poor, from far and near, which has sunk deep into my heart!¹ The accompanying photographs I hope you and Lord Rosebery will accept from me in recollection of the Jubilee. The large one was taken in May, and the small one quite lately in the dress I wore *on* the Thanksgiving Day.

With kind remembrance to Lord Rosebery, Believe me always yours affectionately, V. R. I.

Pray tell Lord Rosebery that I have worn the locket he so kindly sent me.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 7th Sept. 1887. — Directly after luncheon knighted Dr. Morel Mackenzie in the Drawing-room. He said dear Fritz was much better, but must be very careful not to talk much and not to catch cold. I asked what had led to this illness, and he could not say much, but he thought it had been long coming on and been entirely neglected. The little

¹ Miss Mulock (Mrs. George Craik), the novelist, died this autumn; and, in response to a message of sympathy from the Queen, Mr. Craik wrote, for her Majesty's information, on 26th October: "I found only to-day among my dear wife's papers, neatly wrapped up in paper, a package of many newspaper notices connected with the Jubilee celebration, and on the outside these words:

" 'I wish these kept for my grandchildren and great-grandchildren, if I have any. They will then have become historical mementoes of the Jubilee of the beloved Queen Victoria, whom I have spoken with face to face, who has been personally most kind to me and for whom I have all my life had the deepest devotion.' "

growth, which he removed, had come from the inflammation in the throat.

Queen Victoria to the Princess Augustus of Coburg.

[*Copie.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 10 *Septembre* 1887.

MA CHÈRE CLÉM,—Il faut que je réponde de suite à ta bonne lettre, et que je te dise encore une fois moi-même combien je comprends tes cruelles inquiétudes. Mais ce qui doit te consoler, c'est que c'était le grand désir de Ferdinand lui-même d'aller en Bulgarie.

Je te prie de ne pas croire pour un instant que mon affection pour toi et mon intérêt pour ta famille a du tout changé. Mais je ne puis m'empêcher de croire que Ferdinand aurait mieux fait de ne pas entreprendre une tâche aussi difficile et aussi hasardeuse, et je ne puis, d'après ce que je sais, te donner des nouvelles encourageantes.

Il était difficile pour mon gouvernement de donner sa protection spéciale à Ferdinand, puisqu'il avait accepté le trône Bulgare sans l'approbation des Grandes Puissances et que nous ne pouvons tenir tête à l'animosité de la Russie. Vraiment je plains ton malheureux fils dans la position presque intenable où il se trouve; et je ne puis qu'espérer qu'il échappera aux dangers qui l'entourent, et qui doivent être une constante préoccupation pour toi. V. R. I.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 12th *Sept.* 1887.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty writing at 2 a.m., has to speak of a very anxious evening, which has passed off better than Mr. Smith expected.

Sir William Harcourt appeared in great form, and made a long speech, going back over English and Irish history for the past 100 years, making quotations from Grattan and Burke, from Mr. Erskine's speech and Lord Eldon's dicta, and labouring to show that the Government had no legal power to proclaim meetings. His language was of a very dangerous character, distinctly inciting the people

to defy the Government and to hold and to attend meetings; but he advised them not to resist the police or the military, if they found them opposed to a meeting—very dangerous advice, as an Irishman is apt to act in a contrary sense to such advice when disturbance is concerned.

Mr. Balfour followed Sir William Harcourt, and made a most powerful speech, full of fact and of argument. He showed that the police at Mitchelstown¹ had fired in self-defence, that they had been brutally attacked by the crowd, and he showed that the disturbance was really caused by the resistance to the presence of the shorthand writer. Mr. Labouchere then gave his account of all that occurred, speaking as an eye-witness, using violent language as to Captain Seagrave, the Magistrate, and Inspector Brownrigg. His language was offensively cynical, and he claimed credit for truth!

Mr. Hayes Fisher, who acts as honorary Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Balfour, and is a young man of great promise, made a good speech; and then Mr. Gladstone, who had come from Harwarden for the purpose, made a violent and excited harangue, charging Mr. Balfour with impropriety in vindicating the police, as the question must become a matter of judicial enquiry; and he then immediately proceeded to attack them in a violent manner, on the assumption that all Mr. Labouchere said was true and Mr. Balfour false.

Mr. Gibson, the Irish Attorney-General, replied in a vigorous manly speech, which was very well received. Mr. Dillon then gave a long account of his personal experience at Mitchelstown, his object being to negative the story told by Mr. Balfour and sustained by the newspapers. Then Lord Randolph Churchill spoke, sustaining the course pursued by the Government and asserting very high doctrine as to the power and authority of the executive; and pointing out that, if wrong has been done, there is

¹ See Introductory Note.

a legal remedy open to everybody who is wronged by the action of the Government.

After him Mr. Parnell moved the adjournment of the debate, which Mr. Smith resisted; and the debate was continued by Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Brunner, and then at last the debate was allowed to close, and the Appropriation Bill passed through Committee.

Further opposition is threatened on the Third Reading; but Mr. Smith hopes that with the assistance of 200 Members, before whose presence opposition collapses, the final stage may be passed before this letter reaches your Majesty.

16th Sept.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty is glad to be able to take leave of a protracted and exhausting Session by the Prorogation which your Majesty has approved.

Mr. Smith has not been guilty of exaggeration in saying that no Government which has ever served your Majesty has been met with such unscrupulous opposition and obstruction as your Majesty's servants have had to encounter; but Mr. Smith desires to pay the warmest tribute of praise to the colleagues who have assisted him and to the Members of Parliament who have come down day after day, and stayed night after night, without an opportunity of speech, but steadily voting in the support of law and order.

Mr. Goschen and Mr. Balfour have both greatly distinguished themselves by the speeches they have made; and Mr. Balfour has shown especially great courage, readiness, and eloquence in debate; and the best anticipations may be formed of his firmness and ability in administration in Ireland.

Mr. Smith could not refrain from saying these few words before he took the rest for three or four weeks which he is now seeking.

[Telegram.] *Nawab Khass Mahel to Queen Victoria.*

CALCUTTA, 21st Sept. 1887.—Sorry to inform your Majesty my husband the King of Oudh died yesterday. I have now no protector but God. May He

grant long life to your Majesty in whom now all my hopes depend. NAWAB KHASS MAHEL, first wife of the ex-King of Oudh.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

CHALET CECIL, PUYS, 26th Sept. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty gratefully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter which he received just before leaving Royat. He sympathises deeply with your Majesty upon the loss of so attached a friend as Noble. In Lord Salisbury's youth dogs were not allowed at Hatfield, in consequence of two cases of hydrophobia there had been there; and he consequently had no opportunity of forming any taste for dogs. But the loss of an old friend is a very sore trial—whether it be man or dog. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Rao of Kutch.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 29th September 1887.

MY DEAR RAO,—I wish to thank you myself for your kind letter and to repeat my good wishes not only for a prosperous voyage and safe return to your dominions, but also for your welfare and happiness, in which I shall always take a sincere interest, as I do in everything which concerns India.

I hope that you will be inclined to revisit England and Scotland occasionally. To me it is a source of deep regret that I cannot go myself to India, but alas! at my age and dreading sea voyages as well as heat, it would be impossible.

With kind remembrance to your brother, I remain your Highness's sincere friend, VICTORIA R. I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 10th Oct. 1887.—An early luncheon, after which dear Bertie left, having had a most pleasant visit,¹ which I think he enjoyed and said so repeatedly. He had not stayed alone with me, excepting for a

¹ The Prince had unveiled on 6th October, in the Queen's presence, a statue of her Majesty which had been erected on the Balmoral estate to commemorate the Jubilee.

couple of days in May in '68, at Balmoral, since he married ! He is so kind and affectionate that it is a pleasure to be a little quietly together.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

15th October 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's note directing him to take care that the contemplated change in the representation of this country at Rome, which would have the effect of placing Sir R. Morier there, should not take place at the end of the year, as previously arranged, but should be deferred till the middle of April. Your Majesty's commands arrived just in time ; for Lord Salisbury had already given directions that Sir J. Lumley should be instructed to make the communication to the King of Italy, which is usual in such cases, and after which a change would have been impossible. Lord Salisbury was, however, in time to stop the telegram ; and it is now arranged that Sir Robert Morier shall not leave St. Petersburg till April. Lord Salisbury has, of course, let Sir R. Morier understand that it is principally the feeling of Prince Bismarck towards him that makes his stay at St. Petersburg disadvantageous. The assumption of the Foreign Office in Italy by Signor Crispi, who is devoted to Prince Bismarck, and is a man of hasty and impulsive character, makes the arrangement previously proposed a little doubtful ; and Lord Salisbury has been glad to be permitted to change the date of Sir R. Morier's leaving, as his going to Rome just now would be somewhat of an experiment. . . .

FOREIGN OFFICE, 22nd Oct.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully expresses his regret that this time your Majesty's letter came too late. In pursuance of the approval given to his submission last July, Lord Salisbury had offered the Paris Embassy to Lord Lytton, some days ago, and he received Lord Lytton's acceptance by the same messenger that brought your Majesty's letter.

He cannot but think that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been persuaded by some enemy of Lord Lytton's to take too unfavourable a view of the latter's character and qualifications. His talents are of the highest order ; and the faults with which he was charged as Governor-General are faults which as Ambassador he will have no opportunity of committing. Rashness in directing a military expedition and extravagance in paying for it were undoubtedly, with whatever justice, laid to his charge. But even if he wished to do so, he will have no chance of repeating those errors at Paris. It is so close that the policy is absolutely in the hands of the Foreign Office. But Lord Lytton possesses in a very eminent degree the gift of captivating individuals ; and this gift in France, where so much depends on impression, will be eminently useful to him, and to your Majesty's service. What we most want in Paris is good information ; and this is precisely what a man who has formed many friendly relations will be able to obtain. There is no competitor for the appointment. . . .

Under these circumstances Lord Salisbury cannot regret the accident which has made the appointment irrevocable, so much as he otherwise would do. He sincerely believes it the best appointment that can be made, though of course the Radicals will cry out at it.¹

*Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Selborne.*²

BALMORAL, 27th October 1887.

DEAR LORD SELBORNE,—The Queen believes that, notwithstanding the differences which have arisen between you and Mr. Gladstone, you still retain much influence over him in non-political questions ; and

¹ In reply the Queen telegraphed on 26th October : " I have received your letter respecting Lord Lytton and trust he may succeed. I felt bound, however, to tell you what the Prince of Wales said."

² The first Lord Selborne (1812–1895), who had been Lord Chancellor in Mr. Gladstone's previous Ministries, but who disagreed with the Home Rule policy.

therefore her Majesty commands me to ask whether it would be possible for you to call his attention to the harm he is doing to his own name and to the country by his apparent support of those who defy all law and order. I use the expression "apparent," because the Queen cannot believe that one who has been Prime Minister, and who, when he was at the head of the Government, enforced respect for law, can have meant in his speeches to encourage anarchy ; but his references to the Constabulary in Ireland and to the police in England have been certainly accepted by his friends and by his opponents to be direct incitement to resistance against all authority.

The Queen would be very glad if you think any remonstrance of yours would induce Mr. Gladstone to consider this question in its true light.

She is quite prepared to write herself if it could do any good.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 28th Oct. 1887. 2.25 p.m.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. The difficulty of keeping Trafalgar Square clear is that the police have no legal right to disperse crowds there so long as they are orderly. It is your Majesty's property. Would your Majesty object to its being railed in, if the Cabinet advise that step ? It would be quite legal.

I have just walked through Trafalgar Square. There was no sign of disorder ; only about 300 dirty people clustering round the column. The streets were in no way obstructed or disturbed, and everything was going on as usual.¹

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 28th Oct. 1887.—Whatever would tend to stop these proceedings will have my entire approval.

Glad all quiet to-day. . . .

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 31st Oct. 1887.—Lenchen and Sandro had tea with me, and the latter sat talking to me for some time about his difficult position. He is so gentle, amiable, and sympathetic, and one feels so sorry for him.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

1st Nov. 1887.—. . . With respect to the London poor, the matter is occupying the anxious attention of the Ministers. Mr. Ritchie has already interfered to obtain from the Metropolitan Guardians more humane treatment for the casual poor, who are in effect the unemployed.

But the fiscal question, the question of free trade, is becoming more and more anxious and difficult; and the cry for protection seems to be rising.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

7th Nov. 1887.—. . . It was resolved [by the Cabinet] that Trafalgar Square should be for the future closed to public meetings.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 7th Nov. 1887.—Dr. Reid brought in a Reuter's telegram, with rather an alarming account of dear Fritz. Sir M. Mackenzie's answer to my telegram of yesterday has come, and is the following: "Fresh development lower down, exact nature uncertain, but looks unfavourable; have advised Schrotter of Vienna and Krause of Berlin should be consulted; no immediate danger." This alarms me dreadfully, and we feel it is very anxious. So troubled and anxious about dear Fritz, could hardly think of anything else. God grant we may soon have more cheering news!

9th Nov.—Received a very distressed letter from

poor dear Vicky.¹ Sir M. Mackenzie had arrived, and declared the new growth to be of a malignant character. It is too sad, for dear Fritz had really seemed better.

12th Nov.—Received such a heart-broken letter from poor dear Vicky. It is too dreadfully sad, and makes me quite miserable. She says: "The doctors read to me their protocol,—cruel indeed it sounded. I hardly expected much else, still when the crude facts of one's doom are read out to one, it gives one an awful blow! . . . My darling has got a fate before him which I hardly dare think of. How I shall have the strength to bear it, I do not know! . . ."

13th Nov.—Dr. Reid brought me a letter from Sir M. Mackenzie, which alas! is not very satisfactory, though not quite devoid of hope! The doctors seem to agree that the growth is of a malignant character. As regards the treatment too, there is a difference of opinion. Sir M. Mackenzie advocates simply palliatives to prolong life, but the German surgeons, on the other hand, are in favour of an operation, which *they* say is not dangerous, and which offers a prospect, or at least a chance, of recovery, with an impaired voice. It is dreadful, but there must still be some hope! Poor darling Vicky, the thought of all her trouble makes my heart ache.

There has been a great riot in London. The mob wanted to force their way into Trafalgar Square, and fought with the police. Two squadrons of Cavalry and 400 Foot Guards were called out, and kept Trafalgar Square, where it had been announced the people would no longer be allowed to meet. Fortunately, it all ended well. No lives lost, and no collision between the people and the military. All was quiet

¹ This, and the other letters referred to in the Journal from the Crown Princess from San Remo to Queen Victoria, during this month of November, when it was definitely accepted that the disease was cancer, are given at considerable length in Sir F. Ponsonby's *Letters of the Empress Frederick*, ch. 10.

before midnight. A Socialist, Burns,¹ and an M.P., Mr. Graham, were arrested.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Matthews.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 14th Nov. 1887.—Much regret serious riot, but greatly rejoice at the energy so successfully evinced, which put it down, and 2 ring-leaders being arrested. Trust all is quiet to-day; but, when leaders of Opposition preach disobedience to the law and resistance of the police, one cannot be surprised at such attempts. Trust no serious injury to police or innocent people.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 14th Nov. 1887.—Dr. Reid showed me his answer to Sir M. Mackenzie, which is excellent. He is so afraid that both sides of the question may not have been duly weighed, for it must be borne in mind that palliatives cannot eradicate the disease, whereas the operation of opening the throat and removing all the growths might do so. The German doctors, as well as some in England, do not consider this operation as very dangerous. It is a terrible state of affairs, and I am haunted by the thought of it.

18th Nov.—A letter from Sir M. Mackenzie to Dr. Reid saying that an operation would have been too dangerous, as the great object was to prolong dear Fritz's life, whereas the immediate risk of an operation would have been great. This the German doctors all agreed in. Sir M. Mackenzie continues to be of the opinion that there was nothing malignant in June. I cannot help hoping against hope that the disease may not progress rapidly.

21st Nov.—Poor darling Vicky's birthday. Oh! what a sad one it will be! She and dear Fritz are never out of my thoughts, and it comes over me like a dreadful cloud, which overhangs, darkens, and spoils

¹ Subsequently M.P. for Battersea, and, in the Liberal Government of 1905, President of the Local Government Board.

every pleasure. May God bless my poor dear child, who is so good and brave.

Lord Salisbury sent me the copy of a secret Treaty between Germany and Austria, of which we were not aware, and which is very strong, promising to come to each other's assistance, in case they were attacked by Russia or France, equally if any other Power attacked one or other of them.

22nd Nov.—Had two long letters from dear Vicky, giving a dreadful account of the intrigues going on at Berlin. She is half distracted.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 25th Nov. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully returns to your Majesty the painfully interesting letter which he received from your Majesty at Nuneham. He has spoken to Count Hatzfeldt on the subject, of course with great caution and reserve, and has received from him the assurance, which he begged might be conveyed to your Majesty, that there was not the slightest ground for apprehending any proceeding of the kind suggested. He dwelt rather upon the great advantage to Germany that would ensue, even if the worst that was feared should turn out to be true as to the Crown Prince's health, if he should live long enough to interpose some interval between the death of the present Emperor and the accession of Prince William.

Lord Salisbury has just received two interesting letters, one from Sir E. Malet and the other from Prince Bismarck. He would be grateful if your Majesty would give them him back at Windsor, as the answer to the Chancellor must not be delayed. It is written to dispel apprehensions as to the possibility of Germany adopting a pro-Russian policy in case Prince William should become Emperor. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26th Nov. 1887.—Saw Sir M. Mackenzie, who repeated all he had said by letter.

The important thing was for dear Fritz to keep cheerful and not worried, which is no easy matter, as there are so many intrigues going on and poor Vicky has a most difficult time. Even now, it is just possible that the growth might after all not be a malignant one, but that that dreadful operation could not have been performed; no one hardly lived who had it done. He said that Professor Oerthel, from Munich, who attended dear Alice and all her family during the diphtheria, entirely approved of this treatment. In the meantime, the accounts were very favourable.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2nd Dec. 1887.—The Maharani and Gaikwar arrived in different carriages.¹ At three I received her with Beatrice in the Audience-room. All the men were kept out of the way and the Indian attendants in particular. Lady Cross and Lady Waterpark brought the Maharani in, as well as her sister and Mrs. Elliott, the wife of the gentleman who has been for long with the Gaikwar. The Maharani bent low and shook hands. She is a pretty little thing, and wore a close-fitting jacket and trousers, no petticoat, of pale blue satin, over the whole a long crimson and gold gauze veil, which passed over the head, and covered her completely, excepting her face, which she uncovered as she came into the room. She had splendid jewels on. She looks very gentle, but is said to be very wilful, and to wish to see everything without being seen. She regretted not having seen Bertie. Both Princesses had a red spot painted in the centre of their foreheads. The Maharani understands a little English, and says a few words, but her sister does not. I ventured upon a sentence in Hindustani which Abdul and Mohamed had helped to teach me. I also presented Beatrice

¹ Lord Cross had explained to the Queen on 30th November that "according to their very curious custom [the Maharani] and her husband are never to be seen in the same room together; and, though they may travel by the same train, they cannot travel in the same carriage."

in Hindustani. The Maharani said she wished to see the Castle and, after she had sat a little while on the sofa next to me, she shook hands and took leave.

Then I received the Gaikwar of Baroda, accompanied by Lord Cross and Sir G. Fitzgerald. The Gaikwar is small, dark, and not distinguished or good-looking, but he seems very intelligent. He was dressed in white, and wore a low red turban, or rather cap, and a necklace of large emeralds. He speaks English perfectly well.

8th Dec.—Saw the Duke of Norfolk, who is going to Rome to congratulate the Pope on my part on the fiftieth anniversary of his becoming Priest, and is bearer of an official as well as an autograph letter from me. The Duke spoke of his excellent uncle Lord Lyons' death, which occurred without his ever recovering consciousness. He is to be buried to-morrow at Arundel. Signed a great many papers. At seven, Lord Salisbury brought Count Corti to present his letters of recall, he having been summarily recalled. After this I saw Lord Salisbury, and spoke of the great success of the Unionist meeting in Dublin, a very large one, where Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen were enthusiastically received. This had given the Loyalists courage, and had done great good. There had been also another great and successful meeting in London. Lord Salisbury thinks the Government much stronger, and that there should be no moves or changes, in which I entirely agreed, as I said it unsettled everyone. Talked with great regret of the death of Lord Lyons. It is decided now that after all Morier is to remain at St. Petersburg for the present. . . .

The Marquis of Londonderry to Queen Victoria.

VICE-REGAL LODGE, DUBLIN, *10th Dec. 1887.*—Lord Londonderry. . . . has purposely abstained from intruding upon your Majesty until he was able to write with certainty as to the state of Ireland after the Crimes Bill had been given a fair trial. He now

ventures to congratulate your Majesty on the complete success that has attended the working of that Act. He fears to take a too sanguine view, but cannot conceal from himself the fact that law and order are being gradually restored even in the most disaffected districts, viz. Clare and Kerry, and although the state of the two counties is still far from satisfactory, he thinks that by firmness and determination further improvement may be hoped for. He regards this improvement as due to two things : 1st, that the Act has been administered with firmness, and 2nd, attacking the leaders of the agitation as against the small men. A very great blow has been struck at the National League by the arrest of Mr. O'Brien and other leaders, and the fact of Mr. Dillon avoiding Ireland for fear of arrest has considerably strengthened the Government and weakened the power of the League in the minds of the people. Lord Londonderry is pleased to be able to inform your Majesty that in each monthly report of the Divisional Magistrates there occurs the expression "Marked improvement," and he can assure your Majesty that he and his colleagues will endeavour to do their utmost that this may continue. . . .

Queen Victoria to Pope Leo XIII.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12 Décembre 1887.

VOTRE SAINTETÉ me permettra de saisir l'occasion qui m'est offerte par la mission du Duc de Norfolk, pour vous répéter combien j'ai été touchée des félicitations que vous avez eu la bonté de m'adresser par Monsignore Ruffo Scilla pour mon Jubilé, et pour vous remercier de nouveau de la superbe mosaïque que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer.

Je désire maintenant, à mon tour, féliciter chaleureusement votre Sainteté à l'occasion du 50^{me} Anniversaire de votre entrée dans l'Eglise, où vous vous êtes si hautement distingué par votre zèle à maintenir la paix et la bonne volonté entre les hommes, à adoucir les discordes civiles, et, par-

dessus tout, à honorer ce Dieu, que vous et moi nous servons.

Je suis de votre Sainteté la fidèle amie,

VICTORIA R. I.

J'ai chargé le Duc de Norfolk de remettre à votre Sainteté un souvenir que je vous prie d'accepter de ma part. C'est une copie que j'ai fait faire d'une ancienne pièce d'argenterie dans ma collection ici à Windsor.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 16th Dec. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter. He trusts that your Majesty will excuse him next Sunday evening, for he has to go down early on Monday to Derby, to make political speeches, and the necessary preparation in respect to the disposal of the business of this office will occupy him the whole of Sunday.

This duty of making political speeches is an aggravation of the labours of your Majesty's servants which we owe entirely to Mr. Gladstone.

Lord Salisbury humbly expresses his entire concurrence in your Majesty's objection to the idea of making any vacancy in the Government for the purpose of admitting Lord Randolph Churchill. The future treatment of Lord Randolph Churchill, when *natural* vacancies occur, will of course be a matter of great perplexity. Sir M. Beach and perhaps Mr. Chaplin ought to be taken in first; but after that, if vacancies should occur, the question of Lord Randolph's admission would be very embarrassing.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

22nd Dec. 1887.—Am very much astonished to see that Lord and Lady Lytton have gone to Paris!! He has not only not had an audience, but not even kissed hands. This is quite irregular, and what is

the cause of this omission? He should return shortly to kiss hands. An Ambassador can hardly be received at his post without this.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HATFIELD HOUSE, HATFIELD, 23rd Dec. 1887.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully expresses his very great regret at the mistake which has occurred with respect to the kissing of hands by Lord Lytton. Lord Salisbury is unable to discover precisely where the mistake was made; but by altering the procedure in the department he thinks he has taken security that it shall not occur again.

Monsieur Waddington took so grave a view of the possible effects on public feeling in Paris, if Lord Lytton should not be present at the President's reception on New Year's Day, that he felt constrained to advise your Majesty to allow the kissing hands to take place after the credentials had been presented, and after New Year's Day. There is a precedent for such a course. In the present strained state of feeling in Europe, a slight cause might produce an enormous amount of mischief.

Pope Leo XIII to Queen Victoria.

DU VATICAN, le 26 Décembre 1887.

MAJESTÉ—Le Duc de Norfolk, qui a si noblement accompli la mission dont il était chargé auprès de nous, nous a remis la lettre autographe de votre Majesté. La lecture de cette lettre et les sentiments que votre Majesté y exprime ont reporté notre pensée à une époque déjà lointaine. C'était en 1843, quand votre Majesté vint en Belgique avec son auguste époux le Prince Albert pour y visiter son royal oncle le roi des Belges Léopold I. Nous eûmes alors l'honneur, en notre qualité de Nonce Apostolique, d'être présenté à votre Majesté par le roi lui-même, et elle nous adressa des paroles pleines de bienveillance et de courtoisie, dont le souvenir ne s'est jamais effacé de notre mémoire. Nous avons été heureux de retrouver

l'expression de ces mêmes sentiments dans la lettre que nous venons de recevoir de votre Majesté, et de notre côté nous profiterons de toutes les occasions qui s'offriront à nous pour lui témoigner notre amitié.

En attendant, nous nous empressons de remercier votre Majesté des félicitations qu'elle a bien voulu nous exprimer et du royal cadeau qu'elle nous a offert à l'occasion de notre Jubilé Sacerdotal. Et nous prions Dieu pour sa conservation et pour celle de son auguste famille. LEO PP. XIII.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 27th Dec. 1887.—Think it of great importance that the Foreign Governments and the country should know that Lord Randolph [Churchill] is going¹ simply on a private journey in no way charged with any message or mission from the Government, nor is likely to return to it.

The papers are full of surmises on the subject and with dangerous reports of all kinds.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

27th Dec. 1887.—Humble duty. Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg has been instructed to let it be known that Lord R. Churchill does not represent opinions of either the Government or the country.

Austrian Ambassador was informed verbally in the same sense. Sir E. Malet's letter shows that German Government are quite aware of it.

There was an article in *The Times* of Friday stating it plainly.

*Lord Randolph Churchill to the Prince of Wales.*²

ST. PETERSBURG, 29th December 1887.

SIR,—As a messenger goes from the Embassy here to-morrow I avail myself of your Royal High-

¹ To St. Petersburg.

² Sent by the Prince of Wales to the Queen.

ness's kind permission to me to write to you, to send some account of our proceedings and observations.

We had a very pleasant dinner in Berlin with H. Bismarck. No one except ourselves and Kinski. I did not have any political talk with H. Bismarck; the conversation all the evening was of a frivolous and chaffy character. I also went to call on the Ambassador and Lady E. M., who pressed us to stay two or three days with them at Berlin on our way back. I met Sir R. Morier at Berlin. He said he should be back here by the 13th January.

The day after I arrived here I had a message from Mons. de Giers to say he would be glad to see me, so I went, and had half an hour's interview with him. He seems to me to be a good old fellow, very quiet and peaceful, I should say. He talked about the Afghan frontier, and expressed his belief that the settlement was a durable one, and that Russia had attained her limits in that part of the world, and had no reason or desire not to keep within them. He also spoke about Bulgaria, rather bitterly I thought, recalling the efforts which Russia had made for that country and how little return those efforts had found. He did not seem anxious about any outbreak of war.

On Monday last my wife and I made a most interesting visit to Gatschina, where we were received by their Majesties. I thought her Majesty the Empress looking wonderfully well and really not a day older than when I saw her in 1873 at Cowes. It would seem that perpetual youth is the prerogative of the Royal Family of Denmark. With the Emperor I had a long conversation. He asked much about English men and matters and about the state of parties. His Majesty was pleased to say that he would much like to have visited England to see your Royal Highness. Also he said he would be glad to have a personal explanation on Russian policy with Lord Salisbury. I ventured to reply that I thought, if H.M. had been able to go to England, it would have been a most fortunate thing

for the two countries. Afghanistan of course was touched upon, and also Russia's interests and position in the S.E. of Europe. I thought that H.M. seemed most pacifically inclined, and this view is confirmed by what I hear in other quarters. I feel certain that they not only do not desire war, but will do much to avoid it. His Majesty was most kind in allowing me to speak very freely to him on the several subjects which he mentioned. There can be no doubt in my mind as to his extreme desire for friendly relations with England; and H.M. told me moreover that there was a strong party in Russia who desired firm friendship with England. . . . Your Royal Highness's most faithful servant, RANDOLPH S. CHURCHILL.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 31st Dec. 1887.—Went upstairs and Jane C. read to me, and I remained quietly writing. After twelve Beatrice and Liko came in and wished me a happy New Year.

It was with great regret that I parted with the old eventful one. The Jubilee time was so richly blessed, not one mishap or disturbance, not one bad day, including the last pretty little ceremony of the unveiling of my statue at Balmoral. Never, never can I forget this brilliant year, so full of the marvellous kindness, loyalty, and devotion of so many millions, which really I could hardly have expected. I felt sadly the absence of those dear ones, who would so entirely have rejoiced in this eventful time. Then, how thankful I must be for darling Beatrice coming safely through her severe confinement, and now again in the great improvement in dear Fritz's condition! We had been in such terrible anxiety about him in November. May God help me further!

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

DURING the first half of the year 1888 the attention of the world and the anxious sympathy of Queen Victoria were fixed on the affecting drama which was being unrolled at San Remo and Berlin—the passing of the headship of the German Empire from William I to the doomed Frederick III and, after a very brief interval, from Frederick III to the inexperienced William II. The long illness of the Crown Prince was embittered by squabbles between the English and German doctors; but early in February it was agreed that tracheotomy had become imperative, and it was performed. A month later, on 9th March, the old Emperor William died; and the patient, despite his weakness, travelled at once with his wife from San Remo to Berlin to take up his duties. The journey did him no good, and for a large part of his three months' reign Frederick III was confined to a sick bed. He issued a rescript in which he expressed his confidence in Prince Bismarck, and at the same time foreshadowed a more liberal system of government. A projected marriage, which the Emperor and Empress had at heart, between their daughter Princess Victoria and Prince Alexander (late of Bulgaria), was stopped, for fear of complications with Russia, by Prince Bismarck's insistence. There were many other vexations, and a maze of intrigues about the throne; but the sick man and his devoted wife had the pleasure of a visit of three days (April 24th to 26th) from the Empress's mother, Queen Victoria. The Queen was on her way back to England from a spring sojourn at Florence; she had a talk with the Emperor of Austria at Innsbruck, and a long conversation with Prince Bismarck in Berlin.

The Emperor Frederick, on whose character so many hopes had been built, died on 15th June. The new Emperor, William II, Queen Victoria's eldest grandson, expressed his intention of continuing the home and foreign policy of his grandfather, William I; and proceeded in July with his navy on a visit to the Tsar at St. Petersburg, calling on the King of Sweden and the King of Denmark on his way home. In August he manifested his confidence in Prince Bismarck by going to see him at Friedrichsruhe; and then in October the "travelling Kaiser," as he had by now been nicknamed, visited the Emperor Francis Joseph in Vienna, and finally

the King of Italy and the Pope in Rome. Meanwhile, not only did a serious misunderstanding arise between him and the Prince of Wales, but the widowed Empress Frederick had reason to complain of the treatment she and her friends received; and she came to England in November to pass the winter months with her mother the Queen.

The Austro-German Treaty, signed originally nine years before, was published in Berlin and Vienna in February. In France General Boulanger's intrigues resulted in his being superseded for active service, and then placed on the retired list; but he remained a disturbing political force, and gathered around him the discontented of several parties. In the United States a Treaty negotiated at Washington settling the Fisheries question with Canada was rejected by the Senate; and the British Minister, Lord Sackville, was given his passports owing to indiscreet action during the Presidential contest—a contest which ended in the election of the Republican candidate, General Harrison. Australia celebrated the centenary of the first settlement there by Captain Phillip. General Grenfell, with a mixed British and Egyptian force, on 21st December routed the dervishes before Suakin, and restored tranquillity in all the neighbouring portion of the Soudan. Troubles were caused both in Zanzibar and in Samoa by the forceful activities of the Germans.

Though British politicians carried on the Home Rule debate at public meetings without cessation, Irish policy did not so entirely occupy their attention in 1888 as in 1887. Mr. Parnell advised his followers not to obstruct English and Scottish legislation; Mr. Gladstone raised no serious opposition to reform of Procedure. Accordingly Mr. Smith carried without difficulty or waste of time a complete set of Procedure Rules, which were calculated greatly to facilitate the conduct of Public Business; and Mr. Ritchie, President of the Local Government Board, managed to pilot into law, with the jettison only of controversial Licensing Clauses, an elaborate Bill establishing County Councils to deal with county affairs, and incidentally solving the question of London government by creating the London County Council. The resignation by Lord Charles Beresford of a junior lordship of the Admiralty, and certain deliberate indiscretions in speech and writing of Lord Wolseley, then Adjutant-General, produced uneasiness in the public mind both as to the adequacy, and as to the administration, of the navy and

army ; and the Government appointed a Royal Commission, under Lord Hartington's chairmanship, to enquire into the administration of the two fighting forces. Other interesting features of the Session were a large and successful scheme by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the conversion of debt ; and a Bill, carried by Mr. Bradlaugh, making Affirmation, in practically all cases, a legal alternative for anyone with a conscientious objection to taking an Oath.

Though Ireland did not monopolise the time of Parliament, there was no lack of heated Irish debates, mainly arising out of regrettable incidents in the increasingly successful fight which Mr. Balfour was making against Irish lawlessness. The personal abuse of the Nationalists he met with imperturbable temper ; and the attacks of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues by reminders of their own recent record in Irish coercion. He also carried an Irish Land Bill, extending further the healing policy of land purchase initiated by the Ashbourne Act.

The moral character of the Irish agitation was much under examination this year. The Pope sent Monsignore Persico to Ireland on a mission of enquiry, and on receipt of his report issued a rescript condemning as immoral both the Plan of Campaign and the practice of boycotting. But neither the rescript nor a letter enforcing its principles which the Pope wrote later in the year effected any alteration in the conduct of the agitation ; and in several cases landlords yielded to the pressure which the Plan brought to bear on them. The charges of "Parnellism and Crime" were revived in July by the production by the defendants, in an unsuccessful action brought against *The Times* by a Nationalist M.P., of further incriminating letters. Mr. Parnell asked for an investigation by a Select Committee of the House of Commons ; the Government considered this an unfit tribunal, and proposed a Special Commission of three Judges to enquire into the whole of the Charges and Allegations. The Nationalists and Liberals endeavoured without success to limit the scope of the enquiry ; and the Bill was passed. The Commissioners, who began to sit in the autumn, decided that the proceedings should take the form of a prosecution of the Nationalists by *The Times*. Mr. Parnell for his part started an action against *The Times* in the Scottish Courts at Edinburgh.

CHAPTER IV

1888

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 2nd Jan. 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for the gracious letter of yesterday, and the expression of deep feeling which it contains. The Jubilee year will remain deeply engraved on the memory of millions. It gave opportunity for the most striking and affecting expression of national reverence and affection that has ever come from the heart of any people. Your Majesty's reign has witnessed and fostered additions to the glory and happiness of the nation in proportions far exceeding the reign of any previous English Sovereign ; and the gratitude of your people was as natural as it was manifestly sincere.

Lord Salisbury earnestly congratulates your Majesty on the encouraging news which has been received from the Crown Prince. His recovery will give universal joy in this country as well as in Germany.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 3rd January 1888.

DEAREST BERTIE,—I must just answer your observations about Lord Randolph Churchill.¹ I

¹ The Prince had written : " I know that Lord Randolph's visit has no political object of any kind, as I saw him the day before he started at Ashridge. . . . I know he wanted to be out of England till Parliament met, so as to avoid making speeches at meetings ; though he entirely supports Lord Salisbury's Government, and I own I regret

cannot, I own, quite understand *your* high opinion of a man who is clever undoubtedly, but who is devoid of all principle, who holds the most insular and dangerous doctrines on foreign affairs, who is very impulsive and utterly unreliable. If you knew *how* infamously he behaved towards his colleagues (Lord Iddesleigh he treated atrociously), holding views which were utterly impossible to be listened to and which he *holds now*, you would see that to have him again in the Government would be to break *it up* AT ONCE ; and I shall do all I can to prevent such a catastrophe. . . .

Pray don't correspond with him, for he really is *not* to be trusted and is very indiscreet, and his power and talents are greatly overrated. Sir R. Morier agreed with me as to the danger of his visit to Russia and his total unreliableness. I don't state all this from any personal enmity towards Lord Randolph ; but I *must* say what I *know from experience* to be the case. Let this subject drop now. . . . Your devoted Mama, V. R. I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 4th Jan. 1888.—Went with Jane C. to Osborne Cottage, where I paid Mary Ponsonby a visit, who had only returned yesterday from San Remo, where she had spent a month, and seen Vicky daily. She said poor dear Vicky's trials, difficulties, and anxieties were terrible. Fritz's state was certainly much more satisfactory at present. Had my daily Hindustani lesson.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 5th Jan. 1888.— . . . Lord Salisbury fully comprehends and agrees in the wisdom of your Majesty's decision in not opening that he is not asked to rejoin it, because, in spite of his many faults and constant errors of judgment, he is very clever and undoubtedly a power in the country. . . . My impression is that he will be careful, and I expect shortly to hear from him." For the letter which Lord Randolph wrote, see above, p. 367.

the forthcoming Parliament. It might be injurious from the point of view of health; and it is, moreover, not expedient to make such an honour too common.

[*Same Day.*]—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits the rough draft of the proposed Statutes¹ for an Order of Merit in Science and Art, in order to ascertain, before consulting any other person, whether it meets your Majesty's general approval.

Queen Victoria to Sir Edward Malet.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

11th Jan. 1888.—What is real state of Emperor? Think there is little doubt C[rown] Prince's trouble in throat is not malignant and life not imperilled; but the throat will remain troublesome and, whatever happens, he could not return in the winter to Berlin. Most important that the C. Prince should be kept informed of what is going on, for he is perfectly well and able to transact any business.

Sir Edward Malet to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 14th Jan. 1888.—Sir Edward Malet presents his humble duty to the Queen, and has the honour to inform your Majesty that the Emperor is much better again. His Majesty was able yesterday to transact business as usual, and was indeed much irritated because the physicians forbade him to assist at the fête of the Order of the Black Eagle, which was to have taken place immediately.

¹ These draft statutes contemplated the institution by Queen Victoria, in commemoration of her Jubilee year, of "An Order of Knighthood to be bestowed on those who have attained great and recognised distinction in science, or in the arts of painting, sculpture, or music." The Order was to be of one grade only, to be divided into two branches, consisting (ultimately) of forty members each, to be called Knights of the Order of Scientific Merit (K.M.S.) and Knights of the Order of Artistic Merit (K.M.A.). It will be seen that the scheme, which was not further proceeded with, differed considerably from that adopted when King Edward in 1902 created the Order of Merit. See below, p. 380.

Sir Edward Malet took an opportunity to-day to say to Count Bismarck that he hoped that the Crown Prince was kept duly informed of all that was going on, so that he might have things to interest him at San Remo, and Count Bismarck said that a special messenger was sent to his Imperial Highness every ten days with summaries of passing events and reports.

With regard to the *Stellvertretung*,¹ about which a good deal has been said, it appears that the Emperor has to sign an enormous number of papers, and that the machinery of the Empire would hitch if these could not be obtained for any length of time, so an arrangement was made by which Prince William would be empowered to sign if the Emperor were unable and the Crown Prince were absent. Indeed, the Emperor told this to the Ambassadors when they had the honour to be received by his Majesty on the New Year. Count de Launay, the Italian Ambassador, remarked that the Hereditary Princess of Meiningen and Prince Henry were both at San Remo. "Yes," said his Majesty, "all my grandchildren are with my son, except Prince William, who is obliged to be here in case my infirmities should prevent me from signing."

Sir Edward Malet's conviction is that his Imperial Highness may trust implicitly in the present crisis to Prince Bismarck, and that his Imperial Highness's rights and interests will be jealously guarded by him. If they were the least imperilled the Chancellor would intervene, and his intervention is a thing of which Court intriguers have a wholesome dread.

Sir Edward Malet has heard through Colonel Swaine that the little Prince William lost his Jubilee medal at the breakfast at Buckingham Palace and is greatly distressed at it. Sir Edward Malet ventures to bring the circumstance to your Majesty's knowledge, in case it should not have reached it in any other way.

Sir Edward and Lady Ermyntrude take this

¹ "Representation" or "Locum-tenency."

opportunity to have the honour of expressing their earnest wishes for your Majesty's prosperity and welfare during the year 1888.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 17th Jan. 1888.—Saw Sir Morel Mackenzie. He returned about a week ago from San Remo, and gave me a good account of dear Fritz; but he said, though he fully believed there was nothing malignant, he could not say so positively for another six months. There was still a possibility of tracheotomy having to be performed, though he hoped not.

Sir Henry Holland to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[Telegram.]

COLONIAL OFFICE, 25th Jan. 1888.—Centenary of colonisation of Australia now being celebrated in Sydney. Queen's statue unveiled yesterday; great enthusiasm; seven Governors attended; sixty thousand persons present. Lord Carrington suggests congratulatory telegram from her Majesty.

Shall I telegraph by the Queen's command that her Majesty warmly congratulates Australian Colonies on splendid material and social progress achieved during past hundred years, deeply appreciates their loyalty, and has watched with sincere interest excellent administration of their Governments, and prays that their prosperity and close attachment to this country may continue to increase as hitherto.¹

HOLLAND.

Lord Carrington to Sir Henry Holland.

[Telegram.]

27th Jan. 1888.—Her Majesty's telegram was read at the State banquet amidst great cheering and enthusiasm. All Australasian Governors and one thousand guests present, including most of leading statesmen and citizens of Australasia. CARRINGTON.

¹ The Queen approved the proposed telegram, and it was sent.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

OSBORNE, 29th Jan. 1888.—The Queen . . . thinks certainly that Lord Dufferin would dislike coming away at once, and leaving the great responsible position of Viceroy of India for our Embassy at Rome. The mere report of an Indian officer respecting his health is not enough. Lord Salisbury should ascertain without any doubt and with certainty whether this is founded on *facts or not*; for HE distinctly states the reverse view in the letter which Lord Salisbury sends. Besides, the Italians leave us without an Ambassador, and we could surely do without one also; indeed, our dignity almost obliges us to do so.

Lord Cross deprecates Lord Dufferin's departure very greatly, and the Queen thinks it would look like casting a slur on his able administration to do so.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 31st Jan. 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that, with respect to the appointments contemplated, a certain change of circumstances has occurred. Lord Lansdowne has informed Lord Salisbury that, in view of arrangements to be made at home, though he could leave Canada in August, perhaps earlier, he would not like to take up the Government of India before next New Year's Day; which is the time Lord Dufferin desires to come back to Europe.

On the other hand, Lord Salisbury has heard in more quarters than one that S[ignor] Crispi's position is much shaken by his violence of conduct. He is rather the Randolph Churchill of Italy. This circumstance makes it less imperative to provide *now* for the Roman Embassy when it is vacated by Sir J. Savile in April.

In view, therefore, of your Majesty's misgivings and of these circumstances, Lord Salisbury submits the following arrangement:—

Lord Lansdowne to be announced as Governor-

General for next January, and to come away in August or earlier. Lord Stanley [of Preston] to be announced at once as his successor. Sir M. Beach to go to the Board of Trade.¹ Lord Dufferin to be privately offered the Embassy at Rome. If matters go evenly, the Embassy may be left with a *Chargé d'Affaires* for eight months; or, if it be necessary, Sir F. Lascelles might be sent there *ad interim*; or, if the need was serious, Lord Dufferin might come to Rome, and an acting Governor-General be sworn in—it would be Lord Reay—as has often been done before.

If it can be done without damage to Imperial interests, Lord Salisbury is anxious to make the change at the Board of Trade before Easter.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 4th Feb. 1888.—The German Government has suddenly published the important Treaty with Austria, which they informed us of, as a great secret, some little time ago. It is very binding; and, if we had known two years ago (and it exists since '79!), how many difficulties might have been avoided.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

OSBORNE, 5th Feb. 1888.—The Queen cannot refrain from writing to express to Lord Salisbury her indignation, surprise, and alarm at Lord R. Churchill's language to Lord Lytton in his last letters; indignation and alarm at his holding such dangerous language, and surprise at his *marvellous* want of knowledge of history and of precedents.

How mad he must be, if he *thinks* we could keep India, not to speak of the alienation of all allies, if we allowed Russia to be mistress of the Mediterranean!!! It is almost ludicrous. But what is more

¹ Writing to the Queen on the 28th January, Lord Salisbury had remarked: "A 'cave' containing Sir M. Beach and Lord Randolph Churchill is much to be dreaded. Lord Hartington the other day warned Lord Salisbury in strong terms against it. If Sir M. Beach enters the Government, it will of course become impossible."

alarming still is that he should speak of Sir R. Morier sharing his views!! Whatever he (M.) might be at Rome, he is *very* dangerous still at St. Petersburg; and the Queen cannot but hope that ere long we may yet move him. Sir A. Paget will not, she concludes, be much longer at Vienna, and could *he* not go *there*, and some one who would be safe and who had the old traditions go to St. Petersburg? The Queen owns she is again greatly alarmed at the mischief he may do there since Lord R. Churchill's visit. . . . The Queen thinks the Speech¹ will do very well, and is very prudent.

The Queen forgot one other important observation on Lord R. Churchill's conversation, viz. that it is useless and hopeless to come to any agreement or engagement with Russia, for *she always breaks* them; while *we* keep them, and are invariably deceived and made fools of, Khiva is an instance of this.²

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 6th Feb. 1888.—. . . Lord Randolph has sent Lord Salisbury a message desiring to see him; he is to come on Friday. Probably he will hear a totally new version of Lord Randolph's views.

Lord Salisbury has had some communication with Sir F. Leighton with respect to the Order of Merit, and the list which was submitted to your Majesty. Sir F. Leighton was very discouraging, laid great stress upon the heartburnings the proposed proceedings were likely to produce, and could not be induced to speak plainly what he wished for. Lord Salisbury [thought it] better to consult Mr. Goschen and Mr. Smith upon the matter; because the House of Commons is in so unstable a condition, on account of the present acrimony of party politics

¹ The Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament.

² On the following day the Queen wrote a similar letter to the Prince of Wales, concluding:—"If *you can* keep [Lord Randolph] from publicly holding such very dangerous doctrines, you will be doing great good."

and the absence of any fixed majority, that any small rush of adverse opinion, even upon a matter not connected with politics, might be very inconvenient. Both Mr. Goschen and Mr. Smith took the view strongly that the present moment was not suitable, and that any turmoil about a thing of the sort might add materially to their difficulties, especially when the inevitable estimate for the decorations came on. In view, therefore, of the very serious nature of the present crisis, they thought—and Lord Salisbury quite concurs with them—that the matter had better be postponed.

Sir Henry Holland to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 7th Feb. 1888.—Sir Henry T. Holland with his humble duty submits to your Majesty that the time is approaching when it will be necessary for your Majesty to signify your wishes as to the name to be given to that part of New Guinea over which sovereignty will soon be declared. . . .

Sir Henry Holland would humbly place before your Majesty the following names for consideration :—British New Guinea, British Papua, Papuana, and Reginia.

The first name is that which was adopted at the Colonial Conference, and which has also been adopted by the Queensland Act, which was passed to secure the payment of the expenses of the administration of the territory after sovereignty has been declared. There are precedents for the use of the word "British" in the cases of British Guiana (there being a French and Dutch Guiana) and of British Honduras (there being another State of Honduras); and in the present case the Dutch hold part of New Guinea and the Germans another part.

The term "Papua" is a corruption of the Malay words pua-pua, which signify curly or woolly; and it was applied to the inhabitants on account of their hair. The island is called in several maps "Papua

or New Guinea." The latter name was first given to it by a Spanish navigator in 1546, and is now generally adopted.

The name "Papua" was suggested by the Premier of Queensland; and the name "Reginia" was suggested by the President of the Royal Geographical Society. He, however, leaned to the name "British Papua," as do the President of the Zoological Society and the present Governor of Queensland.

As the name could hereafter be changed, if your Majesty should not approve of any of these names, Sir Henry Holland would very humbly submit that the name of "British New Guinea," which has been adopted by the Queensland Parliament, might be adopted for the present, leaving it to your Majesty to change the name hereafter should your Majesty desire it.

Note by Sir Henry Ponsonby :

7th Feb. 1888.—The Queen sanctioned the name of British New Guinea being retained for the present, subject to future consideration.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 9th Feb. 1888.—Rather anxious reports again about dear Fritz, and the necessity for tracheotomy having to be performed, so telegraphed to enquire. Heard from Sir M. Mackenzie that it was quite true that tracheotomy was found necessary, and was to be performed at once! Greatly troubled. Heard that the operation was well over, and that dear Fritz was doing quite well.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

10th Feb. 1888.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Sir Michael Beach accepts the Board of Trade; but [it] should not be announced till other arrangements are made.

Sir Henry Holland suffered very severely during last Session and fears that he cannot face another. He would be a very serious loss. Would your Majesty consent to put him in the House of Lords, if he would be willing to accept? It would facilitate arrangements exceedingly, and he is well off and a deserving man.

13th Feb.— . . . Lord Randolph Churchill called on Lord Salisbury on Friday, and gave a general report of what he had seen and heard abroad.¹ He did not mention some things which we know he said to Herbert Bismarck; but otherwise his account tallied with the others which have come from various quarters. He said nothing of his recommendation of a revival of the Drei-Kaiser-Bund. The main point of policy to which his ideas lead up is this: If war breaks out, England's neutrality will be of great value; France and Russia will pay a high price for it; and it will be more her interest to come to terms with them than with Germany and Austria. When asked what the price will be, his reply is that France will give you Egypt; and Russia will promise not to molest you in India. It is odd that so clever a man should attach the slightest value to such a promise on the part of Russia.

He made no allusion of importance to domestic politics. I understand he has told two of his friends that the post above all others that he desires is that of Viceroy of India. Of course it is impossible; his reputation for rashness is too pronounced. But it is odd that he should desire it. It is said that his pecuniary position is very bad.

15th Feb.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits that Mr. Smith has shown him your Majesty's telegram, and that he has received the intimation from Sir Henry Ponsonby that your Majesty wished him to write upon the question of the Departmental Committee to enquire into Civil

¹ See Mr. Winston Churchill's *Life of his father*, vol. ii. ch. xix.

List Expenditure. He thinks the proposal a wise one. For many years past the character of the House of Commons has been deteriorating; and the arrangement by which it was necessary at each marriage of a Prince or Princess to recur to the House of Commons for money has been becoming less and less desirable. The increasing number of Members who are willing to make those votes an occasion for malicious and inflammatory suggestions makes it a matter of importance to avoid such debates. They have had a bad effect. All kinds of wild statements have gained currency among the ignorant classes; and, as our electioneering information tells us, are in some places extensively believed.

This cause of offence can only be removed by setting up some “dotation fund,” out of which portions for the younger members of the Royal Family can be provided. How far it is possible cannot be ascertained till the detail of the funds available has been carefully examined. But Lord Salisbury is deeply convinced of the importance of attaining this result, if it should be practicable.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 16th Feb. 1888.—Not very satisfactory news of dear Fritz. The tube has irritated the throat, causing slight hæmorrhage, which, though not dangerous at present, may cause trouble in the future. Sir M. Mackenzie does not seem quite satisfied with the treatment of the German surgeons, but I have begged him to remain on for the present.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 17th Feb. 1888.—. . . The House was crowded early in the evening, and many Members appeared for the first time this Session. Questions were few in number, and were got through before five o'clock. Mr. Balfour then rose and proceeded, first of all, to deal with some personal

allusions made by Mr. O'Brien the preceding evening. He showed that he had only been dealt with as preceding Chief Secretaries had been; and he read out to the House amidst roars of laughter the descriptions of Mr. Forster and Sir George Trevelyan from the same lips and pen. He then took up Mr. Morley and Sir George Trevelyan, proving that his administration of the Crimes Act was what theirs had been of the Coercion Acts passed by Mr. Gladstone. The allusions which he made to the acts and speeches of his predecessors created great amusement in the House; and the Chief Secretary at least satisfied his supporters, if he did not convince his opponents.

Mr. Gladstone then rose and spoke for two hours. At first he was halting and lame; but, as he warmed into his subject, he showed all his old fire and all his recent faults. He blamed the police for the Mitchelstown incident, glorying in his famous "Remember Mitchelstown"; and he discredited the Magistrates, he excused the Plan of Campaign, and he vindicated the National League. In all respects he read his recantation of everything he had done as a Minister of the Crown up to 1885; and he wound up with an eloquent declaration of the inevitability of Home Rule in quite his old manner. When he sat down a scene occurred. All the Irish Members rose to their feet and cheered, waving their hats for some minutes, while the Speaker went out to get his tea.

The next great speech was Mr. Goschen's. He dealt with Mr. Gladstone's points *seriatim* with great ability, but the House was excited and fatigued; and in the middle of his speech news came of the Southwark election,¹ which occasioned another outburst of cheering from the Liberal benches, and disconcerted Mr. Goschen for a short time.

Then Sir Wm. Harcourt spoke in his worst style, encouraging resistance to law in Ireland, abusing

¹ Mr. Causton, afterwards Lord Southwark, retained a Liberal seat with an increased majority.

the Government for enforcing it, and prophesying their speedy downfall. After a few words from Mr. A. O'Connor, practically acknowledging himself as a rebel, the House divided, giving the Government a majority of 88.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Holland.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19th Feb. 1888.—The Queen has had much pleasure in conferring a peerage¹ on Sir Henry Holland, for which he is so fit, and which she is glad to think will enable him to continue to serve her and the country, which he does so ably.

The Queen cannot but think of the pleasure this would have given his honoured father²!

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd Feb. 1888.— . . . Mr. Labouchere then brought on his motion on foreign affairs, requiring the production of correspondence of a "contractual character." In his speech he declared that Lord Salisbury sought to involve the country in a war with France, which he said Lord Salisbury "hated"; and in other respects he was as mischievous as he could possibly be. He was answered by Sir James Fergusson in a very carefully prepared speech, in which were set forth, by Lord Salisbury's direction, all the facts of the case, as far as they could, with safety to public interests, be communicated to the House and to the country. He expressly denied the allegation of unfriendliness to France; and pointed to the successful negotiations as to the Suez Canal and New Hebrides as proof of the opposite contention.

Mr. Gladstone followed in a speech of great moderation and responsibility. He approved generally of the course pursued by your Majesty's Servants, and, while he threw his shield over Mr.

¹ He was created Viscount Knutsford.

² Sir Henry Holland, 1st baronet (1788–1873), physician to Queen Victoria.

Labouchere generally, he advised him not to press his motion to a division. Mr. Smith said a few words and the motion was withdrawn, without, as Mr. Smith believes, involving any injurious consequences to our relations with the Great Powers of the Continent.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *23rd Feb.*—... Mr. Shaw Lefevre opened the debate on his amendment with a long personal account of his visits to Woodford and to Lord Clanricarde's property in Ireland. He expressed disappointment that, as Mr. Wilfrid Blunt has been arrested, tried, and sentenced, so he (Mr. Lefevre) had not had the dignity of a trial thrust upon him, and he was now in the House while Mr. Blunt was in prison. He abused Lord Clanricarde; and Mr. Balfour, who rose immediately and made a most excellent speech, did not defend Lord Clanricarde; but he proceeded on the assumption that he might be the most wicked landlord in Ireland, and yet that the responsibility of the disorders in the particular district in Ireland rested rather with violent agitators whose speeches he quoted, than with the landlord, bad though he might be; and Mr. Balfour wound up with a most eloquent warning that the agitation in Ireland was not a political one, but was in truth a social revolution under the guise of political motives; and the socialistic canker was eating into the very vitals of the people, and could only result in driving away from the country all confidence, all trust, and all capital. . . .

Mr. Dillon summed up on behalf of the allied Home Rulers. He went again into the Clanricarde story, and he avowed his determination to carry on the Plan of Campaign in the future as he had done in the past, and he wound up with a loud defiance of the Government—and of all government. The House divided. Mr. Shaw Lefevre's resolution had 186 votes and the Government 261, the majority being 75. There were but few Liberal Unionists in

the division, and one or two voted against the Government.

10 DOWNING STREET, 24th Feb.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to report remarkable progress in business this evening.

Mr. Gladstone at the sitting of the House deprecated the loss of time which would result from undertaking procedure; but he said that, for himself, if the Government took the responsibility of pressing it, he would not oppose it from a party point of view. Mr. Smith persevered, and at seven o'clock the House by a large majority passed the resolution, placing the time of the House at the disposal of the Government for the consideration of the Rules they proposed.

The first Rule was at once entered into. It proposed that the House should meet at three, and that debates should close at half-past twelve allowing an interval of an hour for dinner. The dinner-hour was struck out, and the Rule was finally adopted fixing the hour of meeting at three and of conclusion of debate at twelve.

It is a long time since the House has got through so much business in so short a time.

26th Feb.—Mr. Smith . . . has again to report an evening of extraordinary progress in public business.

The Rules of Procedure stood first for consideration, and the first, which reduced the number required to vote in the majority from 200 to 100, was adopted before eight o'clock. After that hour the business proceeded even more rapidly.

Rule 3, imposing heavy penalties on disorderly conduct, was accepted after two divisions and a short debate. Rules 4 and 5, checking irrelevance and motions for merely obstructive purposes, were also passed with slight difficulty.

Rules 6, 7, and 8, followed rapidly, and the House adjourned on Rule 9, giving the Speaker and the Chairman the power of taking divisions by sitting and rising, as in Continental Legislative Assemblies, on which some difference of opinion expressed itself.

It is probable that the remainder of the Rules will be passed early to-morrow, although it was threatened that they would occupy several weeks of the time of the House.

The attitude of the Opposition is so entirely changed that it is almost impossible to realise that they are the very same men who kept the House sitting night after night last year until four or five o'clock, and that then any work that was done was only pushed through by sheer force.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd March 1888.—A sad, distracted letter from poor dear Vicky about the trouble with the doctors, the German ones disagreeing with Sir M. Mackenzie. The latter gives a good report.

Have a new Indian servant, called Ahmed Hussain, a fine soldier-like looking man, very tall and thin.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 8th March.—Very mild and windy. The Emperor William no better, strength failing. The Empress telegraphed also to the same effect. Left for Buckingham Palace at eleven, with Beatrice, Liko, and their children. Saw Lord Salisbury at once on arriving there. Talked of the state of the Emperor William being so bad, that the Drawing-room to-morrow might have to be put off, as he might die at any moment. This fills us with anxiety for beloved Fritz. Talked of the news from Bulgaria, and the whole position being very awkward; of the double game Bismarck was playing, which was very bad. His son (who had been here, but was sent for by his father) avowed it to Lord Salisbury!! Telegrams arrived in cypher almost every hour from Sir E. Malet and from Reuter too. The Emperor getting gradually weaker. Had a long talk with Bertie about the very critical news from Berlin, and the coming festivities in honour of his Silver Wedding, to which Leopold of the Belgians was coming.

Bertie and Alix, with Eddy, Georgie, and Maud, Freddy of Denmark and his wife Louise, the Duchess

of Roxburghe, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Hartington dined with me. The two latter were very cordial. Lord Hartington was in excellent spirits, thought all was going well and praised Mr. Balfour very much. We heard that dear Fritz wanted to return, which would be very dangerous, and I telegraphed earnestly imploring him not to do so. The latest news was, that the Emperor was not expected to survive the night.

9th March.—On getting up I found two telegrams, one from Willy saying “his adored Grandfather just now died calmly,” and the other from Sir E. Malet, that he “deeply regretted to announce that the Emperor expired at half-past eight this morning.” What had so long been expected has taken place! Poor old Emperor, he was always very kind to me, but for some years, alas! he was made a tool of for no good! Lenchen came up, while we were at breakfast. Had a telegram from Vicky, saying they were to leave this morning at nine, and were going by the Brenner. Received the beautiful annexed one from dear Fritz.

Bertie, Eddy, Christian, and Victoria S.-H. dined, and directly after Bertie and Eddy drove to the station to meet Leopold of the Belgians, who was coming over on purpose for the Silver Wedding of Bertie and Alix, and they returned, bringing him about half-past ten. Leopold was, as usual, most kind. He understood that all festivities must now naturally cease on account of the Emperor William’s death.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

SAN REMO, *9th March* 1888.—At this moment of deep emotion and sorrow at the news of my father’s death, my feelings of devoted affection to you prompt me, on succeeding to the throne, to repeat to you my sincere and earnest desire for a close and lasting friendship between our two nations. FREDERICK.



The Emperor Frederick
From a picture by A. Weber in Buckingham Palace

[*Telegram.*] *The Empress Augusta to Queen Victoria.*

BERLIN PALAIS, 10th March 1888.—I received your first telegram the moment after the great and heavy loss I have to deplore. My soul is wounded to death, but I look up to God in faith and devotion. EMPRESS-QUEEN.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10th March 1888.—Already twenty-five years since dear Bertie married sweet Alix! May God give them many more happy years together! To me it was not permitted to celebrate this happy anniversary with my husband Albert.

Heard that dear Fritz had left San Remo, and was to travel straight through. Feel very anxious.

At half-past eleven went with Beatrice, Helen, and Liko to Marlborough House, whither Leopold of B[elgium] had preceded us. Found all the family assembled, Alix looking lovely in grey and white, and both she and he very happy. George C. was there, and the Paul Mecklenburgs. I gave dear Bertie and Alix a nosegay and, together with all my other children, a splendid silver vase, the copy of an old English one, which is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. They got an immense number of beautiful presents from relations and friends, which were placed on tables round the room, in which Bertie has all his Indian things. We did not remain long, as they had many Deputations to receive. I forgot to mention that I gave Alix, besides, a brooch in the form of a sprig of orange flowers (taken from one my precious Albert gave me), the flower of white enamel, the leaves of silver, the stamens of diamonds, as also five small oranges. A big luncheon of eighteen, Bertie, Alix, and their five children, Freddy and Louise of Denmark, Lenchen, Christian, Christle and Victoria, Louise and Lorne, Beatrice, Liko, and Helen. Had telegrams of Fritz's progress on his journey, so far well.

Dined at Marlborough House, where there was a

great family gathering. Besides Bertie and Alix, the latter, who was in white and silver with lovely jewels, looking more like a bride just married than the Silver one of twenty-five years, their five children, Lenchen and Christian, with Christle, Victoria and Albert, Louise and Lorne, Helen, Beatrice and Liko, Leopold of B., Freddy and Louise of Denmark, George C., Mary and Franz Teck, with May and Frank, Duke and Duchess Paul of Mecklenburg, Victor and Lolo with Eddy, Feo, and Walda Gleichen. The table was beautifully arranged with plate and flowers. Leopold, in giving out Bertie and Alix's healths, made a very pretty speech. After dinner all the suites came in. I left again before eleven, after a very pleasant evening. We drove through the illuminated streets to Paddington station. The night was quite warm, and we got back here at midnight.

Sir Edward Malet to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BERLIN, 12th March 1888.—The Emperor and Empress arrived at the Palace at Charlottenburg at 11.15.

His Majesty shook hands with me and passed on. He walked swiftly and erect. The Empress said that his Majesty was a little less well than when he left San Remo. Her Majesty looked aged since I saw her last.

Dr. Mackenzie was with their Majesties; he said that the Emperor had borne the journey well, and that the Ministers, all of whom had been to meet him at Leipzig, had been surprised at H.M.'s appearance, having been deceived by the unfavourable accounts which had reached them.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Lansdowne.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th March 1888.—The Queen thanks Lord Lansdowne very much for his kind letter of the 9th February, and rejoices to think that he will succeed Lord Dufferin in the proud and responsible

post of Viceroy and Governor-General of her vast Indian Empire.

The Queen *was* the first to suggest Lord Lansdowne's name to Lord Salisbury as the fittest person to be appointed as her Viceroy of India, not, however, believing then the change would take place for another year and a half. The Queen can well imagine that the thought of leaving home again for some years is trying, but she is sure the feeling of being able to render his Sovereign and country such important and valuable services will, with his unselfish sense of public duty, outweigh his and "Maud's" own natural feelings.

The Queen is glad to think that she shall see Lord and Lady Lansdowne in some months.

The Queen, with Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry, leaves for a month's stay at Florence on the 20th inst. The Emperor of Germany has not suffered at all from his hurried journey to the cold north, and is in a much more satisfactory state.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, 16th March 1888.—. . . It was resolved [by the Cabinet on 15th March] to allow Lord Wolseley on the expiration of his present office, and before taking the command at Aldershot, to go out for six months to Australia to review the troops in the Colonies there, the object being to encourage the Colonies in the efforts they are now making to put themselves in a state of defence.

Lord Salisbury has seen Mr. Chamberlain, and has communicated to him your Majesty's gracious wish to confer on him the Grand Cross of the Bath.¹ He prays your Majesty to accept his respectful thanks, but on political grounds he would prefer, if your Majesty would permit him, to decline the proffered honour. His position towards us, as a Radical Unionist, places him in peculiar difficulties in that respect. But he expressed a hope that, if your Majesty approved of his conduct, you would signify

¹ On return from his mission to the United States; see above, p. 347.

it by giving him your portrait *signed*. He has asked for honours for some of his associates, with respect to which Lord Salisbury will speak to your Majesty to-morrow.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th March 1888.—Bertie¹ arrived just at two, very sad at the state of beloved Fritz, and gave me a report written by Sir M. Mackenzie, who is now much alarmed. Bertie said that Fritz did not look ill, but was much thinner. He had, however, a hunted, anxious expression, which was very distressing to see. The danger is, lest any accidental chill, or overfatigue, might bring on alarming symptoms.

After luncheon, which Bertie of course took with us, I received Gen. von Loe, who came with dear Fritz and Vicky at the time of the Jubilee. He presented an official letter, with which he was charged, announcing the Emperor William's death and dear Fritz's accession. Had some lengthened and interesting conversation with him. He spoke of the difficulties of the position, and how there were many things which were more difficult for Fritz than for his father. As for the doctors, there ought not to have been so many, and *whoever* Fritz trusted and had confidence in, as he had in Sir M. Mackenzie, should be left in undisturbed attendance. Gen. von Loe is a charming man, so calm and straightforward. After this Count Hatzfeldt presented his credentials. Bertie left again at four, after I had had some further long conversation with him. I am determined, on our way back from Florence, to visit dear Vicky and Fritz, if only for a day.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 20th March 1888.— . . . In the House of Lords Lord Rosebery made a speech in favour of Reform, which was eloquent and able, but

¹ Who had attended the funeral of William I at Berlin.

very vague. He laid down no clear policy, but merely insisted that something must be done. The drift of his proposal was to substitute for the House of Lords something like the French Senate, a representative body, elected by County and Town Councils. To these he would have added a certain number of peers elected by the main body of peers. The House declined to refer the constitution of the House in these vague terms to a committee. But there was a much larger inclination to make some modification in the present system than Lord Salisbury had expected to find. A great many Conservatives went away, rather than vote against Lord Rosebery on this matter. He is inclined to think that before long it will be necessary to legislate for these two objects : (1) To get rid of the "black sheep"—the Members of both Houses who are a scandal ; and (2) to enable your Majesty to create a certain number of life peers. Both of the objects are good ; but until now neither has been practicable. . . .

*Sir Henry Ponsonby to Sir Julian Pauncefote.*¹

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th March 1888.

DEAR SIR JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE,—The Queen has read the papers you have sent her,² and regrets to find that, through inadvertence, several despatches have been forwarded in the form which her Majesty does not think correct.

The Queen considers that she represents the nation, and that an official expression of her regret or otherwise is to be taken as the expression of the opinion of her people. Therefore, any separate condolence from her Ministers is a mistake. This is proved by what you refer to when the Emperor of Russia was killed in 1881. Parliament voted addresses expressive of their horror *to the Queen*, and she through her Ministers repeated these feelings to Russia.

¹ Permanent Under-secretary at the Foreign Office ; afterwards Ambassador at Washington, and ultimately Lord Pauncefote.

² In regard to expressions of condolence by the Queen and the Government to foreign Sovereigns and Governments.

If occasions arise when her Government desire to specially express their sentiments, this should be done through the Sovereign. Yours very truly,
HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

VILLA PALMIERI, FLORENCE, 5th April 1888.—At eleven received the King and Queen of Italy, who had arrived at Florence yesterday evening. The King is aged and grown grey, the Queen is as charming as ever. To my astonishment Signor Crispi, the present very Radical Prime Minister, came into the room, and remained there, which was very embarrassing. After the usual presentations of ladies and gentlemen, the King and Queen left. I then went out into the garden for a little. At four, drove with Beatrice, accompanied by the ladies and gentlemen, to the Palazzo Pitti, to pay my visit to the King and Queen, who received me at the private entrance and took me to their own rooms. They were most kind and amiable, making many excuses for Crispi's behaviour this morning—the King saying that he was a very clever man, but had no manners.

6th April.—Did not go out, as I had to receive the Emperor and Empress of Brazil at twelve. They brought their nice young grandson Pedro, Gusty Coburg's son. They both looked aged and very ill. After, I drove to the Palazzo Pitti to pay my return visit to the Emperor and Empress and lunch with the King and Queen. The King talked very pleasantly and sensibly. Signor Crispi came in, with whom I had some conversation. He has no *savoir faire* whatever.

There was a terrible report and fuss in the papers, that Bismarck intended resigning, as Vicky and Fritz wanted to insist on young Vicky marrying Sandro.

7th April.—Went down to the Drawing-room with Beatrice to receive the Archbishop of Florence, who came purposely with a message of welcome from the Pope. His two Chaplains were with him.

8th April.—Received a distressing letter from poor Vicky, showing how wickedly and disloyally advantage is being taken of poor Fritz's anxious, uncertain state of health, in order to prevent his doing what he thinks right. Bismarck is behaving disgracefully.

Very much perturbed at a cypher from Lord Salisbury, saying that Sir E. Malet had cyphered to the effect that the proposed betrothal of young Vicky and Sandro had put Prince Bismarck in a perfect fury; that, as I was supposed to be favourable to it, he might vent his fury on me and England, and that my journey to Berlin might have to be prevented. I was very angry, as I had nothing to do with it; on the contrary, had only warned Vicky against moving in the matter. I let Lord Salisbury know this, and that I would not give up going to see my poor sick son-in-law.

9th April.—A letter from Sandro, expressing his indignation at all this business about young Vicky and himself. I had a letter from Vicky, begging me not to believe all the reports in the newspapers, as they were grossly exaggerated, and she had had a very satisfactory conversation with Prince Bismarck. Not a very good account of Fritz. Sir M. Mackenzie thinks he is losing ground constitutionally.

12th April.—Young Vicky's birthday, for whom it must have been a very sad one, poor child! It is a most distressing business, and almost worse for Sandro than for her.

13th April.—Sir M. Mackenzie sent a very good report of dear Fritz, who was hoping to drive out. Also got a letter from Vicky saying I was on no account to put off my journey, that there was no "Bismarck crisis," that they were on the best terms, and that the scare was all done with a purpose.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *21st April 1888.*—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully tenders his thanks

for your Majesty's gracious letter. He is very glad to hear that your Majesty will meet the Emperor of Austria, as it will please the latter very much and will have a good effect abroad. He only fears the visit may be interrupted, as the news from Berlin is very disquieting.

A Cabinet was held to-day, at which it was resolved to oppose Lord Dunraven's bill for the Reform of the House of Lords, but at the same time to express the willingness of the Ministry to assent to a Bill empowering your Majesty to create a fixed number of life peers ; and also to a bill enabling the House of Lords to rid itself of those members who are a disgrace to it. There was also a good deal of discussion on measures for the material development of Ireland, which it was resolved to press forward.

In the course of conversation this afternoon Count Hatzfeldt said—quite unofficially—that there was some anxiety among persons high in office at Berlin with respect to the meeting of Prince William with your Majesty. It appears that his head is turned by his position ; and the hope evidently was that your Majesty might be induced to have a special consideration for his position. Evidently, though Count Hatzfeldt's language was exceedingly guarded, they are afraid that, if any thorny subject came up in conversation, the Prince might say something that would not reflect credit on him ; and that, if he acted so as to draw any reproof from your Majesty, he might take it ill, and a feeling would rankle in his mind which might hinder the good relations between the two nations.

Lord Salisbury strongly discouraged the idea that he could be made the channel for any representations on such a subject. But it is, nevertheless, true—most unhappily—that all Prince William's impulses, however blameable or unreasonable, will henceforth be political causes of enormous potency ; and the two nations are so necessary to each other, that everything that is said to him must be very carefully

weighed. It is to be hoped that natural grief and a feeling of decency will, at such a moment, dominate him and exclude all lower impulses.

The Duke of Edinburgh to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

ADMIRALTY HOUSE, MALTA, 21st April 1888.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,—In reply to your letter of 29th ultimo¹ written by command of the Queen, will you be kind enough to lay before her Majesty the following observations?

I have, both officially to the Admiralty and privately to the First Lord, strongly expressed my opinion that the normal strength of the Squadron in the Mediterranean is insufficient in case of a sudden attack or outbreak of war; and that in the event of war becoming imminent it should be strengthened to enable it to take the initiative. The deficient strength of the Squadron is still further accentuated at the present moment by the fact that France, the principal Naval Power with which we could be brought into conflict, has recently concentrated almost the whole of her ironclad fleet in the Mediterranean. To me it appears obvious that, where the main body is, there it should be attacked.

Supports would certainly be expected from home in the event of war, but hitherto I have not been able to obtain any definite information as to the additional strength I am to expect, or as to the time which would elapse before the whole or any portion would join me from England.

Some of the ships, I regret to say, are at the present time not efficient: one ironclad is worn out and waiting to be relieved, other ships are non-effective pending completion of their necessary repairs and alterations.

The resources of the dockyard are equal to the rapid and efficient repair of the Squadron; but, under

¹ The Queen, in view of the public discussion in England of the Navy, had through Sir Henry Ponsonby asked the Duke of Edinburgh for information as regards the Mediterranean Squadron then under H.R.H.'s command.

ordinary circumstances, there are great delays in carrying out the repairs, arising from financial considerations, and the length of time and amount of correspondence required to get the necessary sanction from the authorities at home before the work can be proceeded with.

With reference to the last point mentioned in your letter, I think it would be a great advantage if I were more frequently and more fully informed on all the questions relating to the possible employment of the Squadron than has hitherto been the case. Believe me, Yours very truly, ALFRED.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

IN THE TRAIN, 23rd April 1888.—Passed through Pistoja, Bologna, Modena, Mantua, and Verona during the night. At Ala we crossed the frontier into Austria, and had already passed Botzen, when I was ready for breakfast. Splendid scenery amongst the Alps and crossing the Brenner.

At half-past one, we reached Innsbruck, the position of which is magnificent, surrounded by high mountains. The day had become very fine and hot. At the station, on the platform, stood the Emperor Francis Joseph, in full uniform. We got out at once, and the Emperor led me into a room, where luncheon was prepared. I had not seen him since 1863 at Coburg.¹ We lunched *à quatre* ² in a room full of flowers. I unfortunately had a very bad sick headache and could eat next to nothing. The Emperor was most kind, and talked very pleasantly on many subjects. He said how happy he was at the good relations existing between our two countries, which he hoped would continue, as in case of war we could act together. Russia was incomprehensible, and he thought Bismarck much too weak and yielding to Russia, which was a great mistake. After a very affectionate leave-taking, we went on. The Emperor

¹ See Second Series, vol. i. p. 107.

² The other two were, of course, Princess Beatrice and her husband.

had travelled seventeen hours from Vienna, on purpose to see me.

The scenery continued most beautiful. Dined at Regensburg, having stopped at Munich at six, where there were many people at the station. The Queen Mother [of Bavaria], in deep mourning, still looking very pretty, and the Prince Regent (Prince Luitpold) got into my carriage. The Queen, who is the mother of the unfortunate King Ludwig, drowned two years ago, and of the present mad King Otto, is the only and younger sister of dear Princess Charles of Hesse, and reminded me much of her, only much better-looking. She brought me a bouquet of roses, and asked me to write my name in her book. Prince Ludwig (the Regent's son, who came to the Jubilee), his son, Prince Rupprecht, who is very good-looking, the Regent's daughter, Princess Thérèse, and dear Amélie with her two boys, were also standing on the platform and came up to the carriage to speak to me. Munich looks to be a fine town, with many churches. The Alps were distinctly visible, lit up by the *Alpenglühén*, which lasted for some time. Read and worked, and was full of anxiety for the next day.

CHARLOTTENBURG, 24th April.—A fair night, and got up in good time. Very soon after we were up we found we were going quite close round the outskirts of Berlin, and saw soldiers drilling; the country flat beyond belief. The morning was rather grey, but quite warm. Reached the smallish station of Charlottenburg at quarter to nine, where dear Vicky and all her children were waiting to meet me. She stepped into the carriage for a moment, and I clasped her in my arms and kissed her warmly. She looked careworn and thinner, but not ill. William led me along the platform to a barouche with four horses, into which I got with him, dear Vicky, and Beatrice. In about ten minutes we reached the Palace, the entrance to which I remembered. From the entrance up to the door, the Gardes du Corps (Liko's

old regiment) lined the road on foot. At the door, two huge men stood sentry, with drawn swords, which is only done for a Sovereign. Prince Radolin (former Count Radolinsky) met us and preceded us. We went up a flight of steps, at the head of which stood sentries of the 4th Infantry Regiment. Here we entered a fine large room, opening into a splendid long gallery which leads to my rooms, charmingly arranged and done up by dear Vicky. They were the rooms of Frederick the Great, and have never been lived in since : a sitting-room, bed-room, dressing-room and bathroom, all *en suite*.

After I had tidied myself up a bit, dear Vicky came and asked me to go and see dear Fritz. He was lying in bed, his dear face unaltered ; and he raised up both his hands with pleasure at seeing me and gave me a nosegay. It was very touching and sad to see him thus in bed. Vicky then took me through his rooms, into a very pretty little green one with rococo decorations in silver. Here I breakfasted with her, her three girls, Beatrice and Liko. Afterwards saw Sir M. Mackenzie with Vicky. He seemed to think Fritz was better. Before luncheon, which we took downstairs, went again for a short while to dear Fritz, and afterwards Vicky sat talking with me for some time in my room. She is very sad, and cried a good deal, poor dear. Besides her cruel anxiety about dear Fritz, she has so many worries and unpleasantnesses. The whole dreadful bother about poor young Vicky had been purposely got up, and they had never had a quarrel with Prince Bismarck.

Soon after arriving heard that poor good Kanné,¹ who had a relapse a week ago, after having recovered wonderfully from the first attack in March, had become much worse, and was in great danger. And, an hour later, came the news that he died this morning. For thirty years he had attended me on all my journeys, making all the arrangements

¹ The Queen's courier.

in a most admirable manner. He used to think of every little thing for my pleasure and comfort and had a wonderful power of organisation. I can hardly yet realise that he is gone, and he will be such a loss. All my children and people are so grieved.

At half-past three, drove with Vicky, Beatrice and Liko, with the girls following, and went into Berlin. The afternoon was threatening and oppressively warm. Drove through the straggling little town of Charlottenburg, through the Thiergarten, where hardly a leaf is yet out, through the Brandenburger Thor, which I remembered so well, to Unter den Linden, the principal street, where the great monumental equestrian statue of Frederick the Great stands, just opposite one of the late Emperor. We visited the Empress Augusta at the Schloss, going in at a side entrance, where Fritz and Louise of Baden met us at the door. I went up in a lift alone, and there was the Empress, in deep mourning, with a long veil, seated in a chair, quite crumpled up and deathly pale, really rather a ghastly sight. Her voice was so weak, it was hardly audible. One hand is paralysed, and the other shakes very much. She seemed much pleased at seeing me again, after nine years. I sat some little time talking with the Empress alone, after which the others came in, and I walked downstairs on Fritz of Baden's arm.

From the Schloss drove to Vicky's Palace a short way farther. It was not finished, when we were in Berlin in 1858. The house, as well as the hall, are fine, but there are no really large or good rooms in it. They are beautifully furnished and full of works of art. Charlotte, Bernhardt, and little Feo, Henry and Ernie of Hesse (who passed his examination at Berlin) were staying in the house. Vicky presented to me two ladies, Baroness Ernest Stockmar, and Frau von Bülow,¹ who is the daughter of Baron Minghetti, a distinguished Italian statesman. Took tea, and then drove home.

¹ Wife of the future German Chancellor.

A family dinner at eight. Besides we three, Vicky, William and Dona, Marianne Fritz Carl, her son Fritz Leopold, Henry, Fritz, and Louise of Baden, Charlotte and Bernhardt, young Vicky, Sophy and Mossy, Prince Alexander of Prussia (a funny half-witted old man, whom I remember forty-three years ago!), Prince and Princess Friedrich of Hohenzollern (she a Thurn and Taxis), their nephew Charles, Leopold and Antoinette's son Ernie, Prince Aribert of Anhalt, Prince and Princess Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Duke George of Oldenburg. Marianne looked very handsome and was very agreeable. Prince Friedrich of Hohenzollern is very nice-looking, and reminds me much of his father. She is a pretty, nice, little thing, whom we saw as a child long ago at Osborne. She is a niece of the Empress of Austria's.

25th April.—A little after twelve, Vicky brought Prince Bismarck¹ to my room and left him there. I had a most interesting conversation with him, and was agreeably surprised to find him so amiable and gentle. I shook hands with him and asked him to sit down. He alluded to having seen me at Versailles thirty-three years ago, and again later at a distance. We spoke of beloved Fritz's illness, that I thought him not looking so ill, etc. He spoke a great deal of the German Army, and the immense number of men who could be put under arms if necessary, and of their fitness for defence; of his great object being to prevent war, which I remarked was ours also; of Russia not being dependable. If Austria should be attacked, Germany was bound by treaty to defend her; the danger would then arise lest France should join Russia. In that case England, he said, could be of great use with her fleet. He was also delighted

¹ Lord Stamfordham, who (as Major Bigge) assisted Sir Henry Ponsonby in receiving Prince Bismarck on this occasion, writes: "He was unmistakably nervous and ill at ease; asked whereabouts in the room the Queen would be, would she be seated or standing, etc. We both felt proud that this great man evidently realised he was about to be received by an equally great, or even a greater, woman."

when I told him that Lord Salisbury's Government was much stronger. I said, France did not wish for war, in which he agreed, but her Government was so weak and powerless she might be forced into anything. He thought Austria showed too much fear of Russia, which is strange, the [Austrian] Emperor having made the same remark to me of Prince Bismarck. I expressed my satisfaction that there was no idea of a Regency, as I knew it would upset dear Fritz dreadfully, and he assured me there would be none. Even if he thought it necessary, which he did not, he would not have the heart to propose it. I appealed to Prince Bismarck to stand by poor Vicky, and he assured me he would, that hers was a hard fate. I spoke of William's inexperience and his not having travelled at all. Prince Bismarck replied that [William] knew nothing at all about civil affairs, that he could however say "should he be thrown into the water, he would be able to swim," for that he was certainly clever. We talked of other personal affairs, and I asked the Prince to tell Princess Bismarck to come to the English Embassy, where I was going in the afternoon, and this seemed to give him much pleasure. He remained with me over half an hour.

Luncheon as yesterday. Soon after saw the Duke of Rutland,¹ who had come to Berlin as Minister, and who was much interested in hearing about my interview with Prince Bismarck. At three came the Empress Augusta, whom I met half-way down the gallery. Louise of Baden was with her. They came to my room and remained about twenty minutes. The Empress gave me a fine photograph of the late Emperor, taken after his death. At half-past four drove with Vicky in a phaeton, the others following as yesterday. Almost the whole way we passed through double lines of carriages, and when we got into the town there were great crowds, who were most enthusiastic, cheering and throwing flowers into the carriage,

¹ Lord John Manners, who had succeeded his brother in the dukedom on 3rd March 1888.

continually calling out "es hoch die Kaiserin," etc. We went first to the British Embassy in the Wilhelmstrasse, which is a pretty house. Sir Edward Malet and Lady Ermyntrude received me at the door, and he led me into the drawing-room, where we found Princess Bismarck, an elderly, rather masculine and not very *sympathique* lady, and her son Count Herbert, both very civil. Prince Radolin and his daughter were also there. We took tea, and I was shown afterwards the ball-room, a fine room, and the dining-room. Then we took our departure and drove to Mon Bijou, a Schlösschen of the Emperor's, in the grounds of which stands the very pretty English church Vicky helped to get built. The chaplain and churchwardens met us there. The crowd was still great when we left, and the people were very friendly.

Got home at seven, and I went directly with Vicky to see dear Fritz, bringing him a bouquet which had been given me at the church. Vicky took me back to my room and talked some time very sadly about the future, breaking down completely. Her despair at what she seems to look on as the certain end is terrible. I saw Sir M. Mackenzie, and he said he thought the fever, which was less, though always increasing at night, would never leave dear Fritz, and that he would not live above a few weeks, possibly two months, but hardly three!! We talked so long that I forgot the time, and had a terrible scramble to get ready for dinner.

It was the same as last night, with the exception of different guests. My people, Prince Bismarck, Enrich Leiningen, Ernest Hohenlohe (Hermann's son), the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, Gen. Pape, Gen. Winterfeld, Minister von Putkamer, Minister Dr. Aschenbach, Count Herbert Bismarck, Count Otto Stolberg, Gen. von Albedyl (brother-in-law to the Duchess of Manchester), Count and Countess Eulenburg, Countess Brühl, Sir E. and Lady Ermyntrude Malet and Count Moltke (eighty-seven, looking more like sixty-seven), dined. Went afterwards into the

rather small room in which we lunch, and I talked to most of the people. Prince Bismarck, whom I told of the enthusiastic reception we had met with in Berlin, said it was quite spontaneous, and that, in spite of the disagreeable words used sometimes both in and out of the Press, on both sides, the Germans liked the English and preferred them to any other foreign nation. I shook hands with him in taking leave. Count Moltke looks unaltered, is not deaf, and has hardly a wrinkle in his face. I was very tired by the time I got upstairs.

IN THE TRAIN, 26th *April*.—At three, drove with Vicky in the phaeton, followed by Beatrice and Sophy, young Vicky and Mossy riding with Liko, to a very sandy dusty exercising ground, about quarter of an hour from Charlottenburg, where were drawn up the Gardes du Corps (mounted) and the 4th Regiment of Infantry. We drove down the line, Willy being in command, and then remained stationary for the march past, the Cavalry coming first, and looking extremely well. The marching on foot must have been most trying in the almost ankle-deep sand. The commanding officers were called up to the carriage and presented to me. William rode at the head. We drove straight home. It was bitterly cold with a high wind, but bright. It was too sad to have seen this parade without beloved Fritz.

Went over to dear Fritz with Vicky, before our early dinner, and gave him my photograph, which he kissed, but, a fit of coughing coming on, we left him. Went back to him after dinner, and, after a few minutes' talk, took leave of him, which fortunately passed off without either of us being upset. I kissed him as I did every day, and said I hoped he would come to us when he was stronger. Then I dressed and drove with dear Vicky, Beatrice, and Mossy to the station, where all were assembled, as on our arrival, and I took leave of them. Dear Vicky came into the railway carriage, and I kissed her again and again. She struggled hard not to give way, but

finally broke down, and it was terrible to see her standing there in tears, while the train moved slowly off, and to think of all she was suffering and might have to go through. My poor poor child, what would I not do to help her in her hard lot !

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 30th April 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully returns your Majesty's memorandum, which he has read with the profoundest interest. It shows, what also appears from Prince Bismarck's subsequent conversation with the Duke of Rutland, that Bismarck was deeply gratified at your Majesty's visit to Berlin, and reception of himself ; and it gives good hope that he will behave loyally to the Empress, if dark days should come. But it leaves in as much mystery as ever Prince Bismarck's extraordinary language with respect to your Majesty's supposed action, and the supposed intentions of the Emperor and Empress about the marriage. However, it is evident that the Prince, as your Majesty saw him, was in his habitual frame of mind ; and that the two memorable conversations with Sir E. Malet must have been held under circumstances of mental excitement and depression which passed rapidly away. This anxious incident has ended as well as it possibly could have ended. . . .¹

Sir Augustus Paget to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.] *Private.*

VIENNA, 3rd May 1888.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,— . . . I hear from Kalnoký that the Emperor [of Austria] was quite

¹ Sir Frederick Ponsonby has published at length and in detail, in the *Letters of the Empress Frederick*, ch. 2, the correspondence in which Queen Victoria, the Empress Frederick, Lord Salisbury, Sir Edward Malet, Sir Henry Ponsonby, and Colonel Swaine took part, about the "anxious incident." Accordingly, only some extracts (see above, pp. 396, 397) from the Queen's Journal, written at Florence, and the above final letter of Lord Salisbury have been printed here about it. Sir Edward Malet wrote on 28th April: "There is no doubt that [the Queen's visit to Berlin] has done much good, and that the evil spirits of contention and slander have had to slink away for the time being."

enchanted with his interview with the Queen. It was a sincere pleasure to him to see her Majesty again, and all that passed at the meeting was in the highest degree satisfactory to his Imperial Majesty. The Emperor would have been very glad if it had been possible for the visit to be a little longer, but he quite understood the exigencies as to time of her Majesty's journey. The general effect produced by the meeting at Innsbruck has been quite excellent, and it has given a fresh impulse to the friendly feeling entertained in this Empire towards England. I must also tell you that Prince Bismarck has written to my colleague Reuss in the most enthusiastic terms of his conversations with the Queen, and Reuss has shown his letter to Kalnoky, who spoke to me about it this evening. The Prince, he told me, says in his letter that, besides other matters, he entered very fully into political questions, the relations between Germany and Austria, etc., and that he was immensely gratified at the views which her Majesty had been pleased to express to him. Kalnoky has from the first always anticipated the best results from her Majesty's visit to Berlin, but he says that Prince Bismarck's letter goes almost beyond his expectations. He feels sure that H.M.'s conversation with Prince Bismarck will have a most beneficial influence upon the future political situation. . . . A. PAGET.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

4th May 1888.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—I have read the letter of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh to you.¹ The Queen spoke to me of German and English opinions to the same effect. There will I believe shortly be some manœuvres, which will require the participation of all our available ships at home. But as soon as they are over the Admiralty have promised me they will strengthen the Mediterranean fleet. We shall be able to do it as part of those manœuvres in a less

¹ See above, p. 399.

ostentatious way than would otherwise be the case.
. . . Yours very truly, SALISBURY.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th May 1888.—Had a good deal of talk with Mr. Smith about the state of affairs, which he described as very satisfactory, but felt anxious as to the state of our Army and Navy, and said some decided steps must be taken.

6th May.—Heard dear Fritz was not so well. There had been a tremendous discharge of matter, which still continued excessive. There was practically no increase of fever, but the condition not satisfactory and anxious.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 8th May 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that he had an interview yesterday at the Admiralty with the First Lord and Sir A. Hood on the question of the Mediterranean fleet. Owing to the unfortunate delay in the supply of guns, the requisite number of first-class ships will not be available till after the manœuvres in July. But intermediately other ships will be sent. The training squadron will start for Barcelona next week; and they will be succeeded by a couple of ironclads from the Channel fleet. After the manœuvres three first-rate ironclads will be added to the fleet.

Very little news comes from abroad now. Lord Salisbury hears from all sides of the effect which the audience your Majesty gave to him has had upon the German Chancellor. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 10th May 1888.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby presents his humble duty and begs leave to repeat the conversation he had with the Duke of Cambridge.

Mr. Brodrick, Under-Secretary for War, stated in a speech at Guildford that the responsibility of providing an efficient army rested with the Military Authorities. The Duke and Lord Wolseley replied by public speeches saying that the Army was not strong enough, and that they could not consider themselves responsible, as the Secretary of State did not give them sufficient money or men, and the Duke of Cambridge said he had asked for 11,000 more men. His Royal Highness and Lord Wolseley are entirely agreed on the subject.

Mr. Stanhope denied that the Duke had asked for 11,000 more men.

The Duke of Cambridge says that the Government are angry with him for having spoken as he did. Sir Henry Ponsonby saw Lord Cranbrook, who said that he could not agree that the Government were angry, but that he himself had told his Royal Highness that he and Lord Wolseley should not make public statements which differed from the Secretary of State. The Duke's answer is that if he allowed Mr. Brodrick's statement to go unnoticed he would be blamed for deficiencies in the Army, and that in calling public attention to the subject he and Lord Wolseley have supported any demand the Government may make for more men.

It is possible that these questions relating to the Army and also to the Navy may be brought to the Queen's notice.

13th May.—Lord Wolseley's friends are strong in his favour, and maintain that the Duke of Cambridge and he have done a real service in creating an excitement about the Army.

Lord Wolseley will speak in the House of Lords to-morrow. The economists are angry with him and support Lord Salisbury.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *19th May 1888.*—Very good accounts of beloved Fritz. He is gaining strength

daily, and was out in the park for six hours yesterday. It is a wonderful improvement, if only it can last.

BALMORAL, 23rd May.—Heard that dear Fritz continues to improve, and had been for a little drive in the Thier-Garten, where he has been received with extraordinary enthusiasm.

31st May.—Had a dear letter from Vicky. She speaks of dear Fritz gaining strength. Sir M. Mackenzie had said Fritz might possibly live six months, a year, and recover, but it was not probable!

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

1st June 1888.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

Your Majesty's servants, in consequence of debates in Parliament which have taken place in the course of the present session on Naval and Military affairs, feel it right humbly to recommend to your Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission "to enquire into the Civil and Professional administration of the Naval and Military departments and the relation of those departments to each other and to the Treasury, and to report what changes in the existing system would tend to the efficiency and economy of the public service."

And your Majesty's servants venture respectfully to recommend that the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Revelstoke, Right Hon. H. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Richard Temple, Bart. G.C.S.I., Rear-Admiral Sir F. W. Richards, K.C.B., Lieut.-Gen. H. Brackenbury, C.B.R.A., Director of Military Intelligence, T. H. Ismay, Esq., Shipowner, Liverpool, and Mr. W. H. Smith shall constitute the Commission.

Mr. Smith would venture humbly to request that your Majesty's pleasure may be signified to him, if it be possible, on Monday morning by telegraph, as your Majesty's servants will meet in Cabinet at half-past twelve on that morning, and it is most probable that in the discussion on the Resolution for providing

the money for Imperial defence which stands for Monday, Mr. Smith will be called upon to state the course the Government propose to take with reference to the Commission.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.] *Very confidential.*

8th June 1888.—. . . The Queen takes the deepest interest in our defences and the state of our Army and Navy, which certainly is very unsatisfactory; and she would wish to have regular reports made to her of the proceedings of the Commission.

She writes *quite confidentially*, so she will say to Lord Salisbury that *she* thinks (and Mr. Smith she knows to a great extent also does so) that both Lord George [Hamilton] and Mr. Stanhope (the *latter especially*) are not near strong enough for their places. Admiral Hood too is intensely obstinate, and won't admit the truth. Lord George and Mr. Stanhope always declare *all is right*, which we *know* it is *not*.

Another very serious evil, which ought to be considered, is the way in which efficient people and people who have begun thoroughly to understand their work are *dismissed* or, rather, are superseded at the end of a given time, whether they are fit or not for their post. The Queen will just give some instances of what she means. There may be, and constantly is, an excellent officer who has been in a regiment for many years, knows all its requirements, history, etc., is eminently fitted to command it, but the time set down for his supersession arrives and he has to go, in the very prime of life, and is succeeded by a man perhaps *utterly unsuited* to the command of the regiment. The Queen has known of many such cases. Then again, there is Sir M. Biddulph, who has been President of the Ordnance Select Committee since February '86, and is to vacate it in February '89! Well he has *only* lately completely mastered the question, and is most energetic and zealous in his enquiries,

and in the execution of his arduous task; and *now*, when he can be of the most use, he is to be *removed*!

The power of retaining or reappointing Colonels of regiments and officers in the position of Sir Michael Biddulph, a very distinguished Artillery officer, ought to be given, and carried out in all cases where the service would lose by their removal, which Lord Salisbury will see, by the example given above, it is sure to do. If an officer neglects his duty, or is inefficient, then let the rule for vacating his command or appointment be carried out, but if not, they should be reappointed. This is a most important point which the Queen hopes Lord Salisbury will urge *strongly*. It is really most serious.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 9th June 1888.—Accounts of beloved Fritz unsatisfactory. Though he had had a good night, Sir M. Mackenzie was not satisfied with his condition, and there was slight difficulty in swallowing. Much troubled at these news.

11th June.—Much distressed at this morning's telegram from Sir M. Mackenzie; "A festulona communication has occurred between larynx and œsophagus. I consider the condition extremely serious." How terrible!

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th June 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully and gratefully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter.

The Cabinet is paying the utmost attention to the question of defence. The discipline of the departments is unfortunately not good; and Lord Wolseley permits himself to make public statements which should be kept for private reports. The result is a good deal of discussion in which some Members of the Cabinet get involved, and in which they express themselves unguardedly. Lord George Hamilton

[and Mr. Stanhope] are both aware that there is a great deal to be done, and are working hard at it ; but it is important that the efforts of the country should concentrate themselves on a well-considered plan, and not be frittered away by the divergent counsels of various Admirals and Generals.

The real, serious deficiency *is the want of big guns*. This deficiency paralyses a certain number of vessels, about a dozen, and makes the Navy weaker than it otherwise would be. Every effort is being made to complete them ; but they take a very long time, from one to two or even three years, to make. The manufacture is quite new : only Armstrong and Whitworth, besides Woolwich, can make them. The delay is due, partly to the commencement of them having been delayed too long in the past ; partly to an unfortunate blunder as to the steel lining, committed by the Ordnance Committee which contains the best experts in the country. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Smith are doing all they possibly can to push them forward. But the difficulty of forcing anything to go fast, under a Parliamentary Constitution, is more than your Majesty can conceive.

At the Cabinet to-day the principal work done was to resolve on the abandonment of the Licensing Clauses, which have created so much feeling that their passage through Parliament in the time that remains to us is out of the question.

On Thursday Mr. Smith and Lord Salisbury are to meet the heads of the War Office and the Navy to arrange for the provision of troops for the defence of coaling stations and dependencies abroad. It will probably be necessary to increase the corps of Marines considerably.

The allegations of Lord Wolseley that London is open to attack are being carefully examined ; and efforts will be made to supply any existing deficiencies of organisation.

Lord Salisbury deeply grieves to hear the bad news from Berlin. It will be a terrible anxiety and

sorrow for your Majesty if things go badly there, and a great danger for the world.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 14th June 1888.—Telegram from Sir M. Mackenzie, which was about yesterday. Dear Fritz had lain on the sofa for several hours, and had then received the King of Sweden. Shortly after came another telegram, a most distressing one: "The Emperor is sinking." This took away the last vestige of hope. Bertie telegraphed that he was ready to start for Berlin, but thought it better to wait. Many telegrams received and sent, and got the following cypher from Sir E. Malet: "Just returned from Potsdam, where the Empress received me. H.M. came from the Emperor's room, and said he desired to send his love to your Majesty. The worst is feared within the next twenty-four hours. His Majesty's head is quite clear and he is suffering no pain. The Empress was deeply moved, but collected." One came from Sir M. Mackenzie saying that darling Fritz had rallied again. A telegram arrived late from Sir E. Malet, reporting no great change since the morning. Dear Fritz rather restless.

Queen Victoria to the German Crown Prince.
[Telegram.]

BALMORAL, 14th June 1888.—Wrote to you yesterday. Am in greatest distress at these terrible news, and so troubled about poor dear Mama. Do all you can, as I asked you, to help her at this terrible time of dreadful trial and grief. God help us! V. R. I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 15th June 1888.—A terrible day! No news, and we could hardly understand. While we were at breakfast a telegram arrived saying it could only last hours. Out for a little, going along the river, and then sat at the Cottage, but Beatrice had hardly left me before she returned with a tele-

gram in her hand, saying all was over! at 11.15. The telegram was from William. I cannot, cannot realise the dreadful truth—the awful misfortune! It is too, too dreadful! My poor dear Vicky, God help her! I went in directly and sent endless telegrams. One universal feeling of grief and alarm!

Feel very miserable and upset. None of my own sons could be a greater loss. He was so good, so wise, and so fond of me! And now? To think of it all is such pain. Received a most touching, distracted letter from darling Vicky. Oh! it is all too terrible for words! How well he was at Balmoral last year! How delighted to come to us here, and see everything here, how full of hopes for the future!

Greatly relieved to hear that dear Alix would go with Bertie to Berlin, as I begged her to. Everyone from almost every country telegraphed. The misfortune is awful. My poor child's whole future gone, ruined, which they had prepared themselves for for nearly thirty years! Heard poor Vicky was not ill but wretched.

[Telegram.] *Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.*

BALMORAL, 15th June 1888.—I am broken-hearted. Help and do all you can for your poor dear Mother and try to follow in your best, noblest, and kindest of father's footsteps. GRANDMAMA V. R. I.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 17th June 1888.—Col. Swaine arrived from Berlin, and Liko brought him to my room. He had brought some papers, which Fritz had desired should be placed in my care. Talked for some time of this terrible misfortune, but he knew no details.

18th June.—This was the dreadful day of the last ceremony at Potsdam, and I could hardly believe it when I woke, sleep making one oblivious of the dreadful truth! Got up early and had a service in the Chapel at half-past nine, the hour the funeral was to take place. It was solemn and sad.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

[Copy.] BRITISH EMBASSY, BERLIN, 18th June 1888 (*Waterloo Day*).

MY DEAREST MAMA,—We arrived here very late last night after a long and tedious journey, as we had a very rough passage to Calais—owing to having a small and slow steamer. On arriving at the station here soon after eleven, we were met only by Fritz Leopold (who William sent to meet us) and A. Gunther, besides Sir E. Malet and Lady E. Malet, and at once drove here.

This morning at 8.30 a.m. drove to the Potsdam Bahnhof and travelled in the train with the King of Saxony, Uncle Ernst, Vladimir of Russia, Grand Duke of Weimar and his son, Albrecht of Prussia, and Fritz Hohenzollern. We got out at Wildpark station and drove at once to Friedrichskron, where William and Dona received us in a room where all the family were assembled. Our meeting with them, and especially with Charlotte, Henry, and Irène was very trying. After a short time we all proceeded to the “Jasper Saal,” where lay beloved Fritz’s earthly remains, surrounded by the Ministers and Aides-de-Camp, much the same as in the Dom Kirch in March. The Empress Augusta was wheeled in, but rather out of view of the great assemblage gathered together. Beautiful chorales and hymns were sung and prayers with a short and touching sermon. We then all walked in procession behind the hearse to the Friedenskirche. Troops were drawn up in detachments on either side, with bands playing a Funeral March and drums rolled. The most touching incident was dear Fritz’s chestnut horse “Worth” (which he rode at the battle) being led by two grooms close behind the hearse, and he was continually neighing. The King of Saxony walked on William’s right, and I on the latter’s left. Field-Marshal Blumenthal carried the Imperial Standard just in front of us, and all the other Princes, Repre-

sentatives, Deputations followed us, and we were a long train.

Our walk lasted over an hour. The weather was very fine, but it was very hot. In the Friedenskirche the service was similar to the one at Friedrichskron. After the blessing was given many of us approached the coffin and knelt down in silent prayer. After that we all separated, and I felt on leaving the church that I had parted from the noblest and best man I had ever known, except my ever-to-be-lamented father. By some mistake Dona took Alix to the Marmor Palais, but I drove with Christian, Lorne, and Eddy to Friedrichskron, and after we had been there some little time poor dear Vicky and the three girls arrived from Bornstadt, where they had attended a private special service during the funeral at Potsdam.

My meeting with darling Vicky was heartrending, and she cried and sobbed like a child, then got calm, and could speak of dear Fritz and his last moments which were, thank God, peaceful and painless. This both Sir M. Mackenzie and Mr. Hovell assured me was the case. I afterwards lunched with Vicky and the girls, and then William brought Alix over from Marmor Palais, and whilst she was talking with Vicky I had a long conversation with him, and thought him quiet and reasonable, and only anxious to do what is right (that is, if he is allowed to do so). Charlotte showed me the room in which poor Fritz died, I believe the one he was born in. Vicky was most grateful to you for asking her to come over whenever she liked. She can make no settled plans at present, but is unwilling to go away from the Friedenskirche, as you can understand; and I must confess I think her leaving Germany soon would have a bad effect in every way. Our plans are uncertain, and all will depend if we can be of any use to dear Vicky.

We go to Potsdam to-morrow to pay our visit to William and Dona, and also the Empress Augusta, and are to see Vicky at three. Alix, who sends you her best love, is rather tired after to-day's emotions,

and having to stand so long, and get up so early after our long journey. Eddy also sends his love. I send these lines by Lorne, who goes home to-night; and you must excuse my not being able to write at greater length. Ever your affectionate and devoted son, BERTIE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21st June 1888.—What memories this day reawakens, of that wonderful progress to Westminster Abbey last year, the procession, all the Princes, amongst whom dear Fritz in his white uniform, looking so handsome, was the most conspicuous. And now, mourning and woe! It is too dreadful!

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25th June 1888.—Sir Howard Elphinstone, who had been to Berlin, came to see me, and talked of the many difficulties and disagreeables poor dear Vicky had to go through, which are very disgraceful and so cruel at such a time. Received a very sad letter from her, sending me precious souvenirs. Had seen Count Hatzfeldt before going out, who was very sad and much distressed. Dear Fritz had always been very kind to him, and he was a dear friend of his. He was much grieved at many things, but hoped that peace would be preserved as long as Prince Bismarck lived.

26th June.—Took tea at Frogmore, and Bertie, who only returned last night, joined us there. He was very much and sadly impressed by all he had seen, and poor darling Vicky's terrible distress. It was most painful to see, but she became quite calm between whiles. She was not ill, not looking ill, wonderful to say. She had met with a great deal of ingratitude, and there had been terrible intrigues; altogether her position was most difficult and sad. He would have willingly remained longer with her, but he could not well do so, on account of the opening

of the Reichstag yesterday. The funeral had been most impressive, but the long procession on foot had been very trying and hot. Bertie was most kind and feeling, and could think and talk of little else but our great misfortune.

27th June.—Dear Alix arrived for luncheon, full of tender sympathy. She said she was constantly thinking of poor darling Vicky, whose distress was so great, and of the poor girls, who looked so unhappy. She was tired by all she had seen and gone through. It was all so terrible to witness.

After luncheon I received General Winterfeldt, whom I saw at Norris Castle last year and at Charlottenburg in April. He presented two letters from William, the one announcing his beloved father's death and the other his accession. Then received Count Hatzfeldt, who presented his fresh credentials.

Saw Lord Salisbury and we talked a great deal about this all-engrossing misfortune of poor darling Fritz's death, which is such an untold tragedy; of the symptoms, in William's opening speech, of a leaning towards Russia, and there having been no mention of England; of Prince Bismarck's violent language, when talking to Bertie, which showed how untrue and heartless he is, after all he seemed to promise me, and after poor Fritz had placed Vicky's hand in his, as if to recommend her to him! It is incredible and disgraceful. Lord Salisbury also talked of the excellent majority last night in the House of Commons on the administration of justice in Ireland, which terminated with a majority of 93 for the Government, a great thing, as it has brought the Party together.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *28th June 1888.*—The Queen is extremely glad to hear that General Winterfeldt says he was received coldly, though civilly; for such was her *intention*. He was a traitor to his beloved master, and never mentioned *his* name even, or a

word of regret, and spoke of the *pleasure* which he experienced at being chosen to announce *his* new master's accession. *Could* the Queen, devoted as she is to the dear memory of the beloved and noble Emperor Frederick, to whom, and her daughter, General Winterfeldt has behaved so treacherously, receive him otherwise? . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th June 1888.—Wrote a letter to William, the draft of which Bertie quite approved, expressing my anxiety about his dear mother's position and asking him to do his utmost for her.

2nd July.—Bertie came at six, and remained talking a long time with me. He is very kind and sensible about all poor Vicky's difficulties.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

6th July 1888.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

There was an expectation that, in consequence of the conclusion of the trial of O'Donnell against *The Times*,¹ Mr. Parnell would make a personal explanation; and at the end of questions he rose, and going through the letters read by the Attorney-General, he denied categorically the truth of all the allegations affecting himself: he either had not seen or heard of them, or had not written those of them which were attributed to him personally.

This statement was received very coldly by Members in all parts of the House, excepting only the Home Rulers, who cheered from time to time. Mr. Justin McCarthy explained how it was he came to give a cheque for £100 to Mr. Byrne, whom he regarded as an honest straight-forward servant of the National League.

This statement also was received with great coldness, and although both Mr. Parnell and Mr. Mc-

¹ See Introductory Note.

Carthy were listened to with great attention by the front Opposition bench, which included Mr. Gladstone, no remark fell from them, and although there had been a rumour that they would move for a Committee to investigate the charges of *The Times*, no notice was given during the sitting of the House. . . .

*Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.*¹

[Draft.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd July 1888.

DEAR WILLY,—I have been waiting in hopes to have an answer to my letter written just before darling, beloved Papa was taken, but as you have *not* written I will just send *you* a few lines by the messenger. That my thoughts are very very much with you all you will easily understand. I am naturally very much occupied with poor dear Mama's future home. She feels probably a certain awkwardness, amounting to pain, to ask for anything, where so lately all was her own; but, as Uncle Bertie told me you were only too anxious to do what she wished in that respect, would you not (if you are not going to live there yourself) offer her to stay, at any rate for the present let her have Friedrichskron, or else Sans Souci? Uncle Bertie told me you had mentioned the Villa Liegnitz, but that is far too small, and would not do I think for *your* mother, who is the first after you, and who is the first Princess after Aunt Alix in Great Britain. An Empress could not well live in a little villa where Charlotte and afterwards Henry lived.

Mama does *not* know I am writing to you on this subject, nor has she ever mentioned it to me, but after talking it over with Uncle Bertie he advised me to write direct to you. Let me also ask you to bear with poor Mama if she is sometimes irritated and excited. She does not mean it so; think what months of agony and suspense and watching with broken and sleepless nights she has gone through, and *don't mind it*. I am so anxious that all should

¹ Presumably the letter referred to on preceding page.

go smoothly, that I write thus openly in the interests of both.

There are many rumours of your going and paying visits to Sovereigns. I hope that at least you will let some months pass before anything of this kind takes place, as it is not three weeks yet since dear beloved Papa was taken, and we are all still in such deep mourning for him.

I am going to place a statue of beloved Papa in St. George's Chapel, a standing one, like Uncle Leopold's, and shall place a bust of him at Balmoral, as he and Mama were engaged there, and he came there the last time I ever saw him about and looking so well.

I trust you, Dona, and the dear little boys are well ?
Ever your very affectionate GRANDMAMA V. R. I.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

POTSDAM, 6th July 1888.

DEAREST GRANDMAMA,—Several times I wanted to write to you, but it was utterly impossible. The complete stagnation which had set in during the second half of Papa's time left such an enormous amount of work to be done, especially unnumbered heaps of unsigned orders, papers, patents, etc., so that for the first three weeks I had to work nearly night and day to get rid of all these things. Now I have an hour's quiet time which enables me to follow suit to your wishes.

In regard to what you say about Mama, I am doing my uttermost to fulfil her desires. To-day I had a long talk with her relating to her wishes concerning her future home, somewhere on the Rhine; and, when I found out the capital she wanted was not free, because it is meant as a legacy for us children after her death, I at once renounced for my part once for all, and promised to bring my sisters to do the same! With respect to her living at Friedrichskron or Villa Liegnitz, Uncle Bertie seems not to have been informed in detail. I have proposed to

Mama to stay at Freidrichskron for this year, and to help to find her a home of her own. On the other hand, *Mama herself* named the villa, as one of the houses to be left to her by Papa when her *Wittum* was being drawn up; besides, the Schloss at Homburg, at Wiesbaden, and the Palace at Berlin were also named by her as houses she most preferred to live in; so they were entered in the will accordingly. Sans-Souci is the only Castle left to me in case of strangers coming to see us, as all the other Palaces, except the small Stadtschloss at Potsdam town, are in the hands of Grandmama.¹ She told me, Mama, that she only wanted a *pied à terre* here, and that was why she wished to have the villa she adores.

At the end of this month I shall inspect the fleet and take a trip in the Baltic, where I hope to meet the Emperor of Russia, which will be of good effect for the peace of Europe, and for the rest and quiet of my Allies. I would have gone later if possible, but State interest goes before personal feelings, and the fate which sometimes hangs over nations does not wait till the etiquette of Court mournings has been fulfilled. And as I am quite *d'accord* with Prince Bismarck, I hope and trust that much good will come of the proposed meeting; as I deem it necessary that monarchs should meet often and confer together to look out for dangers which threaten the monarchical principle from democratical and republican parties in all parts of the world. It is far better that we Emperors keep firm together with Italy, than that two of them should go pitching into one another without any earthly reason except for a few miserable villages more or less; which would only be arranging and preparing the way for anarchists at home and abroad.

With many kind thanks for your enquiries after Dona and the children, who are all, thank God, very well, I kiss your hands and remain, Your most devoted and affectionate grandson, WILLY I. R.

¹ The Empress Augusta.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 6th July 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully offers, before making any formal submission, some considerations to your Majesty's attention with respect to the vacant diocese of Oxford.

Lord Salisbury would be wanting in his duty if he did not state frankly his opinion that the exclusion of Canon Liddon¹ from the Episcopate, or at least from the offer of it, is a severe measure, which is likely to do harm to the Church of England. He is so much the most brilliant member of the Clergy of the Established Church, that his being passed over is a conspicuous act of censure and punishment, for which the members of the Church do not readily see the reason. The explanation would be easy, if all of his school of theology had been excluded. Whatever might be said of the policy of such a measure, it would be no personal reflection upon him. But men a good deal more extreme than he is, such as the present Bishop of Lincoln [Dr. King], have been appointed. It is quite true that many years ago his conduct was occasionally indiscreet. But for that indiscretion he would doubtless have been promoted long ago. But the punishment has already been considerable, and a permanent exclusion would make it excessive. Many misapprehensions are current as to the course that has been observed with respect to him; and feelings are engendered which are not salutary for the Church, and may be detrimental to your Majesty's authority in it. If he is passed over on the present occasion, it must be taken as definitive; for Oxford is the place where he is best known and has most influence; and it is the intellectual centre of the Church.

Lord Salisbury craves your Majesty's pardon for

¹ Henry Parry Liddon (1829–1890), the High Church leader and celebrated preacher, from 1870 to 1882 Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, since 1870 Canon of St. Paul's. He took a prominent part in the agitation about Bulgarian atrocities in 1876.

laying these thoughts before you; but it is his paramount duty to offer to your Majesty the advice which he considers the best, whatever judgment your Majesty may form upon it.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6th July 1888.—The Queen received this letter this evening. Sir Henry should show it the Dean. She is greatly opposed to Canon Liddon being made a Bishop, but Bishop [of] Oxford he must never be. He might ruin and taint all the young men as Pusey and others did before him. . . .

Dean Davidson to Queen Victoria.

DEANERY, WINDSOR CASTLE, 7th July 1888.—The Dean of Windsor . . . has been thinking most carefully over the communication which your Majesty made to him this morning respecting Lord Salisbury's nomination of Canon Liddon for the See of Oxford. It is a most difficult question in all ways. On the one hand it is, in the Dean's belief, certain that your Majesty's view is a true one, and that Canon Liddon, with all his vast talents, does not possess the qualifications to make him a really successful Bishop at the present time. He has very little sympathy for anyone outside his own line of thought, and that line is undoubtedly an extreme one. . . .

On the other hand, it would seem to be extremely difficult, and perhaps undesirable, that your Majesty should absolutely veto the appointment of a man so eminent as Canon Liddon, and so distinctly recognised as a foremost champion of what is undoubtedly a large party in the Church of England, which may claim a sort of right to be fairly represented on the Episcopal Bench.

Your Majesty fears that Canon Liddon's influence as Bishop of Oxford would be somewhat perilous and narrowing to the minds of the young men preparing for ordination. But it may at least be questioned whether the influence which Canon Liddon now

exercises as an Oxford ex-Professor of Divinity would not, in that particular respect, be diminished rather than increased by his becoming a Bishop. His duties would be far more varied, and he would be less connected with the University itself as Bishop of the great diocese than as a resident teacher, who was lately a professor; while the fact of his being a Bishop would force him of necessity to recognise the position and work of others besides his own partisans and friends.

But there is another serious element in the matter, which seems to the Dean to be of paramount importance; and, unless it can be explained away, to present an almost insuperable obstacle to Canon Liddon's becoming the Bishop of such a diocese. He has for years been in very poor health. Even his present work, which is comparatively trifling, is said to be almost more than he can stand. Every sermon is, as is well known, a serious ordeal to him; and it would seem almost impossible that he could accept the tremendous burden of the increasingly heavy work of such a diocese, involving, as it does, ceaseless journeying, confirmations, consecrations, etc., all the year round, and the labours of an enormous correspondence. It was largely on the ground of health that he declined the very easy post of Bishop of Edinburgh, offered to him two years ago. The Dean of Windsor ventures to suggest that your Majesty might, as a preliminary step, before considering the further questions involved, require that Lord Salisbury should definitely assure himself, *and assure your Majesty*, that Canon Liddon is now in such vigorous health as to enable him rightly to undertake the extremely heavy and harassing duties of the Bishopric of Oxford.

And should he, as the Dean thinks is not improbable, be physically unable for the work, the difficulty of reconciling your Majesty's view with that of Lord Salisbury upon the subject might be avoided without the need of facing the graver difficulties which that divergence involves.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Copy.] WINDSOR CASTLE, 8th July 1888.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—The Queen hopes you will excuse her for not writing herself, as she had intended to have done; but [she] is much occupied this afternoon, and, anxious to lose no time in answering your letter, has commanded me to reply.

The Queen believes that Canon Liddon declined the easy post of Bishop of Edinburgh two years ago on the ground of health, and it is well known that he is only just able to perform the comparatively easy work which he has in hand.

Before proceeding with this matter, would it not be as well that you should assure yourself and assure the Queen that he is in sufficiently vigorous health to enable him rightly to undertake the extremely heavy and harassing duties of the Bishopric of Oxford? ¹ Yours truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 7th July 1888.—Had a touching letter from darling Vicky. Her trials and troubles are dreadful. As William refuses his consent to his sister's marriage with Sandro, the latter has had to write to Vicky, that under the circumstances he must break off his engagement. It is very sad.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Cypher Telegram.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 7th July 1888.— . . . Trust that we shall be *very cool*, though civil, in our communications with my grandson and Prince Bismarck, who are bent on a return to the oldest times of government.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

7th July 1888.— . . . No communications are at present going on with the German Emperor or Prince Bismarck, who are very cold.

¹ Dr. Stubbs, the historian, was translated from the See of Chester to the See of Oxford.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

12th July 1888.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to mention first of all that Mr. Parnell having asked his question whether the Government would give a day for his motion for a Committee to enquire into the authenticity of the letters produced in the case of *O'Donnell v. Walter*,¹ Mr. Smith by direction of the Cabinet which met to-day answered that the Government adhered to their view that a Committee was unfit to deal with such a question, and that they were ready to propose to Parliament to constitute a Commission with full powers to examine all the charges made at the trial.

This announcement was received in silence by the Parnellite Members and by the Opposition generally. Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone asked for the terms of the reference, which Mr. Smith promised to put on the paper to-morrow. . . .

16th July.—. . . At the commencement of business a remarkable explosion of anger occurred with Mr. Parnell. He asked Mr. Smith if he intended to bring on the motion for the Bill to constitute a Commission, and Mr. Smith said, "Yes, in its order, after twelve o'clock." Mr. Parnell protested that on such a question time was not afforded for discussion, and Mr. Smith rejoined that he had made an offer on the part of the Government which was either to be accepted or rejected, and that he did not contemplate or intend to provide for lengthened discussion on the Bill. Mr. Parnell then became white with rage, and claimed to move the adjournment, which the Speaker declined to allow him to do, and for a time he appeared to defy the authority of the Chair, but at last he sat down. . . .

After midnight Mr. Smith moved for leave to bring in the Commission Bill and Mr. Parnell again exhibited violent temper, but after a short discussion leave was given and the Bill brought in.

¹ See above, p. 422.

22nd July.— . . . Mr. Smith moved the Second Reading of the Royal Commission Bill, and he was followed by Mr. Parnell, who protested against the wide terms of the reference, and insisted that it should be confined to specific charges against Members of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone followed very much in the same sense; only insinuating that the Bill was offered only that it might be withdrawn. Mr. Matthews answered Mr. Gladstone in a very powerful speech, carefully reasoned and most clearly stated, showing conclusively that it was necessary for the ends of justice that the “other persons” of the Land League should be included in the enquiry.

Sir Charles Russell followed in a laboured speech, but did not succeed in destroying the effect of Mr. Matthews’s able statement. Sir E. Clarke answered Sir Charles Russell, and Mr. T. P. O’Connor then gave some naïve accounts of his acquaintance with Mr. P. Ford and Mr. Byrne. The debate was adjourned by Mr. Labouchere at midnight. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

23rd July 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that the Bill for a Commission to enquire into the charges against Mr. Parnell was the principal subject of discussion at the Cabinet to-day. It was resolved that the enquiry should be in no sense restricted, but should be as large as possible, so as to bring out the circumstances of the conspiracy in their fullest scope. This was agreed to almost unanimously. But there was more difference of opinion on the question whether the Bill should be persisted in if strongly opposed by all sections of the Opposition. It had been offered to the Irish Members, if they wished to clear their characters, in answer to a demand for a Committee of the House of Commons: and it was contended by many, perhaps a majority, in the Cabinet, that, if the offer was rejected, the Government could not consistently go on with the Bill.

Lord Salisbury's own view was that the matter had now gone too far for any such course; and that the questions raised must now be investigated and solved. The Cabinet came to no conclusion, reserving to itself to discuss this point again after the conclusion of the Second Reading debate.

The prospects of public business were thought to be gloomy; and that it would be necessary to throw over to a November Session not only several of the bills but also a considerable portion of supply. . . .

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 24th July 1888.

— . . . The adjourned debate on the Commission Bill began before 4 p.m. with the remnant of a speech from Mr. Labouchere, who was cynically unprincipled as usual. He was followed by Mr. Chamberlain, who posed as a friend of Mr. Parnell's and desired his complete vindication; and therefore welcomed a method by which all charges against him and his friends could for ever be set at rest. Mr. Whitbread, of course, took a different line, and was virtuously indignant that anyone should be called upon by any tribunal to answer charges which had not been distinctly formulated in the instrument enabling the tribunal to deal with them.

Sir Wm. Harcourt then attacked the proposals, the Government, and especially the Attorney-General in a speech of which he will probably be proud for the rest of his life. No epithets were too strong to be used against men who sought by this machine to crush political opponents.

Mr. Robertson, the Solicitor-General for Scotland, replied to him in one of the most successful efforts which he has ever made. His retort stung his adversaries to the quick, but his language was polished and his sarcasms keen and effective.

Mr. Lockwood replied to Mr. Robertson, but devoted himself chiefly to an attack on the Attorney-

General as to his conduct of the O'Donnell case. Dr. Hunter spoke on the same side, and then Mr. Finlay replied in a vigorous straightforward speech which had great effect with the House. Subsequently the Attorney-General rose, and dealing with the personal attacks made upon him by Sir Charles Russell, Sir Wm. Harcourt, and Mr. Lockwood, he completely satisfied the House that his conduct of the case of O'Donnell was in compliance with the strict rules of honour and of the Bar, and had obtained strong and marked approval from the Lord Chief Justice; and he accounted for the attacks to which he had been subjected by the personal chagrin of the advisers of Mr. O'Donnell, Member of the Bar and Gladstonian Member of Parliament, who had recommended a course which was scarcely honourable, and which had failed.

The Bill was then read a second time without a division.

Several other measures were advanced a stage, and in half an hour the House got through more business than it has done for a week, but Mr. Smith deeply regrets that an autumn Session is unavoidable.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

OSBORNE, 24th July 1888.

DEAREST BERTIE,—. . . . I want to ask you *now* to give *me* the Order of St. John and to make *me* a Dame Chevalier or “Lady of Justice,” if it can be, as I take so much interest in it all and should like to have it.

I will let you have a copy of Willy's answer as soon as possible. How sickening it is to see Willy, not two months after his beloved and noble father's death, going to banquets and reviews! It is very indecent and very unfeeling! Why does he go to Copenhagen? It is so unnecessary, and I am sure (and hope) your parents-in-law will not receive him with open arms, though they must be civil.

Our weather is unsettled, but we have not had one wet day, and it is quite warm. To-day is very

fine but very windy. Love to all, Ever your devoted Mama V. R. I.

The Malets are here for two days and had seen dear Vicky on Friday and thought her much better.

The Empress Frederick to Queen Victoria.

[Copy.] FRIEDRICHSKRON, 6th August 1888.

. . . . This day eighteen years ago, darling Fritz won a brilliant victory. His dear old horse "Worth" came to me this morning; it had a laurel wreath on. My tears fell fast over its velvety nose while it was eating sugar out of my hand! How fond of it he was! He fed it every day. At Charlottenburg it came into the garden and licked his hands; even now, when anyone imitates the sound of his footsteps in the stables, the old creature pricks up its ears, neighs, and turns round, seeming to think it hears its master coming! How proudly it carried him all day (this day eighteen years ago) and at Sedan. It is still so handsome. I always break down again when I see it. . . . VICTORIA.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

8th Aug. 1888.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty and he has the great satisfaction of stating that the Commission Bill was passed by the House of Commons this afternoon after several speeches from Sir Wm. Harcourt, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Labouchere, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

Concessions to make it perfectly clear that perfectly fair play should be accorded to all parties before the Commission were made by the Government, as the aim and purpose your Majesty's servants had in view was to secure a complete, impartial and final examination of all the charges advanced by *The Times*. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 11th Aug. 1888.—A very hot night, but the day cooler than yesterday. Saw Lord

Salisbury and talked with him of many things, of Germany, Russia, Ireland, but he was sorry to say the Government had had notice from America of a plot to kill Mr. Balfour, which is terrible, and he has to be well watched.

Am making arrangements to appoint Abdul a munshi, as I think it was a mistake to bring him over as a servant to wait at table, a thing he had never done, having been a clerk or munshi in his own country and being of rather a different class to the others. I had made this change, as he was anxious to return to India, not feeling happy under the existing circumstances. On the other hand, I particularly wish to retain his services, as he helps me in studying Hindustani, which interests me very much, and he is very intelligent and useful.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

OSBORNE, 16th Aug. 1888.—The Queen wishes once more to write to Lord Salisbury about the "Appanage"; and to point out, *as strongly as she can*, the injustice and unfairness to herself of much that is proposed.

In the first place, the Queen thinks that there is great danger in encroaching upon the compact between the Sovereign and Parliament. Secondly, the grandchildren (children of the younger sons) of the Sovereign have always been provided for—the last cases being the children of her uncle the Duke of Cambridge. When the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg married, £3,000 was settled on her and her sister to take effect on the death of their father. This the Queen disliked in principle very much. It is making people wish for the death of their parents. On the death of the Duke of Cambridge, who was the *only* one of the Royal Dukes who died *without debts*, and left something for his children, £12,000 a year was voted to the present Duke, the circumstances of which, as well as the addition of £2,000 a year to Princess Mary on her marriage, the Queen related

to Lord Salisbury the other day. Thirdly, the Queen thinks it most unjust that *she*, in her old age and with endless expenses, should be asked to contribute so largely to this Appanage, and considers herself very shamefully used in having no real assistance for the enormous expense of entertaining that immense number of Sovereigns and Princes last year. This was originally promised and the promise was not kept.

As regards the money intended to be given to the Prince of Wales's sons, it seemed to her too small, but then it must be remembered that they are only grandsons of a Sovereign. The sons and daughters of the Sovereign should not have less than ours had, for otherwise they must get into debt, as the Queen's dear father and uncles did, for which reason the appanages for our sons were made larger.

[*Cyphèr Telegrams.*]

21st Aug.—Think it most important that you should try and meet Crispi somewhere, and if possible Kalnoky also. The former is a great intriguer, and I don't trust his interviews with the Bismarcks.

23rd Aug.—Think it would be most important if you could see Bismarck and Kalnoky also, anywhere, and of course separately, before you return to England.

Feel sure Crispi is not to be trusted, and we may find ourselves involved.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

ROYAL, 25th Aug. 1888.—. . . Since the receipt of your Majesty's telegrams about a meeting with S. Crispi, Lord Salisbury has seen Mr. Kennedy's telegram, according to which S. Crispi will be back in Rome again next Wednesday. This statement of course puts a meeting with him out of the question. Prince Bismarck and Count Kalnoky are at their country houses, not at Baths: and Lord Salisbury could not properly invite himself to

visit them at those places, unless he had some very definite measure or proposal to convey to them, which is not the case. However, Herbert Bismarck has sent Lord Salisbury a message saying that he is coming to England this autumn, and could suit his time so as to be there at the same time as Lord Salisbury. Bearing in mind your Majesty's wishes, Lord Salisbury has sent a very encouraging answer.

Lord Salisbury has no reason to think that England runs at present any special danger of being isolated. The language of Count Kalnoky, both through Sir A. Paget and the *Chargé d'Affaires* in London, has been of the heartiest character. In Lord Salisbury's view, the alliance with Austria covers the only weak point in the English position. No foreign Power (setting aside France for the moment) is in a condition to threaten England's interests, except Russia by striking at Constantinople. If Austria—that is to say Hungary—could be induced to view with equanimity the seizure of the Bosphorus by Russia, the English position would be very difficult; as England would have to defend the Bosphorus by herself; for Russia can always purchase the complicity of Italy and Germany by consenting to allow them to do what they like with France. But, so long as Austria stands firm upon this point, Germany, and consequently Italy, must go with her. To England, therefore, for the moment, the most important question is—What is the disposition of Austria? As far as we can form a judgment, her disposition was never more favourable. If this view be correct, there is nothing to disquiet England in the meetings of Emperors or Ministers. As a matter of fact, Lord Salisbury believes—and Mr. Scott's telegram supports the belief—that Prince Bismarck has contrived this meeting with Signor Crispi in order to restrain the latter from his quarrelsome demeanour towards France; which might provoke a war prematurely.

In the above observations Lord Salisbury has

said nothing of France. France is, and must always remain, England's greatest danger. But that danger is dormant, so long as the present strained relation exists between France and her two Eastern neighbours. If ever France should be on friendly terms with them, the Army and Navy estimates would rise very rapidly.

Lady Stanley of Preston to Queen Victoria.

CITADEL, QUEBEC, 30th September 1888.

MADAM,—. . . We have renewed acquaintance with Sir John Macdonald. He is too curiously like Lord Beaconsfield; he is delighted when told this, and he dresses as much like him as he can; he has not yet succeeded in the curl on the forehead. Lady Macdonald is a very clever stern woman. . . . I beg to remain your Majesty's humble and obedient servant, CONSTANCE STANLEY OF PRESTON.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 1st Oct. 1888.—Terrible trouble about beloved Fritz's diary, a portion of which has been published without dear Vicky's knowledge by a devoted but most injudicious friend.¹ Poor Vicky in a dreadful state about it. She was to leave Friedrichskron for ever to-day! and go to Kiel, which will do her good.

[Copy.] *Memorandum by the Marquis of Salisbury.*²

13th Oct. 1888.—Count Hatzfeldt mentioned to me the differences which had arisen between the Emperor of Germany and the Prince of Wales.³ He read or rather translated into French a long minute of Prince Bismarck's with respect to the incident at Vienna. The Chancellor spoke of it mainly as a political matter. He explained at some length the political reasons which made the presence of the

¹ Professor Geffcken.

² Submitted to Queen Victoria.

³ The Prince of Wales's own account appears in a letter to Prince Christian printed below on pp. 487-489.

Prince of Wales at Vienna, together with the two Emperors, unadvisable. The gist of his argument was that it would irritate the Emperor of Russia, at a moment when matters were very delicate, without offering to Germany any substantial compensation in the shape of a genuine English alliance. He then touched upon the personal question.

The Chancellor dealt with this briefly and in a constrained manner, speaking more in hints than directly. The three grounds of offence stated on the Emperor's side appeared to be :—

1. That the Prince had said to a Russian Grand Duke (who had reported it to the Emperor) that if the Emperor Frederick had lived he would have made concessions as to Alsace, as to North Schleswig, and as to the claims of the Duke of Cumberland.

2. That the Prince and Princess had urged the latter claims personally on Prince Bismarck; that the latter had spoken as civilly as he could on account of the presence of the Princess, but that the Prince had taken advantage of his amiability to make a memorandum of his conversation and present it to him for confirmation.

3. That the Prince treated him [the Emperor] as an uncle treats a nephew, instead of recognising that he was an Emperor who, though young, had still been of age for some time.

I have given above the gist of Prince Bismarck's Memorandum as nearly as I can remember it. It said nothing of the request that the Prince would leave Vienna on personal grounds; or of the Emperor William's announcement that he would not go to Vienna while the Prince of Wales was there; or of the neglect to notice Colonel Swaine's letter; or of the omission to ask after the Queen in speaking to Sir A. Paget.

When I informed Count Hatzfeldt of these things they seemed to be entirely new to him. I warned him to prevent any proposal to visit England at present, as it would not be accepted. At the same

time I insisted on the point that discussions of this kind on personal questions, whatever we might feel upon them, would not affect the general policy of the two nations. He replied that he knew the Chancellor took that view, and he believed even the Emperor William did.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 15th Oct. 1888.—The Queen has to thank Lord Salisbury for the letter she received yesterday with the account of his conversation with Count Hatzfeldt.

She hopes he will see the Prince of Wales as soon as he comes (he arrives on Friday), and tell him of what has passed between him and Count Hatzfeldt. The Queen will at once answer the extraordinary *reasons* for William's pretended anger. In the first place, it is simply absurd that the Emperor of Russia, the Princess of Wales's own brother-in-law (and who never expects the Princess to treat him otherwise, having the good sense to feel a great relief in the intimacy which exists between near relations, as opposed to formal etiquette), should have been angry at the uncle and nephew meeting.

Secondly, as regards Alsace and Lorraine, the Queen hardly thinks he could have said this, though he *might* in conversation with a Grand Duke, with all of whom he is intimate, and it was very wrong to repeat it.

Thirdly, what passed about Brunswick Lord Salisbury knows, and *that* was said to the Bismarck worthy couple of father and son.

And lastly as regarding the Prince's not treating his nephew as Emperor; this is really too *vulgar* and too absurd, as well as untrue, almost *to be believed*.

We have always been very intimate with our grandson and nephew, and to pretend that he is to be treated *in private* as well as in public as "his Imperial Majesty" is *perfect madness*! He has been treated just as we should have treated his beloved

father and even grandfather, and as the Queen *herself* was always treated by her dear uncle King Leopold. *If* he has *such* notions, he [had] better *never* come *here*.

The Queen will not swallow this affront.

She must now tell Lord Salisbury what she hears from the Prince of Wales through the Princess of Wales, *viz.* that the Crown Prince of Austria told him that William had *intended* to turn his back on Sir A. Paget!! and that it was the Emperor Franz-Joseph and Rudolph (Crown Prince) who entreated him not to do so! He had also said to the Crown Prince that, if his uncle wrote him a very kind letter, he *might perhaps answer it!!* All this shows a very unhealthy and unnatural state of mind; and he *must* be made to feel that his grandmother and uncle will not stand such insolence. The Prince of Wales must *not* submit to such treatment.

As regards the political relations of the two Governments, the Queen quite agrees that that should not be affected (if possible) by these miserable personal quarrels; but the Queen much *fears* that, with such a hot-headed, conceited, and wrongheaded young man, devoid of all feeling, this may at ANY moment become *impossible*.

The Queen thanks Lord Salisbury for his previous letter, in which he points but too truly the similarity between the young Emperor's behaviour and that of the Germans in Zanzibar. The Queen feels for the poor Sultan, whose subjects have been insulted and ill-used.

Would Lord Salisbury have the enclosure copied for her to keep?

[Copy.] *The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.*

(?) 15th Oct. 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits that he saw Count Hatzfeldt again yesterday evening. Somewhat to his dismay, he found that the Ambassador had written nothing to his Court with respect to the incidents at Vienna; and especially had not warned them that

so long as those incidents were unexplained, it was impossible for your Majesty to receive the Emperor. He was simply afraid to do so. From the hints he let drop, Lord Salisbury gathered that the young Emperor was very difficult to manage, that Prince Bismarck was in great perplexity, and his temper had consequently become more than usually unbearable. Lord Salisbury pressed him to give this warning in some form or other, as the breach would become more serious if the Emperor offered himself and your Majesty was compelled to refuse him.

This terror of the Ambassador's extended to political questions. Lord Salisbury had, on Saturday, requested him to warn the German Government (in reference to some covert menaces they had uttered) that England could not permit an attack on the Sultan of Zanzibar. But the Ambassador had not dared to give that message. Under these circumstances Lord Salisbury thought it wiser to request the Admiralty at once to strengthen the Squadron at Zanzibar.

If nobody dares tell Prince Bismarck the truth, there is no knowing what he might do.

Lord Salisbury's impression is that Count Hatzfeldt's position is very insecure.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 22nd Oct. 1888.—In the afternoon drove with Beatrice in the victoria, stopping to see good old Mrs. Leys, an aunt of Brown's, who is such a fine old woman. She said she was quite well, but her old husband was "dottled, and some bad in the temper." I brought her a shawl, and some tea and tobacco, which she particularly likes.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Prince of Wales.

24th October 1888.

SIR,—In furtherance of the conversation I had with your Royal Highness on Monday, I wrote to the Queen that night, giving reasons why I thought

it, and your Royal Highness thought it, more prudent that the visit of the Empress Frederick should be deferred.

I have this afternoon received the enclosed answer from her Majesty.

I have the honour to be, your Royal Highness's obedient humble servant, SALISBURY.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 24th Oct. 1888.—Letter received. Intention doubtless well meant, but it would be impossible, heartless, and cruel to stop my poor brokenhearted daughter from coming to her mother for peace, protection, and comfort. She has nowhere to go to; everyone expects her to come, and wonders she has not come before. It would be no use, and only encourage the Emperor and the Bismarcks still more against us. You all seem frightened of them, which is not the way to make them better. Tell the Prince of Wales this, and that his persecuted and calumniated sister has been for months looking forward to this time of quietness. Please let no one mention this again. It would be fatal and must not be.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 29th Oct. 1888.—Had an early luncheon and Bertie left at two. He could not remain longer, which was a pity, having much to do in London. It was very dear and kind of him to come all that way to see me, for only two days, and gave me great pleasure.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

29th Oct. 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty the draft of the note which he proposes to exchange with Count Hatzfeldt on the subject of the slave trade at Zanzibar.

It involves only naval and not military action,

and therefore will create no expense ; and it is closely in accordance with the traditional policy of this country. It would be possible, of course, to stand aside and allow Germany and Italy to act alone. But in that case they would act without a check ; and would probably, before they had finished, turn their arms against the Sultan in the Island of Zanzibar. By taking part with them, on an element where your Majesty's forces are the strongest, we retain a control over them ; and at the same time the policy we are pursuing is strictly in accordance both with national sentiment, and with British interests.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 28th Oct. 1888.—Is it true that U.S. Government have asked for Lord Sackville's recall ? What do you propose to answer ?

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

HATFIELD, 28th Oct. 1888.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Late last night, Mr. Phelps,¹ who is staying here, communicated to me a request for Lord Sackville's recall, not on the ground of his letter which was published, but on the ground of two speeches he made to newspaper reporters which in the opinion of the United States Government imputed discreditable motives to the President and Senate.

I asked for a copy of the alleged speeches, as I had not seen them. Mr. Phelps had not seen them either, but promised to procure them.

I deferred any answer to his request until we had seen the language imputed to the Minister.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 30th Oct. 1888.—I trust Lord Sackville will not be allowed to say he is recalled. . . .

¹ The United States Minister.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 30th Oct. 1888.—Humble duty. It is impossible to say what ought to be done until we know the precise words to which the United States Government objects.

It may be necessary to recall him ; but Lord Salisbury has a great repugnance to taking that course on account of the peculiar circumstances. Probably it would in any case suffice for the present to give him leave.

As Lord Salisbury has heard nothing from Mr. Phelps, the incriminating speech is probably coming by post.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

31st Oct. 1888.—Would it not be as well if Lord Sackville were to absent himself, at any rate till election is over ? It would be awkward if he were insulted.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

31st Oct. 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that he has received your Majesty's letter with respect to Mr. Matthews and will give the matter his deepest consideration. Mr. Matthews has certainly not been as successful as was hoped. There is innocence of the ways of the world which no one would have expected to find in a criminal lawyer of sixty. . . . The difficulty is to get Mr. Matthews out. It may be he would take a Judgeship, and that the Lord Chancellor would be willing to give it to him. Lord Salisbury will enquire into this matter, bearing your Majesty's wishes in mind.

The American question has been suddenly settled by a somewhat precipitate act on the part of the

American Government.¹ To this day Lord Salisbury has never seen the speeches to which the American Government have taken exception. Mr. Phelps distinctly stated that it was not the letter, but the speeches to which they took objection: but he had never seen the speeches and could not give Lord Salisbury a copy. There is nothing to be done for the present till the election² is over. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 1st Nov. 1888.—This is most disagreeable and awkward about Lord Sackville and the passports. What will you say and do? Has it ever happened before except in case of a rupture between the two Governments?

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

1st Nov. 1888.—Humble duty. There are two recent precedents of a similar dismissal; but in neither case was there any rupture, though a fresh nomination was deferred a little time.

Under Lord Clarendon, Sir J. Crampton was sent back by the United States Government on the ground that he had offended against their neutrality by enlisting soldiers during the Russian war.

Under Lord Palmerston, Sir Henry Bulwer was sent back by Spain for interfering in the internal politics of the country.

2nd Nov.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. In correction of his telegram of yesterday he finds that in the case of Spain Lord Palmerston gave the Spanish Minister his passports a month later.

¹ Lord Salisbury cyphered to the Queen the following cable from Lord Sackville, dated 30th October:—"Secretary of State has informed me that the President, for good and sufficient causes, which he says are known to myself and have been brought to the knowledge of her Majesty's Government, has become convinced that my present official position in the United States is incompatible with the best interests of and detrimental to good relations of both Governments and therefore has sent me my passports."

² The Presidential Election in the beginning of November.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 2nd Nov. 1888.—Had my last Hindustani lesson, as good Abdul goes home to India to-morrow on leave, which I regret, as it will be very difficult to study alone, and he is very handy and useful in many ways.

6th Nov.—Received many letters. Had a long heartbroken one from poor dear Vicky, who feels her helplessness so much, and has to put up with the most monstrous behaviour from Prince Bismarck and his son. It makes my blood boil! Saw Lord Knutsford and talked to him of the monstrous way in which poor darling Vicky is being persecuted, and in which both Bismarck and his son play a very bad part. He was dreadfully shocked and most sympathising. When I remarked I wished it to be known, he said it was amongst his class, though not much yet by the people at large.

9th Nov.—Dear Bertie's birthday. May God bless him! He has a warm affectionate heart, and is a very dutiful and good son.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 10th Nov. 1888.—This new most ghastly murder¹ shows the absolute necessity for some very decided action.

All these courts must be lit, and our detectives improved. They are not what they should be. You promised, when the first murder took place, to consult with your colleagues about it.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

10th Nov. 1888.—Humble duty. At Cabinet to-day it was resolved to issue a Proclamation offering free pardon to anyone who should give evidence as to the recent murder except the actual perpetrator of the crime. . . .

¹ One of the series of "Jack the Ripper" murders.

Mr. Matthews to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 10th Nov. 1888.—Mr. Henry Matthews with his humble duty to your Majesty begs to inform your Majesty that the Cabinet have to-day decided to accept the resignation of Sir Charles Warren. It arose in this way. Sir Charles Warren wrote an article in the last number of *Murray's Magazine* in which he discusses the whole subject of the administration of the police force, makes suggestions as to the discharge of their duties, and gives an historical review of the subject. The article would probably not have attracted much attention if it had not contained some passages which appear to convey personal criticism of public men. It is contrary to the usages of the Civil Service for salaried officials to publish articles about the department to which they belong; and in the Home Department there has been since 1879 a rule prohibiting any officer of the department from publishing any work relating to the department without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State. I thought it my duty to call Sir C. Warren's attention to this rule, and to request his compliance with it in future. He had not sought for any sanction before publishing the article. In his reply to my communication Sir C. Warren contended that the Secretary of State has not the power of issuing orders for the police force; he informed me that he would not have accepted the post of Commissioner of Police if he had been told that the Home Office rule applied to that post; he declined to accept the instructions which had been sent to him, and placed his resignation in the hands of the Government.

It is not the first time that Sir C. Warren has claimed to be in a position of independence which was wholly inconsistent with the authority and responsibility of the Secretary of State. The Cabinet took the matter into consideration to-day, and decided that the resignation must be accepted.

Mr. Henry Matthews thinks that your Majesty may probably be glad to have the earliest possible information of the fact, and to receive a brief account of the circumstances.

[*Draft.*]¹ *Queen Victoria to Mr. Matthews.*

13th Nov. 1888.—The Queen has received with sincere regret Mr. Matthews's letter of the 10th, in which he reports the resignation of Sir Charles Warren.

It would of course be impossible to recognise Sir Charles Warren's contention that he was not under the orders of the Secretary of State, but the Queen fears this resignation will have a bad effect in encouraging the law-breakers to defy the police, who, under Sir Charles Warren, have always done their duty admirably.

At the same time the Queen fears that the detective department is not so efficient as it might be. No doubt the recent murders in Whitechapel were committed in circumstances which made detection very difficult; still, the Queen thinks that, in the small area where these horrible crimes have been perpetrated, a great number of detectives might be employed, and that every possible suggestion might be carefully examined and, if practicable, followed.

Have the cattle boats and passenger boats been examined?

Has any investigation been made as to the number of single men occupying rooms to themselves?

The murderer's clothes must be saturated with blood and must be kept somewhere.

Is there sufficient surveillance at night?

These are some of the questions that occur to the Queen on reading the accounts of this horrible crime.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th Nov. 1888.—Saw Lord Salisbury, and, of course, talked over all the different

¹ In Sir Henry Ponsonby's handwriting. He adds as a note at the close: "Perhaps these details might be omitted?" Mr. Matthews sent the Queen a detailed explanation from Scotland Yard of all that the police were doing.

topics of interest. Zanzibar and the dreadful behaviour of the Germans there. Spoke of Prince Bismarck, and of his ways of going on, being quite of an age gone by!—of Sir E. Malet being perhaps hardly strong enough, though a good sensible man; of Mr. Matthews, who certainly is not fit for the Home Office; and Lord Salisbury mentioned an arrangement to make him a Judge of Appeal, and Mr. Ritchie Home Secretary, for which post he is eminently fitted.

19th Nov.—At length the anxiously expected day had arrived. Started shortly after ten, with Louise, Beatrice, and Liko, the Duchess of Roxburghe and two Equerries in attendance, for Port Victoria. Passing through London, George C., Count Hatzfeldt, and the Greek Minister, M. Gennadius, joined our train, and George came into our carriage. At twelve we reached Port Victoria and saw the masts of the yacht some little time before. Bertie and Georgie met me, and the former led me down the inclined plane to the *Victoria and Albert*. We stepped on board and went at once to the deck saloon, young Vicky, Sophy, and Mossy being outside, as well as the ladies and gentlemen. I went in and found my poor darling child in her deep widow's mourning. She was very much upset when she first saw me. Many tears were shed, but then she became calmer. Louise and Beatrice came in, and shortly after, George, Liko, and Count Hatzfeldt, who was much affected himself at seeing her. A quarter of an hour elapsed, and then we landed, Bertie leading Vicky first, and then Georgie me. She and the girls came into our carriage. There was a Guard of Honour, but no band. Poor darling Vicky was much calmer and able to talk upon various subjects.

Reached Windsor about two. A Guard of Honour at the station, and there were many people. I made darling Vicky go first everywhere. There was a Sovereign's Captain's escort. Great crowds, and flags hung out, I having prevented (alas! that it should have to be so, on this her first return as

Empress) any decorations. George left us again passing through London. There was a Guard of Honour in the Quadrangle, the trumpet of the escort sounded, and dear Vicky got out. The ladies and gentlemen were at the entrance, and Vicky shook hands with all, but she could not speak. She was crying bitterly, but the thick crape veil she was wearing completely hid her face. Charlie, Alice, and little Drino¹ and Ena² were at the top of the staircase. Beatrice took dear Vicky to her room, and very soon afterwards we went to luncheon, a large party, including Bertie and Georgie, who left afterwards. Dear Vicky was much calmer again. After tea she sat talking to me a long while, and told me of all that fills her poor heart. It is too painful to think of, but I know it is a comfort to her to be able to unburden herself to me. A family dinner of seven, and then poor dear Vicky went to her room.

20th Nov.—Saw Count Hatzfeldt, who is greatly distressed about everything and feels deeply for poor Vicky. Of course he can do nothing, but he is in despair at the present state of affairs, though he hopes it will get better.

21st Nov.—Poor darling Vicky's forty-eighth birthday, and what a sad one! The day was fine but very windy. She (whom I can never yet realise as an Empress, still less as a widow, without her beloved Fritz) came to my room at half-past nine, and I gave her a nosegay. She was much upset, poor dear, and said: "He was so well at San Remo, this day last year." The little children met her with nosegays as we came into the corridor, and the whole family were assembled. The present table was in the Oak-room. She got many things from kind friends, and I gave, as my principal gift, a contribution in money for the mausoleum she is building. She received many baskets of flowers and bouquets, but it was a terribly sad day, and I felt and knew how her poor heart must ache. But I am at least thankful

¹ Now Marquis of Carisbrooke.

² Now Queen of Spain.

that she could be with me. Talked for a little while after breakfast, and then Vicky received the whole of the German Embassy with Count Hatzfeldt at their head, and afterwards my ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Matthews to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 24th Nov. 1880.—Mr. Henry Matthews, with his humble duty to your Majesty, has the honour to submit to your Majesty the name of Mr. James Monro, C.B., for the appointment of Commissioner of Police. Your Majesty is doubtless aware that Mr. Monro was lately Assistant Commissioner in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department and resigned that office in consequence of differences of opinion that had arisen between him and Sir Charles Warren. He has had considerable experience of police duties both in India and in the Metropolis, and has discharged them with great efficiency. His name was before the Cabinet last Saturday and again to-day; and after full consideration, the Cabinet selected him as the best candidate for the post.

There is one circumstance which ought to be mentioned to your Majesty. Mr. Monro is lame, and rides with difficulty now. Mr. Matthews hopes that he would be able to accompany your Majesty's carriage on State occasions, such as the opening of Parliament, in the usual manner, on horseback: but it is scarcely possible to say confidently, without a trial, that this duty might not have to be delegated to an Assistant-Commissioner, such as Colonel Pearson.

Mr. Matthews has reason to believe that Mr. Monro's appointment would give satisfaction to the general body of the Metropolitan police. The appointment of a civilian is at the present time to be preferred to that of a soldier: and there are few civilians qualified for the office who would be willing to accept it.

Mr. Edward Stanhope to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 26th Nov. 1888.—Mr. Edward Stanhope presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and ventures to submit a copy of a letter¹ which he addressed to H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief on the subject of the command at Aldershot. It explains some of the reasons which induced Mr. Stanhope, after several conversations with his Royal Highness, to press for the appointment of Sir Evelyn Wood.

Mr. Stanhope has since written urging that the appointment of any officer to that command who was not a *persona grata* with the Adjutant² and Quartermaster-General, would be an injury to the public service, and Mr. Stanhope understands that the Commander-in-Chief will now be ready to submit the name of Sir Evelyn Wood for the appointment. The incident has therefore terminated without any breach of the very friendly relations, which, as Mr. Stanhope is proud to think, have always existed between the Commander-in-Chief and himself; and he has endeavoured to the utmost of his power to meet the difficulties which presented themselves to the mind of his Royal Highness.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

26th Nov. 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits that on his return from Windsor he saw Mr. Smith. The latter had had an interview with Sir W. Jenner, who held language with respect to Mr. Smith's state of exhaustion which

¹ In this letter Mr. Stanhope pointed out that the list of Generals and Lieut.-Generals was lamentably deficient in competent men not then employed; that Sir Evelyn Wood (though only a Major-General) was widely regarded as the man best qualified for the Aldershot command by professional fitness; that the only substantial objection was that he would be promoted over the heads of many seniors; and that he hoped that, in the interests of the public service, the Duke of Cambridge would waive that objection and recommend Sir Evelyn Wood's appointment.

² Lord Wolseley.

is rather alarming. Immediate steps will have to be taken to relieve him of some of his work, and Lord Salisbury hopes to get him to go abroad for a few weeks on Saturday. . . .

Lord Salisbury is going to Edinburgh to-morrow night for three days to attend political meetings. The necessity of making these excursions is an odious addition to the burdens of political life in modern times. The bad fashion was introduced by Mr. Gladstone. . . .

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Edward Stanhope.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th Nov. 1888.—The Queen thanks Mr. Stanhope for his letter and enclosure which she returns.

She very much regrets the discussion which has taken place respecting the Aldershot command; and, though she fully concurs in the opinion that the best possible officer should be selected for that post, fears that the disregard of the Commander-in-Chief's advice in favour of that tendered by his subordinates may be prejudicial to good feeling at Head-Quarters and to the discipline of the Army.

The Queen wishes Mr. Stanhope to know that she places entire confidence in the Duke of Cambridge as head of the Army, and that she hopes Mr. Stanhope will support him in the difficult position in which he is placed.

The Queen has a high opinion of Sir E. Wood, and trusts that his selection will justify the recommendations which have been put forward on his behalf.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 30th Nov. 1888.—The Queen is sorry for the violence of the Prince of Wales's expressions¹ against Lord Wolseley. She does not think him *false*, does Sir Henry? nor that his *object*

¹ The Prince had written a letter "quite between ourselves" to Sir Henry Ponsonby, bringing the charges against Lord Wolseley referred to by the Queen.

is to diminish the Duke's power, but their views differ on many points, and both are rather too extreme in their opinions. However, *this must not* be a *precedent*, and Sir Henry must take care to make Mr. Stanhope and Lord Wolseley understand this.

The Queen does not think Arthur will mind this, as he did not wish to come home yet.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Edward Stanhope.

[*Copy.*]

30th November 1888.

DEAR MR. STANHOPE,—The Queen hopes it is clearly understood that in assenting to the appointment of Sir E. Wood to Aldershot she is in no way pledged to approving of his selection for the command of the first expedition that may be sent abroad. H.M. says that such an appointment must entirely depend on the circumstances of the case at the time.¹

H. P.

[*Draft.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Bright.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4th Dec. 1888.—The Queen hears with much concern of the severe indisposition of Mr. Bright, from which however she trusts he is recovering. She wishes to repeat in writing what she said to him last year, when he came with the Address, which is how much she thanks him for the very loyal and patriotic manner in which he had spoken and written on all occasions in support of the maintenance of the union, and of law and order.

The Queen would also wish to thank Mr. Bright for the kind manner in which a year or two after her great sorrow he had taken her part² when ignorant and unfeeling people attacked her for not going out into the world, and at that early time not taking part in Jubilee ceremonies which her overwhelming grief rendered at *that time* impossible. The Queen has

¹ Mr. Stanhope replied that he had made a careful note of the Queen's commands.

² See Second Series, vol. i, p. 290.

never forgotten his kindness on that occasion, and which she felt deeply.¹

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

11th Dec. 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully thanks your Majesty for your gracious letter and will obey your commands on Saturday.

He has had a meeting this morning with Mr. Smith, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stanhope, and Lord George Hamilton to consider naval estimates. It was agreed, provisionally, that the sum of about five millions should be spent annually for the next four years in building and equipping new ships. This will place your Majesty's fleet in a completely commanding position.

Mr. Smith has made up his mind, under pressure of Sir William Jenner's earnest remonstrances, to leave England on Saturday. It will only be just in time.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th Dec. 1888.—Saw the Dowager Duchess of Buccleuch and then Count Hatzfeldt, who brought me an official letter from William, sending George II's Will and Codicils, which had been found at Zelle, and which had not even been opened, but which they thought it right to send me. Most curious.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

OSBORNE, 23rd Dec. 1888.—The Queen was immensely relieved, as Lord Salisbury was, at poor Stanley's and Emin Bey's safety,² and thinks it has been a source of great satisfaction and rejoicing in this country.

¹ Mr. J. A. Bright, in replying to Sir H. Ponsonby, said that he read "the Queen's very kind letter" to his father, who "was much touched by her kindness in remembering him, and desired me to write to you to ask you to thank her very warmly for him." Mr. Bright died on 27th March 1889.

² Mr. H. M. Stanley was crossing Africa to rescue Emin.

General Grenfell's victory at Suakin¹ is also a source of much thankfulness, though one cannot help regretting that we have to kill so many of these misguided but very brave fanatics. But now comes the difficulty. What are we to do in future? It will be over and over again the same thing; and if we leave it others will get it, which we cannot allow.

For the prevention and extirpation of the slave trade our holding Suakin permanently would be of great importance, and it would be much more economical than to have to send constantly expeditions to drive the Dervishes back. There is a strong feeling in this country growing up in this direction. The eagerness of the Turks to get hold of it, the Queen thinks very suspicious and unsafe. It would be used at once against us. Sir E. Baring, No. 166, points to the difficulty and to the necessity of some different policy for the future.

The Germans behave shamefully at Zanzibar, and show a most unfriendly spirit towards us. The state of affairs seems most alarming, and we ought to insist on the suspension of the German Company for a year, which should be pressed on the German Government, and if possible disconnect ourselves with the Germans at Zanzibar altogether.

A Mohammedan rising, the natural result of the conduct of the Germans, might be most disastrous for us.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Draft.]

23rd Dec. 1888.—The Queen thinks you may not know that the attacks on Sir R. Morier are in reality directed against the Empress Frederick and the late Emperor. For Morier was their friend and the Bismarcks assail every one of these. They have imprisoned Geffcken, they have violated the domicile of Roggenbach, and they are even terrifying ladies to give up letters which they have received from the

¹ See Introductory Note.

Empress. The Queen thinks you should insist on contradictions being inserted in German papers.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

24th December 1888.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—The enclosed letter from Sir E. Malet will show that all has been done that can be done in the matter. We cannot formally and in express terms assume their¹ responsibility for all that the *Kölnische* puts in, any more than they could do it for the *Standard* and *The Times*. We know that many things which appear in the *Kölnische* are suggested by someone who is in Prince Bismarck's confidence; and we also know that with a large part of what the *Kölnische* publishes he has nothing whatever to do. How are we to draw the line between the two categories of articles; and say that some articles are inspired by the Chancellor and some are not? H. Bismarck would meet us with a plump contradiction, and we should have done no good.

With respect to the motive which actuates the Bismarcks in their pursuit of Morier, I do not think it can be his friendship with the Empress Frederick; for they were just as bitter two years ago when Morier was not supposed [to] be high in favour with the then Crown Prince and Princess.

I think it was a mistake ever remonstrating with H. Bismarck about the Bazaine story.² It showed him where his enemy was sensitive, and therefore guided him in the application of the further instruments of torture at his disposal. Ever yours sincerely, SALISBURY.

¹ The German Government's—*i.e.*, the Bismarcks.

² The *Kölnische Zeitung* (Cologne Gazette) on 16th December accused Sir Robert Morier, British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, of having, when Chargé d'Affaires in Darmstadt, betrayed during the war of 1870 the movements of the German Army to Marshal Bazaine. Sir Robert had protested vehemently to Count Herbert Bismarck, German Foreign Secretary, against this calumny, enclosing a letter of denial from Marshal Bazaine, and had requested to have a contradiction inserted in the *North German Gazette*. Count Herbert Bismarck refused to comply with what he called an "astonishing demand."

Many thanks for your kind wishes which we heartily return. Morier's existence generally is not a matter to be reflected on at Xmas.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

[*Télégramme*]

LAEKEN, 24^{me} Déc. 1888.—Recevez, je vous prie, mes sincères remerciements pour votre télégramme d'hier. J'ai été bien heureux en effet d'apprendre que Stanley était sain et sauf sur le territoire du Congo et je suis fort touché de l'intérêt que vous lui portez et que vous daignez me témoigner. LÉOPOLD.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

25th Dec. 1888.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for your kind wishes. He deeply feels that it cannot be fully a happy Christmas for your Majesty, with so much immediate and recent cause for grief. He earnestly trusts that happier days may soon efface the recollections of the past year.

Lord Salisbury has instructed Sir Evelyn Baring that the proposals of the Sultan cannot for the present be entertained. The power of Turkey is too unreal, and the vacillation of the Sultan too habitual, to make it safe for us, without some other security, to leave Suakin in his hands. The reports which have just come in give ground for hoping that the recent victory may relieve us of the presence of the Dervishes for a considerable time. If an unlucky combination of circumstances had not reduced the finances of Egypt very low, it might be possible to take this opportunity of restoring the power of the Khedive over the valley of the Nile. But Egypt could not afford an expedition; and the House of Commons would certainly decline to bear the cost.

The events which have taken place at Zanzibar are in some respects deplorable; but they could not have been prevented by any course your Majesty's Ministers could have taken. The only result of

standing aloof would have been to forgo the power of efficiently protecting the island of Zanzibar itself. Italy was quite ready to have accepted the position of ally to Germany in the blockade; and to pay herself she would have picked a quarrel with the Sultan, and have taken the island either of Zanzibar or Pemba. It is the extreme untrustworthiness of the present ruling powers both at Berlin and Rome which led Lord Salisbury to advise a participation in the blockade as a means of control. The only possible inconvenience that has been suggested is that the natives might confuse our legitimate action with the violent action of the Germans; and that we might be involved in their unpopularity. But to Lord Salisbury this has seemed an unreal fear. The Arabs of that coast are very keen and perfectly well-informed; and they have not as yet shown any signs of being deceived on this point.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 31st Dec. 1888.—The last day of this dreadful year, which has brought mourning and sorrow to so many, and such misfortunes, and ruined the happiness of my darling child.

My cough being still troublesome, did not go out in the morning. Felt very tired. After luncheon, the day having not improved, thought it wiser to remain at home. A family dinner. Poor dear Vicky was very low, but promised to go to bed, and not sit up. No one of us sat up. Quietly and imperceptibly ended this sad year.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER V

THE German Emperor William II wished to follow up the round of Royal visits with which he had begun his reign by a visit during the summer of 1889 to Queen Victoria. Her Majesty did not welcome the idea, owing to his attitude since his accession both towards his mother her daughter, the Empress Frederick, and towards his uncle the Prince of Wales ; though it was doubtful whether responsibility for this attitude did not largely attach to the Bismarcks, the German Chancellor and his son Count Herbert, Foreign Minister. It was, however, a guiding principle with the Queen that family disagreements should not deflect national policy ; and, as Lord Salisbury held that a visit from the Emperor would confirm the good relations existing between Germany and Britain, she gave a reluctant consent to receive him. In the early spring, her Majesty proceeded for a month to Biarritz. President Carnot welcomed her in France with civil messages ; and she made a successful excursion into Spain on 27th March to meet the Queen Regent Maria Christina at St. Sebastian. On her return home she emphasized the strong bonds of affection which united her to the Prince and Princess of Wales by paying a visit of four or five days to Sandringham.

Meanwhile a mission of Count Herbert Bismarck to London, and some tactful negotiations by Prince Christian in Berlin, did not materially advance the cause of conciliation. Finally it was decided to waive grievances and make the inevitable visit a success. The Emperor, some weeks before he came, decorated Prince Alfred of Edinburgh, the eventual heir to the Coburg Duchy, with the Red Eagle, and offered the Queen the Coloneley of a famous German Regiment ; while the Queen gave the Emperor immense pleasure by conferring on him the rank of Admiral-of-the-Fleet in the

British Navy. At the beginning of August the Emperor arrived with his fleet at Spithead, was met by the Prince of Wales, and by him conducted to the Queen at Osborne, where Lord Salisbury was in attendance. The visit lasted a week, during which naval and military reviews were held in honour of the guest, who made himself very agreeable. Later in the year, in October, he showed great interest, as a British Admiral, in the Channel Squadron at Kiel and the Mediterranean Squadron off Athens. He was in Athens for the marriage of his sister Princess Sophia to the Duke of Sparta, heir to the Hellenic throne; and thence he proceeded to pay one of the most memorable of all his Royal Visits, that to the Sultan Abdul Hamid at Constantinople. Another Royal visitor to Queen Victoria and England this summer was the Shah of Persia.

Her Majesty gave her consent this spring to the engagement of her granddaughter the Princess Louise of Wales to the Earl of Fife; who, when the marriage was celebrated in Buckingham Palace Chapel on 27th July, was created a Duke. This alliance brought to a head the question of provision for Royal grandchildren. It was found inadvisable to apply for a vote for any other grandchildren than the children of the Prince of Wales; and Mr. Gladstone, who served on the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, was chiefly responsible for the decision that an addition of £36,000 should be made to the annual income of the Prince to enable him to make provision for his family. The resolution and Bill to carry this arrangement into effect were passed, with the steady support of Mr. Gladstone, through the House of Commons by large majorities, against the strenuous and persistent opposition of Mr. Labouchere and the Radicals and in spite of the lukewarmness and carping of many Gladstonian Liberals. The Queen was much affected this year by two other events, the resignation of the best-loved of her ladies, Jane Marchioness of Ely, and the relinquishment of his princely *status* by Prince Alexander, late of Bulgaria, who married a non-royal lady, and retired into private life as Count Hartenau.

Domestic politics were largely coloured by the proceedings before the Commission of three judges (Sir James Hannen and Justices Day and A. L. Smith) enquiring into "Parnellism and Crime," which sat in public for 128 days from September 1888 to November 1889, and did not report till 1890. The Attorney-General (Sir Richard Webster) and

Sir Henry James were the leading counsel for *The Times*, Sir Charles Russell for the Nationalists. It appeared that the alleged Parnell letters were brought to *The Times*, at first without disclosure of their origin, by Mr. Houston, Secretary of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, but had been obtained by him from one Pigott, a journalist better known than respected in Dublin. Expert evidence supported their genuineness; but, under cross-examination by Sir Charles Russell on February 21st and 22nd, Pigott completely broke down; he fled to Madrid, and there on 5th March committed suicide as he was about to be arrested. *The Times* and its counsel, before proceeding further, withdrew the letters as forgeries, and expressed regret for their publication.

This vindication of Mr. Parnell from the gravest of the charges brought against him won sympathy for him from a generous public, regardless of party, as was shown in the by-elections; by the Gladstonian Liberals and their leaders it was treated as a complete whitewashing. When he next rose to address the House of Commons not only was there loud and continued cheering, but the whole of the Opposition, including the front bench, rose and waved their hats. On 8th March Lord Spencer dramatically shook hands with him at the Eighty Club, and on 13th March there was a great National Protest meeting in St. James's Hall with Mr. Morley in the chair to congratulate the Nationalist leader and to arraign the Government. This adulation of Mr. Parnell only received a slight check when, confronted in cross-examination in the witness-box at the Commission in May with an awkward speech in Parliament, he explained that it was possible he was endeavouring "to mislead the House on the occasion." He even received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in July—a freedom voted by a narrow majority in the Council against the advice of the Lord Provost, who refused to act in the ceremony. In December he was welcomed as a guest at Hawarden, between the delivery of speeches at Nottingham and Liverpool, the moderation of which was in marked contrast with the actions and speeches of his colleagues in Ireland. Meanwhile, the Commission proceeded steadily, taking voluminous evidence in support of the other charges, in spite of the fact that counsel for the Nationalists withdrew from the proceedings on 16th July, because their request to inspect the books of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union was refused by the Judges on the ground of irrelevance. It became clear during the year

that, though occasional crimes were still committed, Mr. Balfour had in the main succeeded in re-establishing order in Ireland. A Light Railways Bill testified to the ameliorative side of his policy.

The year was marked by a decisive step in naval defence. Parliament accepted a proposal by the Government to institute a seven-years' building scheme, to cost £21,500,000 and to produce 70 new vessels. In imperial expansion, an equally decisive step was taken in granting a Charter to the British South Africa Company, whose moving spirit was Mr. Cecil Rhodes. The first London County Council was elected, and chose Lord Rosebery for its first chairman. A dockers' strike paralysed the port of London for a month, from the middle of August to the middle of September; and, mainly owing to the efforts of the Lord Mayor and of Cardinal Manning, was concluded by a compromise.

In France Boulangism rose to its highest peak and then faded away. The General at the beginning of the year was elected a Deputy for Paris, and had a considerable following in the Chamber and a larger one in the army and in the country. In view of the danger of a Dictatorship, the Republicans came together; General Boulanger lost heart, and fled the country, being found guilty in his absence, on trial before the Senate, of conspiracy against the State, and sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress. The Republican cause was further strengthened by a great Exhibition in Paris, to celebrate the centenary of the Revolution. Early in the year, the Austrian Crown Prince died by his own hand in consequence of a scandalous love-affair. In Portugal King Carlos succeeded King Louis. There was a revolution in Brazil which drove the Emperor and his family into exile and established a Republic. The difficulties in Samoa came to a head in the spring; and, at a Conference in Berlin, the three Powers interested, the United States, Britain, and Germany, signed in June a treaty defining their respective rights and responsibilities. Mr. H. M. Stanley emerged late in the year on the east coast of Africa, along with Emin Pasha, to rescue whom he had conducted, through many difficulties and much hardship, a transcontinental expedition.

CHAPTER V

1889

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1st Jan. 1889.—How many dear ones, and other faithful friends and acquaintances and faithful servants, we have lost since this day last year! First of all, beloved Fritz, whose loss is as fresh and terrible to me and the world in general, as it was six months and a half ago. May God in His infinite mercy and love have pity on us and protect our remaining dear ones, particularly my poor darling Vicky in her trouble and grief! May He spare me yet awhile to comfort her and to be a help to my other dear children and to my country and Europe!

Sir Robert Morier to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10th January 1889.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—Your letter telling me the Queen had approved of my letter of the 19th to H. B[ismarck] and wished to have it published was an exceeding great joy to me.¹ Indeed, at a moment of sore perplexity and doubt, it relieved [me] of an immense load and burden, for note this, that I have not had one word from any single soul connected with the F.O. since this devilish business began, and am therefore entirely in the dark as to the way in which my *modus procedendi* is viewed by the officials in

¹ See above, p. 458.

England. About the way the public has taken it there is no doubt at all. I am *abonné* to cutting agencies in England, Germany, and France. I have therefore before [me] every single opinion expressed by the Press; the unisonous chorus of approval throughout the English and Scotch Press is something wonderful to read, always excepting the two Downing Street organs, the *Standard* and *Morning Post*, who, though forced to howl with the wolves, bespatter and besmear. Of course the German Press had taken pains to call attention to this to prove that my Government wholly disapprove of me, and that they have only to go on pegging away to make sure of turning me out of my post. I don't think, however, it would be wise of Lord Salisbury to do this.

The Emperor has most warmly taken my part, and told Giers that, from the first moment he saw the Cologne article, *il était sûr que c'était une cochonnerie*; the word was Russian, but this is about its equivalent.

More than one influential person, not amongst the political enemies of Bismarck, declare that I have rendered a real service not only to Europe generally, but to Germany in particular, as it was quite impossible that this sort of thing could go on, and fatal to Germany, and that I had by my very hard hitting broken the shell. . . .

Write by post, you are quite safe. My letters are not opened here, and cannot be opened in Prussia, as they come in locked bags. Truly yours, R. W. M.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Cypher Telegram.]

OSBORNE, 18th Jan. 1889.—Did you receive my cypher yesterday? It is most important that my Ambassador should not be left unsupported by his own Government. It will do this country and you yourself harm if you remain entirely silent. It looks as if we disbelieve the word of my Ambassador.

The news from Zanzibar is very distressing.

The King of Portugal to Queen Victoria.

[*Télégramme.*]

LISBONNE, 2 *Fév.* 1889.—Très chère Tante, je viens vous prier instamment d'interposer votre royale clémence en faveur du sujet Portugais Gonçalves condamné à mort à Demerara. L'exécution devra avoir lieu le deux mars, et je suis informé par mon Conseil que les membres du Jury l'ont eux-mêmes beaucoup recommandé pour obtenir son pardon.
LOUIS.

[*Telegram.*] *Lord Knutsford to Queen Victoria.*

COLONIAL OFFICE, 4th *Feb.* (1 p.m.).—Lord Knutsford with his humble duty ventures to suggest that the Queen should reply to the King of Portugal that she cannot give directions as to the exercise of the power of pardon, which has been fully delegated by her to the Governor; but has requested that the case may have very special consideration of the Governor in order that any extenuating circumstances may have due weight.

Lord Knutsford will telegraph to the Governor informing him of appeal of his Majesty, and request that, if there has been a recommendation to mercy by the jury, sentence should not be carried out, or if there are any doubts justifying further consideration the sentence should not be carried out until there has been full time for such consideration.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 7th *February* 1889.

DEAREST BERTIE,—I enclose to you two letters from Sir E. Malet giving such an extraordinary account of H. Bismarck's *lies*, that I thought you must see them, and Sir E. Malet should be told how utterly false his assertions are.

William must *not* come *this* year, *you* could not meet him, and I could *not* after all he has said and done. He would not meet with a very cordial

reception by anyone, I am sure. The letters are confidential, but I shall tell Lord Salisbury I showed them to you. Please return these copies to me as soon as possible.

In case Alix should not tell you, I write to say that I shall have great pleasure in coming to Sandringham on Easter Tuesday till the Friday or Saturday. I only regret that Beatrice and Liko cannot have the pleasure of accompanying me this time. I would bring either one of the sisters or a granddaughter. . . . Ever your devoted Mama, V. R. I.

We were so pleased to have you here, and only regret it was for so short a time.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

11th Feb. 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that the Rev. A. G. Edwards,¹ Vicar of Carmarthen, be appointed Bishop of St. Asaph.

21st Feb.—. . . The Parnell Commission has not gone as well to-day as previously. Pigott² is evidently a thorough rogue, and much credit will not be attached to anything coming from him. . . .

The Marquis of Londonderry to Queen Victoria.

THE CASTLE, DUBLIN, 21st Feb. 1889.—Lord Londonderry presents his humble duty to your Majesty and has delayed intruding upon your Majesty's time until he was able to write you as well on the social as the political aspect of affairs in Ireland. It is with great pleasure that he can write your Majesty with almost perfect satisfaction on both grounds. There is no doubt but that the state of the country is steadily improving. Rents are being well paid, better relations (greatly assisted by the Ashbourne Purchase Act) are being established be-

¹ In reply to an enquiry by Sir Henry Ponsonby, Dean Davidson telegraphed "Edwards should do well." He is now Archbishop of Wales and senior bishop on the bench.

² See Introductory Note.

tween all classes, and the statistics showing the marvellous decrease in agrarian outrages and that form of intimidation known as boycotting are surprisingly satisfactory. . . .

Lord Londonderry is not so satisfied with the success that has attended the efforts of the Government to overcome the Plan of Campaign. There is no doubt that this illegal conspiracy is *not* spreading, but at the same time the agitators have not given way as he would like and hoped. Your Majesty will have seen the prosecutions directed against agitating Members of Parliament, all of which, most ably conducted by the Law officers, have been carried to a most successful issue; and it is with great satisfaction that Lord Londonderry can express to your Majesty his approval of the determination and ability of the Resident Magistrates who have tried the various cases. It may interest your Majesty to hear that the opinion given by the Chief Baron in a decision of the Court of Exchequer is most favourable to that much-abused but able and zealous body. He said that, in decisions given, the Resident Magistrates have attained a higher standard of success than the Judges of the Superior Courts.

There seems to be also a more general feeling of prosperity all over the country. The railway dividends have gone and are going up. This increasing prosperity is also shown by the very large attendance at the Levée and Drawing-room held last week. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 25th Feb. 1889.—Abdul has returned from India, from his holiday, and I am very glad to have him back, and be able to work at my Hindustani again with him.

We were dreadfully startled and upset by an extraordinary piece of news: that Sandro had married a Fräulein Loisinger, a singer, and had taken the name of Count Hartenau! We could not believe

it, though it was in to-day's papers. But Liko came to say he had had a long letter from Sandro, giving his reasons. Having met with rebuffs and refusals everywhere, having no money, no occupation, he was driven to desperation, and was determined at least to have a quiet happy home; and the lady was charming and good. It is, however, very sad, and Liko feels it dreadfully.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 25th Feb. 1889.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and with reference to the Committee on Royal Grants which was announced on Friday in answer to Mr. Robertson's question, it was the view of the Prime Minister, and Mr. Smith concurred with him, that it was no longer possible or desirable to refuse a Committee to consider the practice of Parliament in the past and to report on any amendments in that practice which they may think desirable.

Mr. Smith at one time hoped that it might have been possible to frame a Bill on the lines submitted to your Majesty as a settlement of the question for some time to come, and that this Bill might have been referred to a Committee for examination; but Lord Salisbury placed forcibly before Mr. Smith the danger these proposals might have involved of reopening the settlement effected by the Civil List Act on your Majesty's accession.

Mr. Smith feels with the Prime Minister that there was a solemn compact between your Majesty and the country which ought not to be disturbed or questioned, and he would therefore be no party to an opportunity for doing any mischief of the kind; but in entering upon the Committee it will be necessary for your Majesty's servants to have some views of their own as to the method by which grants of the character referred to should in future be made, and it would be most desirable, if possible, that the leaders of the Opposition should be in agreement

with your Majesty's servants as to the principles of any such proposals before the Committee is nominated. . . .

(*Same Day.*) . . . The business of the evening is the debate on Mr. Morley's amendment censuring the recent Government of Ireland. There was a large accession of Irish Members, who were very noisy and excited.

Mr. Morley spoke in a loud angry tone throughout, imputing meanness, want of tact, and harshness to the Government in the administration of the Crimes Act, and charging the Magistrates acting under it with oppression and wrong. "Give me a prisoner and I will find the law" is attributed to a Scotch Judge one hundred years ago; and Mr. Morley said the Irish Magistrates were worthy successors of this Judge. He insisted that Fenians had been manufactured in the past by cruel indignities inflicted on political prisoners, and he implied that those who now suffered in the same way would entertain similar feelings. He referred to the Commission now pending, and said a strict account would be exacted from the Government at the proper time of their conduct with respect to it; and he declared exultingly that the hour had almost struck when your Majesty's present servants would be driven from office by the voice of the country.

Mr. Balfour made a detailed and exhaustive reply, going into minute details on every case brought up by Mr. Morley and especially that of Mr. Harrington, who is undergoing six months' imprisonment, but was offered to be let off if he would promise not to offend again; and he carried the House with him in the declaration that punishment was not the object but the prevention of crime. His peroration at the close, in which he declared that no State could survive the application of the doctrines which are embodied in the Plan of Campaign, was a very impressive one. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 26th Feb. 1889.—It was a very full and long Drawing-room. I had a dreadful misadventure. Tirard (the coiffeur) had not pinned my cap and veil sufficiently firmly, and when, as I felt the room warm, I asked Louisa Buccleuch to remove the lace scarf I had on my shoulders, happening to turn my head round at the same moment to speak to Lord Lathom, off came the whole thing completely! The ladies rushed to put it on again, but badly of course, and Alice and Lenchen helped, but it was dreadful, though most ludicrous. Young Lady Ewart came by, looking very pretty. Violet Granby¹ very handsome, in a dress of old brocade which they found in a box at Belvoir, and which had been worn by a Marchioness of Granby in 1770, grandmother to the present Duke. Remained over an hour, and then Alix took my place.

At quarter to six dear Vicky had to leave, and I with Beatrice and Liko accompanied her to Charing Cross station. There was a Sovereign's escort, and we kept the carriage open. There were great crowds in the streets, who cheered loudly, and showed the greatest feeling for darling Vicky. Alix with her girls, Lenchen and Christian, Louise and Lorne, and some others were at the station. A few minutes and then we had to part, a sad, affecting moment. Poor darling Vicky completely broke down, but then recovered herself, and her girls were also much upset. We waited to see the train steam out of the station and then returned to the Palace, feeling very sad.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th Feb.—After luncheon saw Lord Salisbury, and talked with him on various subjects, of the Irish Commission and the total collapse of Pigott, a witness, who is supposed to have forged the letters, which *The Times* was positive were genuine. Lord Salisbury said that it was, of course, unfortunate, though it really did not affect the Government.

¹ Now the Dowager Duchess of Rutland.



The Empress Frederick
After a picture by Von Angeli in Buckingham Palace

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th Feb. 1889.—The Queen wishes, for fear of any mistake, to repeat in writing that the Shah can come at the beginning of July; but that, *if* William comes, which she *still* has a hope might be put off till another year, as it is too soon after all that has passed, and will be very disagreeable to the Queen, it cannot be before *the last days of July*. But he must make some sort of apology, before he comes, to the Prince of Wales. The Queen encloses a note about the visit. Colonel Swaine is always weak about William. We want acts, not professions.

The Queen would also wish to say a word about poor Prince Alexander. What she is anxious Lord Salisbury should say, if it is spoken about, is that he was driven almost to desperation; everywhere he met with rebuffs, refusals, insults, and ill-treatment, when his military as well as general abilities and high character entitled him to the very reverse; that he was sick of constantly fighting for a position which prejudice, jealousy, and spite refused to give him in Germany and Austria; and that he was determined to break with all that, and to have at least a quiet and happy home, might it be ever so small; that the young lady bore the highest character and was highly educated; that he had never visited her till he proposed to her, and that she made many difficulties at first, as she thought his family would not like it.

He has taken the name of Count Hartenau, and will live in Austria as an Austrian subject; and, as such, may very likely have more chance to get some employment in the Austrian Army than as Prince Alexander of Battenberg.

Of course his family are much grieved and distressed at this step, and we only hope he may find all he hopes for. His wife's only brother is an officer in the Austrian Army.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 28th Feb. 1889.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to mention that Mr. Labouchere asked him if a Committee had sat on the Civil List to consider what economies could be effected in the Civil List, and what would be done with any expenditure which could be saved.

Mr. Smith replied that no Committee had been appointed, but that your Majesty had referred the question of provision for the younger members of the Royal family to your Majesty's servants; and the fact that they had conferred with persons capable of giving information on the subject had probably given rise to the report.

Mr. Robertson enquired if the expenditure under the Civil List Act would be referred to the Committee of the House promised on Royal Grants; and Mr. Smith answered, "Certainly not, as the Civil List Act was a compact between the Sovereign and Parliament for the reign of your Majesty," whereupon Mr. Robertson gave notice he would move to amend Mr. Smith's motion for the Committee by including an enquiry into the Civil List.

Several questions followed with reference to the Parnell Commission, with which Mr. Smith dealt as plainly as possible.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre resumed the debate, but he said very little that had not been previously stated in the House, and then Mr. Chamberlain rose and made a very able and interesting speech. He referred to the land question as lying at the root of all the troubles of Ireland; and he appealed to Mr. Morley and Lord Spencer as authorities in saying that it *must* be disposed of altogether, before Home Rule could be granted. He said the land question *could* be settled without involving Imperial advances, as had been proposed; and, turning to Mr. Gladstone, he said he had understood Mr. Gladstone was not unfavour-

able to his proposals. But Mr. Chamberlain, referring to past events, said that Mr. Gladstone should now do as he did with regard to the Irish Church resolutions of 1868, and place his policy in a concrete form in the shape of resolutions before the House. "Settle the land question, and then some form of Home Rule, which recognised the superior authority of the Imperial Parliament and the control of the Judicature and of the police by the Imperial Government, would be practicable."

Mr. Bradlaugh answered Mr. Chamberlain in a strong personal attack upon him, and he charged the Government with participation in the conspiracy against Mr. Parnell. He was extremely violent in his language and his insinuations. Mr. Mattinson, Conservative lawyer, and Mr. Reid,¹ a Radical lawyer, the latter one of Parnell's Counsel, spoke, with other smaller men. Mr. T. W. Russell² followed at ten, and gave a narrative of events within his own knowledge, showing the connection of the Plan of Campaign with crime. He was frequently interrupted; and the Speaker was obliged to appeal to the House to avoid scenes which discredited it. Mr. Healy came next, and questioned Mr. Russell's statements with caustic ability, which amused the house, but he did not shake the most material allegations of Mr. Russell, who has recently been round to many of the estates now under the Plan of Campaign. . . .

1st March.— . . Mr. Gladstone resumed the debate, and deplored that no measures of legislative conciliation were offered. He attributed delay in mooting demands on the part of the Opposition to the self-denial of Irish Members, and to desire to assist the Government to make progress with English business!! He then turned upon Mr. Chamberlain, and poured scorn on the Liberal Unionists, who are a power in this Parliament, and keep the Government in office, and

¹ Afterwards Lord Chancellor as Lord Loreburn.

² For some time a leading Irish Unionist, who sat for an Ulster Constituency. He was also a strong temperance worker, and ultimately accepted Home Rule and rejoined the Liberal Party.

who will be nothing at all hereafter. Of Mr. Chamberlain he said his promises had gone to the place which is paved with good intentions, and, when the pavement needs repair, recourse will be had to the ample supply which Mr. Chamberlain can always afford. He denounced the treatment of prisoners under the Crimes Acts, and quoted O'Connell and others who were leniently confined in past times, and he wound up by assuring the country that the handwriting was on the wall and the hour of deliverance from the Government had struck.

Mr. Goschen replied with excellent force; he traversed facts and arguments alike, and showed that precedents of Mr. Gladstone's Government in the treatment of Davitt and Harrington were in favour of the course the Government had pursued. He said the acts of the Chief Secretary were the acts of the Government, and they identified themselves with him. He showed that legislation had been wise, and that dealing with arrears, as suggested by Mr. Gladstone, would have been mischievous; and he wound up an eloquent and forcible speech by expressing confidence in the success of the present policy and the maintenance of the Union. . . .

The division gave the Government a majority of 79, which was larger than was expected, as very many Conservative and Unionist Members are absent from England.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2nd March 1889.—Just before luncheon I received in the Corridor two Indunas (messengers) from Lobengula, King of Matabeleland, who have come over to ask our assistance against some encroachment of the Portuguese; they had told their King that there was a country called England, where there was no [King but a] Queen, so they had come to see. Lord Knutsford presented them, and Mr. Baillie-Hamilton, his private secretary, and a Mr. Coliabrander (Interpreter) accompanied them.

Life Guardsmen in full dress, with drawn swords, were drawn up in the Corridor, and I was attended by the ladies and gentlemen. Lord Knutsford read my message to the Indunas, which was interpreted to them, and then they answered. They were like ugly Zulus, and wore greatcoats of a sort of opossum fur, very thick and long. They seemed quite pleased; and, when I asked whether they minded the cold, they answered I could make the weather cold or hot!¹

[*Télégramme.*] *President Carnot to Queen Victoria.*

PARIS, *le 7 Mars* 1889.—Je prie votre Majesté, à son arrivée à Biarritz, de vouloir bien agréer, avec mes hommages respectueux, mes félicitations et mes souhaits de bienvenue. Je désire vivement que le climat du Littoral soit favorable à la santé de votre Majesté, et je me mets avec empressement à son entière disposition pour tout ce qui pourra contribuer à lui rendre le séjour de Biarritz agréable. CARNOT.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, *9th March* 1889.—. . . The telegram which Lord Salisbury forwarded to your Majesty from the German Emperor shows he has a very strong desire to be received back into your Majesty's favour. Probably his relations with Russia are less satisfactory than they were. But it is also probable that he has now thoroughly awakened from the temporary intoxication of last summer. It is your Majesty's interest to make his penitential return as easy to him as possible.

Mr. Smith seems better in health and spirits. But his nerve is not what it was. . . .

Lord Knutsford to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *6th March* 1889.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—I think it right to let you know that the commutation of the sentence of the

¹ Lord Knutsford, writing to Sir Henry Ponsonby on 5th March, said that "the two chiefs were profoundly impressed and gratified by their reception. They were much struck by the tall Life Guards."

Portuguese murderer in British Guiana¹ is creating a great noise. The Judges have protested, and the Chief Justice who tried the case says that it will now be considered that no Portuguese, however guilty, will be hung, and that this will have the worst effect. I think he exaggerates the danger, because in this case there was a unanimous recommendation to mercy, though upon what grounds I cannot conceive.

I am afraid the King of Portugal must make up his mind that the next Portuguese that commits murder in the Colony will undoubtedly be hung unless the Jury recommend him to mercy. Yours very truly, KNUTSFORD.

The Queen Regent of Spain to Queen Victoria.

MADRID, le 11 Mars 1889.

MADAME ET CHÈRE SŒUR,—C'est avec un véritable plaisir que j'ai appris l'heureuse arrivée de Votre Majesté à Biarritz, et j'aurais voulu saisir cette occasion pour offrir mes hommages à votre Majesté et pour la remercier de vive voix pour toutes les preuves d'affection que mon bien-aimé Alphonse et moi avons toujours reçues d'elle.

Cependant, malgré la proximité de Biarritz de la frontière espagnole, je dois à mon plus grand regret y renoncer : le parlement étant ouvert et les budgets en discussion, il m'est impossible de quitter l'Espagne.

Je prie votre Majesté de recevoir par l'intermédiaire du Marquis de Casa Trujo, mon Chambellan, ces lignes qui doivent lui exprimer tous mes sentiments de sincère et respectueuse amitié.

Si votre Majesté avait le projet de visiter quelque ville du nord de l'Espagne je m'empresserais de m'y rendre pour y recevoir votre Majesté et satisfaire le vif désir que j'ai de faire la connaissance de la Souveraine, qui nous sert à toutes de modèle comme Reine et comme femme.

Dans l'espoir que votre Majesté accueillera avec

¹ See above, p. 467.

sa bienveillance habituelle cette lettre, je la prie de me croire, Madame et chère sœur, de votre Majesté la dévouée sœur, MARIE CHRISTINE.

[*Draft.*] *Queen Victoria to the Queen Regent of Spain.*

PAVILLON LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, BIARRITZ, 13th March 1889.

MADAME ET CHÈRE SŒUR,—La lettre si bonne et si aimable que V. M. m'a écrite m'a été remise ce matin par le Marquis de Casa Trujo, et je m'empresse de vous en remercier de tout mon cœur. Je suis bien touchée du désir si aimable que vous exprimez de me voir, un désir bien réciproque, je vous assure, aussi de ma part. Mais je comprends parfaitement l'impossibilité dans laquelle V. M. se trouve de quitter l'Espagne en ce moment. J'éprouve en effet un vif désir de faire quelques courtes expéditions dans l'Espagne, dont la frontière est si peu éloignée de Biarritz ; et je serai charmée si cela pouvait s'arranger d'aller vous rencontrer à San Sébastien.¹ Cela conviendrait-il à V. M. d'y venir mercredi le 20 ?

Ma fille Béatrice et son mari Henri de Battenberg ainsi que votre cousine et ma nièce Frédérique d'Hanovre m'accompagneront.

J'espère que le cher petit Roi va bien et que votre chère belle-sœur Eulalie est en bonne santé.

En attendant l'heureux moment où je pourrai vous exprimer de vive voix tous mes sentiments d'affection et d'égard, je me dis de V. M. la bien dévouée sœur, V. R. I.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 14th March 1889.—. . . There is evidence of a very strong desire on the part of the Opposition to impede business and stop supplies if they can possibly do so, with the avowed intention of compelling a dissolution of Parliament.

¹ The Queen Regent in her reply expressed her delight at the prospect of welcoming Queen Victoria at San Sebastian ; but, as she had no house there, would receive her at the Villa d'Ayete, which the Duchesse de Baileu had placed at her disposal.

These views are expressed quite openly both in and out of the House of Commons.

22nd March.—. . . The great attack on your Majesty's present servants was made this evening by Sir William Harcourt on the Attorney-General for his conduct in the Parnell Commission.

Sir William began by professing personal friendship and admiration for the Attorney, but it was his "painful duty" to question his conduct in his capacity as Attorney-General and Counsel.¹ Had the Attorney the consent of the Government to appear, had he been consulted on the Bill, had he advised both the Government and *The Times*, and above all, did he know that Pigott was an untrustworthy witness and yet "vouched" for the genuineness of the famous letters? Worse than all, he uttered the miserable apology made on behalf of *The Times*, put into his mouth "by a pettifogging cozening knave."

The Attorney replied in the best speech made in the House in this Parliament. He took up one by one all Sir William's allegations, and showed that he had given to Sir Charles Russell the letter written by Pigott expressing his unwillingness to appear in the box on account of his dread of cross-examination five days before the actual examination, and having repelled with scorn all Sir William's assertions of friendly feeling towards him, he declared himself to be the "pettifogging cozening knave" who was responsible for the apology on the withdrawal of the letters.

The speech made a great sensation on both sides of the House, and while it entirely satisfied the supporters of the Government, it disconcerted the Opposition. . . .

Mr. Healy advised his friends to withdraw from the Commission and treat its verdict with indifference,

¹ At this date it was the practice of the Law Officers of the Crown to take briefs also on behalf of private clients. Since then they have been confined to Government business.

because Lord Salisbury had not admitted that all the famous letters were forgeries. The House then divided, 206 voting against the Attorney-General and 286 for him, giving him a majority of 80.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BIARRITZ, 27th March 1889.—We reached San Sebastian, the position of which is beautiful, just before one (Spanish time) and saw the Queen Regent standing on the platform, surrounded by her Court. There was of course a Guard of Honour. We got out at once, and I embraced the young Queen, kissing her on both cheeks. Then I presented Beatrice and Liko to her. She spoke German to us, with the pleasant Viennese accent. She is an Archduchess, daughter of the late Archduke Frederick and the Archduchess Elisabeth, Marie of Belgium's elder sister. Her grandfather was the celebrated Archduke Charles, whose wife was a Princess of Nassau, and she is second cousin to Helen, also second cousin to Lily, on her mother's side. The Queen has a very charming face and manner, brown eyes, a good nose, and a slight graceful figure.

We entered a carriage alone together, drawn by four horses with postillions, who wore caps and wigs very like what ours have in the Ascot livery, the horses (English, very like mine) with very handsome harness; and two footmen sat behind. We drove slowly along through the streets, which were crowded. The Governor of the place rode next to me, an enormous fat man, seventy years old, mounted on a grey typical Spanish horse, but he only rode a short way with us. There was an escort composed of cavalry, very like the Blues with us, wearing cuirasses, but with white feathers in their helmets, instead of horse-hair plumes. They looked extremely well. The black horses were Spanish, with the peculiar Roman nose one sees always depicted in the pictures of Velasquez. We drove along a wide open *place* or *boulevard*, across the bridge, through two triumphal arches, most

kindly erected in my honour, and up a long winding road to the Duchess of Baileu's villa. The noise was great, people calling out "Viva la Reina," bands playing, and incessant firing off of squibs, rockets, etc., quite close to the horses, who were wonderfully quiet. It seems this is a peculiar Spanish custom.

Half an hour brought us to the charmingly situated villa, in which the Queen spent some time last year. It stands in a beautiful small park. The pillars on the outside of the house, which is not large, were entwined with green leaves and flowers. The Villa Ayete is comfortably and nicely arranged, with English comforts. The Queen kindly took us upstairs to her room, where I tidied myself up and put on my cap. The Queen showed us about everywhere herself, in the simplest and most unaffected manner. Went downstairs again, where, in a billiard-room near the drawing-room, she presented some more people and I presented my suite. Then we went to luncheon, taking it alone with the Queen. The Queen was quite delightful, talking so pleasantly about everything. A military band played outside during luncheon. Afterwards went upstairs again to put on our things and left, driving the same way as before.

The road was lined for a short way by the National Guard of Guipuzcoa, called Michelistes, who wore red tunics and trousers and the red *boina* on their heads. They distinguished themselves so much in the war that they always form the Sovereign's guard at San Sebastian, and did so to-day at Ayete. Various troops lined the whole route, which, descending the hill, passed first through the new part of the town and the Alameda, crossing the river into the narrow and very picturesque streets of the old town. At the end of a narrow street, which led up to the Square, was a fine old church. This Square or Plaza was most striking, and the effect beautiful. On one side was the Hôtel de l'Ayuntamiento, where we got out, and the other three sides were composed

of houses with arcades below and many balconies, all being crammed full of people, and being hung with draperies, while on coloured cloths, some red, some white, were repeated in large letters the word "Welcome." The blue sky appearing above all the great noise, cheering, and clapping of hands, made a wonderful effect. We went upstairs, the stairs being lined with flowers, the Queen leading me and the Authorities preceding us. A choir in the hall sang *God Save the Queen* in Basque. Here we were received by the Municipality, who were presented, and gave me an album with photographs. We then went on a balcony and sat there with the Queen, the principal gentlemen standing behind us, and witnessed a Basque dance. It was very like what we had seen the other day at Biarritz, and the same quaint music. The men were dressed in white, and first danced singly and then in couples. We got up afterwards for a moment, and some tea was handed round, but it was quite undrinkable, and I only touched it.

We then left, the Queen asking Liko to lead me downstairs. Drove again down the same way to the station, where the Queen most kindly expressed the wish to accompany us as far as the frontier at Irun. She was most charming, full of thanks for my visit, and of hopes of visiting me in England with her children. A little over half an hour brought us to Irun, and here we all got out, and had to take leave of the dear charming Queen Christine, whom I hope we shall see again, which feeling is very reciprocal on her part. She is deservedly very popular, and does her duty so admirably and has won the esteem and respect of all in Spain, though a foreigner. She remained standing on the platform till our train steamed out.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 29th March 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that he has had two conversations

with Count Herbert Bismarck in addition to that which he had a week ago, and that the result of them is satisfactory, though it does not add much to our previous knowledge. He dwells much on the position of Italy, on her fear of French attacks upon her coast, and upon the danger lest she should, if conquered, become a mere vassal of France. For this reason he attaches great value to the position of Crispi, who is the only man strong enough to keep Italy in the right way, and baffle the Republicans, who look upon France as their natural friend; and for the same reason he is very anxious, he admits, that England and Germany should appear friendly before the world, as Italy would derive courage from that belief. But he is anxious on the subject on account of the extreme financial difficulty and suffering she is going through. He spoke, avowedly on this ground, very fairly with respect to Samoa and Zanzibar, and professed the strongest intention of working entirely with England in these matters. He assented to the proposal for a Slave Trade Conference, which had been mooted in the House of Commons.

With the same object in view he expressed the greatest anxiety that the Emperor's visit should take place. He said that the very end of July would suit the Emperor best; and Lord Salisbury said that he understood that was also your Majesty's wish. He further said that the Emperor's hope was that your Majesty would receive him (the Emperor) for two or three days at Osborne, quite quietly, and, descending to particulars, said the Emperor was hoping your Majesty would not have a ball. The Emperor proposed to spend two or three days more in visiting ports, arsenals, and other matters of military interest. In all that he said on these points he spoke *très convenablement*. He dwelt much on the Emperor's great affection and veneration for your Majesty, and repeated many expressions to that effect; and he spoke of the late Emperor's death as "an appalling calamity." With respect to H.R.H.

he betrayed some soreness, and was evidently disappointed that his visit to England had not produced some sign of favour or relenting on the part of his Royal Highness. . . .

Count Herbert said that it was a great object with Germany that war, if it was to come, should not come for eighteen months, as their rifles would not be ready till then.

Lord Salisbury respectfully congratulates your Majesty on the great success of your Majesty's Spanish visit, which appears to have given great pleasure to the Spanish Government. . . .

Sir Edward Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.] *Private.*

BERLIN, 30th March 1889.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—Our dinner to the Emperor went off exceedingly well. His Majesty was more than in a good humour; he seemed to be quite light-hearted, and to enjoy the dinner and all the company invited to meet him. He talked to me after it was over until the time came for him to go away. He spoke with the greatest respect of the Queen, and of her Majesty's kindness in inviting him. In speaking of the Empress Frederick he made a somewhat curious remark; he said: "My mother and I have the same characters. I have inherited hers. That good stubborn English blood which will not give way is in both our veins. The consequence is that, if we do not happen to agree, the situation becomes difficult"; but he spoke without the slightest bitterness or sign of want of affection.

The Empress has greatly improved in appearance since her accession, much smarter in her toilet, and looks now well fitted for her high position. . . .

Believe me, etc., EDWARD B. MALET.

The Earl of Lytton to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Private.

PARIS, 31st March 1889.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—Immediately on my return to Paris I requested an Audience of the

President, which he fixed for yesterday afternoon. I then told him that I was charged by the Queen to express to him personally and *de vive voix* her Majesty's thanks for all the arrangements made by the French Government in connection with her Majesty's visit to Biarritz and her complete satisfaction with them. I added that, on the termination of the Queen's visit, I should, no doubt, receive the instructions of her Majesty's Government to convey to that of the Republic an official expression of her Majesty's appreciation of these arrangements, and the manner in which they had been carried out by all the authorities concerned; but that it was in accordance with the Queen's commands I had lost no time in delivering to him this personal message from her Majesty.

After saying that he and his Government desired to do all in their power to show respect to the Queen during her Majesty's stay in France, and that they hoped she would retain a pleasant recollection of it, the President enquired what date is fixed for her Majesty's departure, and what will be her homeward route.

I said I believed it to be her Majesty's intention to leave Biarritz next Tuesday, the 2nd April, returning to England, as she came, by Cherbourg. But, as later in the course of my interview with him he again asked with some emphasis whether the Queen's return via Cherbourg was quite decided on, and whether there was to be no change in the arrangement about her Majesty's journey, more especially with reference to her incognito, I thought it best to let you know of this enquiry by telegraph. On my leaving the President, his A.D.C., General Brougère, pointedly enquired whether the Queen intends to maintain her incognito all the time she is in France, and added (alluding to the meeting at San Sebastian) that the President would have gone to Biarritz or any other place on French territory to meet her Majesty, if he had not been given to understand that she desired to preserve the strictest incognito during the whole of her visit. I replied that the Queen was

fully sensible of the consideration with which her Majesty's wishes in this particular had been respected, and that I believed that what had most pleased her Majesty with her stay at Biarritz was the privacy and quiet she was able to enjoy there.

I mention this as an illustration of a fact which impresses me, that, in proportion as the present régime here feels its position to be insecure, its susceptibilities and pretensions increase in all directions. I noticed another indication of this state of mind in the President asking me if the Prince of Wales had not accepted the Presidency of the English section of the French Exhibition, and his assumed surprise when I said "No," although he must have known quite well (for I had repeatedly explained it to his Ministers) that his Royal Highness had not taken, and could not take, any official part in the celebration of the centenary of the French Revolution. I found all the folks at the Elysée in a very nervous condition, as well they might be. For, just before my interview with the President, the Council which had decided on evicting Boulanger the next day, had been informed by the Procureur-Général, on whose support it relied as a matter of course, that he declined to associate himself with a prosecution for which he, as a Magistrate, could recognise no legal ground. The Procureur has been dismissed; and, when the Ministers have found a more pliant substitute, they will no doubt arrest the General, probably in the course of next week. The situation here grows more critical and more chaotic daily. But I think we are quite safe from any chance of fighting in the streets, as the mob is unarmed. . . .

Believe me, Very faithfully yours, LYTTON.

*The Prince of Wales to Prince Christian of
Schleswig-Holstein.*

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 3rd April 1889.

MY DEAR CHRISTIAN,—As I understand that our nephew William will in all probability be coming

over to England this summer, and as you are about to go to Berlin and are likely to see him, it may be well to write a few lines to explain to you the position in which I stand towards him.¹ When I was last in Berlin in June to attend the funeral of dear excellent Fritz I had occasion to see William frequently, and nothing could have been nicer than his manner towards me; in fact, I have never had reason to complain of it, and we parted the very best of friends.

I told him some English officers were anxious to come over to Berlin and Potsdam to see the summer drills, to which he gladly assented; and in July I telegraphed to William whether Colonels O. Montagu and A. Prinsep as well as Eddy Gleichen might come over, to which he at once answered in the affirmative.

Nothing could have been kinder than the way in which he and the German officers treated our officers, and on the 2nd or 3rd of September I wrote to William from Homburg to thank him for his kindness and hospitality towards the English officers, and hoped similar visits might take place on future occasions. I also told him I was going to Vienna, and had heard that he was likewise going there, and I hoped he would let me know the date of his arrival, as I would make a point of meeting him. To this I never received an answer or acknowledgment! and to my surprise, on reaching Vienna heard that Prince Reuss the German Ambassador had informed our Ambassador, Sir A. Paget, that William would rather not meet me there, in fact, that he preferred "my room to my company!" This was confirmed by what the Crown Prince Rudolph and Kalnoky told me. You can imagine my astonishment! Shortly afterwards I dictated to General Ellis a letter he wrote to Colonel Swaine, and begged the latter to show or read the letter to William, as I knew that William liked Swaine very much and looked on him as a personal friend. As Swaine had no opportunity of giving the letter he sent it, but William never vouchsafed a

¹ See above, pp. 438-441.

reply or took the slightest notice of the communication !

All this I thought very strange, and heard subsequently that William was annoyed at receiving a communication through our Military Attaché ! and also that the reason he objected to meet me was because I had told others that I considered Alsace and Lorraine should be returned to France ! Whoever invented such a stupid story I do not know ; but it is a positive *lie* ! I did ask Count H. Bismarck whether it was true that Fritz would have wished to give back, if possible, those Provinces ; but he said there was no foundation for such a rumour, and there the matter ended. If William did believe the story, why did he not write and ask me ? Why did he not answer my letter from Homburg ? and, if he preferred not meeting me at Vienna, why not send me a few lines himself to say so, instead of empowering his Ambassador with such a message ?

It takes two to make a quarrel ! and as I never had one with William in my life, I think I have reason to complain of the treatment which I received, which created a scandal at Vienna, when I was a guest of the Emperor of Austria, and everybody imagined I was on bad terms with William which, as far as I was concerned, was not the case. I do hope that before William comes over to England he will write me a few lines to express his regret at what I hope still may have been a misunderstanding, but if he does not, I shall be obliged to absent myself during his visit, which it is needless to say would have a most deplorable effect. I have always been on terms of the greatest friendship and intimacy with every member of his family, and many of them before he was born ! but the close relationship between him and me would render an estrangement between us a matter of serious importance !

You are at perfect liberty to show this letter to William if you like. Believe me, Your affectionate brother-in-law, ALBERT EDWARD.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th April 1889.—Saw Lord Salisbury after tea. We talked a good deal about my visit to France and Spain; about the elections, which were troublesome and difficult; of Mr. Smith's being unable to go on as Leader, on account of his health, and Lord Salisbury proposed that he should go to the House of Lords and become First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Goschen then to become Leader, and Lord George Hamilton Chancellor of the Exchequer. Talked of Ireland, and of the difficulty of finding a Lord-Lieutenant, as Lord Londonderry wants to resign. Talked of Samoa and Zanzibar, which are both very troublesome.

6th April.—While I was resting, Beatrice came in and said there was sad news about dear Aunt Cambridge.¹ She had passed peacefully away at half-past twelve. Very sad, though not for her. But she is the last of her generation, and I have no longer anyone above me.

Count Hartenau to Queen Victoria.[*Translation.*]

MAILAND, 6th April 1889.

YOUR MAJESTY, MOST GRACIOUS AUNT,—In deep, inexpressible gratitude I beg you, most Gracious Aunt, to allow me to thank you with my whole heart for thinking of me on 5th April,² in spite of the occurrences of the last months. I cannot find words to tell you how profoundly unhappy I was at the thought of having lost your Majesty's favour for ever, and how happy I am now to know that in your magnanimity you have pardoned the brother of your son-in-law.

The thought of having ruined Liko's position pursued me constantly, and it was consideration for your daughter that made me give up my name.

Most Gracious Aunt! you were always so good to me and the most beautiful memories of my life

¹ Mother of the Duke of Cambridge and the Duchess of Teck.

² His birthday. See above, pp. 469–470, and 473.

are of your graciousness and kindness ; I am therefore doubly, trebly glad that, thanks to your generosity, I can now rejoice in them without appearing painfully ungrateful.

Far away, remote from the busy doings of men, I hope to be able to enjoy, with my beloved wife, a restful, calm happiness ; my happiness will be untroubled, now that I know you think of me with gracious favour.

I thank you from the depths of my soul for pardoning me. You cannot conceive what month-long battles I fought with myself before I made up my mind to renounce a position which had become the source of innumerable sufferings to me. My wedding was a burial, a funeral feast, not a festivity.

Though it will probably never again be granted to me to kiss your hand, yet I shall never cease to think daily of your Majesty with infinite gratitude and unlimited admiration, and to beseech Heaven to take you, the noblest, most magnanimous woman in this world, under its especial protection.

It was a deep personal pleasure to me that Liko sent me his good wishes for yesterday. I well know to what a hard test, even if unintentionally, I put his affection. I kiss your hand, most Gracious Aunt, and remain, Your Majesty's deeply grateful SANDRO HARTENAU.

*Prince Christian to the Prince of Wales.*¹

[*Telegram.*] *Secret.*

BERLIN, 8th April 1889.—The Emperor is disinclined to take the initiative in writing. The following is dictated by His Majesty :

“The assertion that the Emperor did not wish to see the Prince of Wales at Vienna is an invention.

“Proposal. To enquire of Sir Augustus Paget where he got this news. The Emperor to ask Count Kalnoky through Prince Reuss where he got the message from.”

¹ Sent through the British Embassy at Berlin and the Foreign Office.

Sir Edward Malet fears that the "proposal" will only stir up more trouble. The Emperor is anxious that the matter should be amicably settled.

Would it be possible for you to express in a telegram to the Emperor, sent in cypher through me, your satisfaction at the first paragraph dictated, and say that in consequence you consider the incident at an end? This would doubtless elicit a friendly reply couched in the same spirit. Seeing the many difficulties which surround the case, Sir Edward Malet thinks that this might be a way out of them.

The Prince of Wales to Prince Christian.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 10th April 1889.

MY DEAR CHRISTIAN,—I confess that the telegram which I received from you has caused me some surprise, as William not wishing to see me at Vienna was the real point at issue concerning our differences. As he assures you that the assertion of his not wishing to see me is an invention, I readily accept his word for it, but the only conclusion at which I can arrive is that Prince Reuss must have exceeded or misunderstood the instructions he received from the Foreign Office, because that the message came from him (Prince Reuss) to Sir A. Paget and Count Kalnoky admits of no doubt.

You say that William is anxious the matter should be amicably settled, and I can assure you that is likewise my earnest wish.

Would not the easiest course be for him to write me a few lines saying he regretted that I was under the impression that he was averse to seeing me at Vienna, and that on his arrival in England I should find that he was on the same friendly terms as heretofore? I do not think that this is too much to ask William to do, and if he assents to my suggestion, it will for ever dispel from my mind the impression that he had any intention to treat me in an unfriendly manner. Hoping that he will find no difficulty in assenting to what I cannot help thinking is a very

reasonable request, Believe me, Your affectionate brother-in-law, ALBERT EDWARD.

Please send or show this letter to William. A. E.¹

Queen Victoria to Jane Marchioness of Ely.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th April 1889.

DEAREST JANIE,—I received your dear letter of the 14th on Monday, and thank you very much for it.²

I cannot say *how* I grieve for you and how I wish

¹ This letter was not shown to the Emperor for reasons explained in a Memorandum which Prince Christian drew up, describing the tactful manner in which he had discharged the disagreeable mission entrusted to him. It had crossed a second telegraphic message from Prince Christian, and he felt he required a reply to this message first.

The reply was only received after he had taken leave of the Emperor on the 13th April. The Memorandum proceeds :

“On the occasion of this interview I made another attempt to induce the Kaiser to send a friendly message to the Prince of Wales, but he replied that he could not do anything more, and that as he had never uttered the alleged wish he could not express regret for something that he had never said, but that he too was most anxious that there should be a mutual understanding, and that he looked forward to seeing the Prince of Wales in England. And with that he evidently considered the incident closed. As I had no further opportunity of delivering the letter to the Kaiser in person I did not consider myself entitled to send it to him without having first sent in a detailed report. I cannot refrain from emphasising many of the difficulties which compelled me to act with great caution in this naturally delicate matter.

“The Kaiser is as yet too new to his position to feel quite sure of himself and of his ability to do the right thing. He is therefore constantly afraid of compromising his dignity, and he is particularly sensitive lest his older relatives should treat him as the ‘Nephew’ and not as the ‘Kaiser.’

“Under these circumstances I am convinced that even if I had delivered the Prince of Wales’s letter the Kaiser would not have responded to it in its existing form. A second refusal, and one in writing, would probably have accentuated the difficulties of the situation and caused an irreparable rift. On the other hand, I have established that the Kaiser did not give vent to the alleged utterance, and did not intend to offend the Prince of Wales, and that he hopes by means of personal contact with him to restore the former friendly relations.

“How and by whom the Vienna misunderstanding has been occasioned I have been unable to ascertain. I have no means of solving this riddle, and to effect this, recourse would have to be had to diplomatic action, the bearing of which I cannot estimate, and which might have the greatest and most serious consequences.”

² The 4th Marquis of Ely, Lady Ely’s only son, died on 3rd April, at the age of forty ; and, feeling that “this last blow had quite crushed” her, she had written to resign her place as Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen.

I could give you any comfort, but alas ! one can do so little in sorrow like yours ! God alone can help ! I quite understand that your son's wishes as to cremation had to be carried out, and I know there are many people who like the idea.

It is *very* painful for me to have to accept your resignation as Lady-in-Waiting, but I also understand your feeling unequal to it. At the same time I rejoice to think that you will continue to come and help me as my dear friend, which is such a comfort to me.

The service on Saturday at Kew was very touching and impressive. . . .

Hoping that perhaps when I am in town at the beginning of next month I may see you if you feel equal to it, Believe me, Always yours most affectionately V. R. I.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th April 1889.—Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to thank your Majesty for allowing him to read these very interesting papers¹ which rather aggravate than modify the situation. For though the Emperor denies having objected to the Prince of Wales being at Vienna, he will neither say nor write anything to remove the misunderstanding.

There is evidently some mystery attached to the whole proceedings, and he thinks your Majesty's supposition that the Bismarcks are at the bottom of it must be correct. They probably originated the whole difficulty at Vienna and, when they had found matters had gone too far and that it was necessary to have a reconciliation before the Emperor came to England, Count Herbert was sent.²

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Cypher Telegram.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21st April 1889.—What answer do you intend giving to Lord Lytton's private letter

¹ About Prince Christian's mission.

² See above—Lord Salisbury's letter of 29th March to the Queen.

of the 11th about the opening of the Exhibition ?¹ He of course must not attend, nor any of the Embassy, and they [had] all best keep out of the way. Much the best would be to advise the French Government to invite none of the Corps Diplomatique.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 22nd April 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's telegram and encloses two private telegrams received yesterday from Lord Lytton on the same subject.

The state of the case is now a good deal altered. The German and Italian Governments have resolved to allow their Chargés d'Affaires to attend the opening of the Exhibition ; and it is probable that Russia and possibly Austria will in some form or other attend also. The entire absence of your Majesty's Embassy would have a look of unfriendliness. The fact that representatives of Germany and Russia attend would prevent attendance from showing any sympathy with the revolutionary principle ; for it is impossible to be more monarchical than those two Powers. Our non-attendance would, therefore, be set down wholly to some quarrel with France ; and, just at the time of General Boulanger's coming here, it might be awkward. Lord Salisbury does not draw any strong distinction between attendance by an Ambassador and attendance by a Chargé d'Affaires ; but perhaps, if Austria does not attend at all, Mr. Egerton might attend for Great Britain. But, perhaps, it would be better to leave that point to Lord Lytton's judgment.²

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

SANDRINGHAM, 23rd April 1889.—At two left Windsor, with Louise, the Duchess of Roxburghe, Sir H.

¹ The Paris Exhibition to celebrate the Centenary of the French Revolution. See Introductory Note to this chapter.

² Lord Salisbury telegraphed in cypher to Sir Henry Ponsonby on 27th April that Lord Lytton would take leave of absence before the opening of the Exhibition.

Ponsonby, Sir H. Ewart, and Dr. Reid. So grieved to leave dear Beatrice behind, but it would have been too tiring for her. Went round London and stopped nowhere, excepting at Lynn, passing Cambridge and Ely, the Cathedral of which is so fine. Soon after it began to pour violently, like a thunder-shower. At Lynn, Bertie and Eddy came in, and the Mayor handed an Address and his daughter a bouquet. A few minutes brought us to Wolferton station. Here there were great crowds. Alix, the dear girls, Lady Moreton, Charlotte Knollys, and Sir D. Probyn met us. The station was very prettily decorated, and just beyond it there was a triumphal arch. The sun came out, and all looked very bright. I got into Bertie's large landau, open, with four horses and postillions, and dear Alix insisted on sitting backwards with Louise, in order that I might be better seen. Bertie and Eddy rode on either side, Sir D. Probyn in front, preceded by the Hunt, sixty in number, forty of whom were in their red coats. The road was lined with people, and numbers drove and rode. Great enthusiasm. We passed two more arches, and from the last, almost to the gates, there were Venetian masts. It was a very pretty sight. All Bertie's neighbours came out.

Everything came back to my mind, as we drove in at the gates and I again saw the house and stepped out and entered the hall. All was the same as at that terrible time,¹ and yet all is so different! A happy contrast. Bertie asked me to stand at the door to see the gentlemen of the Hunt, who had escorted me, pass by. There was a Guard of Honour of the Norfolk Artillery with their band, who afterwards marched past. Bertie and Alix then took me upstairs to the well-known old rooms, which have been freshly done up. I had some tea in my room and rested. We dined at quarter to nine,

¹ For the Queen's three visits to Sandringham in November and December, 1871, when the Prince was dangerously ill of typhoid fever, see Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 171-181, 185.

Bertie leading me in, and Eddy sitting on my other side.

26th April.—We went down into the Ballroom, which was converted into a theatre, after talking till ten. There were nearly 300 people in the room, including all the neighbours, tenants, and servants. We sat in the front row, I between Bertie and Alix. The stage was beautifully arranged and with great scenic effects, and the pieces were splendidly mounted and with numbers of people taking part. I believe there were between sixty and seventy, as well as the orchestra. The piece, *The Bells*, is a melodrama, translated from the French *Le Juif Polonais* by Erckmann-Chatrian, and is very thrilling. The hero (Irving), though a mannerist of the Macready type, acted wonderfully. He is a murderer, and frequently imagines he hears the bells of the horses in the sledge, in which sat the Polish Jew, whom he murdered. The way in which Irving acted his own dream, and describes the way in which he carried out the murder, is wonderful and ghastly, as well as the scene of his death. He had carried his secret about with him for thirteen years! *The Bells* was followed by the trial scene from *The Merchant of Venice*, in which Irving played the part of Shylock extremely well, and Miss Ellen Terry that of Portia beautifully. I often saw her sister Kate formerly, and as a child in the part of Prince Arthur at Windsor. It was a most successful performance. I waited a moment in the Drawing-room to speak to Irving and Ellen Terry. He is very gentleman-like, and she, very pleasing and handsome. It was one when I got upstairs.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th April.—We left Sandringham at half-past ten, having spent a very pleasant time under dear Bertie and Alix's hospitable roof, and I was greatly touched by all their kindness and affection. The weather was very favourable. They and their children accompanied us to Wolferton station, and here they took a most affectionate leave of us. Reached Windsor at 2.25.

30th April.—Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain¹ (she is an American), the Ponsonbys, Caringtons, Lady Waterpark, Lord Bridport, and Sir H. Ewart dined. Mrs. Chamberlain is very pretty and young-looking, and is very lady-like, with a nice, frank, open manner.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 2nd May.—Immediately on reaching the Palace drove to Clarence House, where Marie received me, taking me into the sitting-room downstairs to see Affie. He was looking very ill and very thin, and seemed very feeble and his voice very weak. Saw all the dear children, who are immensely grown. Ducky² is nearly as tall as her mother, and such a handsome girl. Louise and Lorne came to luncheon.

Saw poor dear Janie Ely, who was much upset in talking of her loss. I thought her not really worse than before, but very low and broken, poor dear. She loved this only son so much, and quite sacrificed her health for him.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 5th May 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's letter. In reply he humbly submits that the general opinion, as far as he has heard it, is that Mr. Parnell is *very* seriously [damaged] by his cynical admission in the witness-box³ that he deliberately made a certain statement for the purpose of deceiving the House of Commons. The opinion on this point agrees very generally.

¹ Now Mrs. Carnegie.

² Princess Victoria Melita, m. 1st, Grand Duke Ernest Louis of Hesse, 2nd, Grand Duke Cyril of Russia.

³ Before the Parnell Commission. On 27th Jan. 1881 Mr. Parnell stated in the House of Commons that secret conspiracies had then ceased to exist in Ireland. When these words were put to him in the witness-box, he could not say without reading the context, what his view was in urging that argument, "but it is possible I was endeavouring to mislead the House on the occasion." Q. "Do you mean, sir, it is possible you were endeavouring to mislead the House of Commons on that occasion?" A. "In order to cut the ground from under the argument of the Government in support of the [Coercion] Bill."

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Prince Christian.

[*Extract.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12th May 1889.

SIR,—. . . About two months ago Lord Salisbury asked if her Majesty would receive the Emperor if he came, as he had expressed a wish to do so ; and after some *pourparlers* the Queen gave a modified assent which was, I imagine, telegraphed in warm terms to Berlin and heartily accepted.

The Queen never said anything that could warrant Count Bismarck in saying that she was satisfied.¹ She never has been satisfied, but on the contrary has been extremely dissatisfied throughout. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21st May 1889.—The little boy² is a particularly pretty child, large, fat, and with darkish hair. He weighed 8 lb., which is more than Ena did. After luncheon, went over again to Beatrice. The children are not at all pleased with their little brother, saying, "Won't kiss that."

24th May.—My seventieth birthday. Beatrice sent in the dear little children to wish me joy the first thing in the morning, and they sat on my bed, and were very good, Drino, with a nosegay, saying over and over again, "Many happy returns, Gangan." Then I got up and dressed, and went over to Beatrice, who was looking so well, and who also gave me flowers. How far away did this birthday seem from those bright happy ones from '40 to '61 ! Went into the Audience Room with all the others, and here the table with my presents was arranged. I received many lovely things, and endless bouquets and bunches of lilies of the valley. After eleven, we went out into the Quadrangle and sat under a canopy, facing the grand entrance, for the Trooping of the Colour, a very old ceremony. It was a beautiful sight, and one I believe I had never seen before. Resting, and writing

¹ About the Emperor's treatment of the Prince of Wales.

² The new-born son of Princess Beatrice.

telegrams of thanks, which poured in, in quantities, as well as heaps of letters. I had not time to *read* them even. Bertie, Alix, and their five children came to luncheon. We were quite a big party.

[*Copy.*] *Sir Henry Ponsonby to (?) Prince Christian.*¹

25th May 1889.—The Queen has written a civil letter to the Emperor William, entirely accepting his disclaimer of having had anything to do with the Vienna incident, and asking him if he could enquire how the mistake occurred.

She says to the Emperor she will tell the Prince of Wales of the denial. H.R.H. agrees to this letter, so I hope there is now every prospect of a satisfactory conclusion. HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 25th May 1889.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty and he ventures respectfully to submit for your Majesty's consideration whether or no the roadway of Constitution Hill shall be opened to the public at large for light traffic under the conditions which regulate the passage of vehicles from Marlborough Gate and St. James's Palace to Buckingham Gate, passing in front of Buckingham Palace.

It would of course be necessary to accompany such a gracious permission by a condition that, whenever on any occasion of State ceremony or for any other reason your Majesty might see fit to direct that the road should be closed to the public, full and absolute right should be retained to do so.

If your Majesty assents to the course suggested by your Majesty's servants, it will become necessary to ask Parliament for a vote to provide the charge for opening a short additional roadway and gates on both sides of the arch at the top of Constitution Hill, the arch being closed to the public, and reserved exclusively for the use of your Majesty.

¹ The copy does not state to whom the letter was addressed.

[Draft.] *Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Smith.*

31st May.—The Queen approves of the proposals contained in your letter. But adds that C[onstitution] Hill should always be closed while she is in London.

Private. Sir Henry Ponsonby to (?) Prince Christian.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st June 1889.—Your Royal Highness may perhaps have heard that the answer makes matters worse than ever. It accuses the Prince of Wales in a sort of way of inventing the Vienna story! H. P.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, 8th June.—Lord Salisbury thinks the introduction of Reuss' name most undesirable, and protests against it. I have sent his letter to the Queen, and a copy to Sir F. Knollys for the Prince of Wales.

Unless the Queen throws over Lord Salisbury she cannot now refer to Prince Reuss. I think Hatzfeldt was strong against her writing again to the Emperor; and what he wants is that she should speak to him on the subject when he comes here. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Royal Highness' obedient humble servant, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Sir Francis Knollys to Prince Christian.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL, S.W., 8th June 1889.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose your Royal Highness a letter which I received from Ponsonby this morning.

The Prince of Wales is sacrificed by Lord Salisbury to political expediency, and no one who has the power has the nerve to insist on proper reparation being granted to him. I wish with all my heart that your recommendation from Berlin had been accepted. I feel very unhappy about the miserable termination of this affair.

Perhaps your Royal Highness will allow me to take this opportunity of saying how invaluable you have been while it lasted. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Royal Highness' very faithful and obedient servant, FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

With the Prince's sanction I do not propose to answer Ponsonby's letter.

[*Telegram.*] *The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.*

BERLIN SCHLOSS, 11th June 1889.—I have given Alfred¹ the decoration of the Red Eagle 1st class, as token of my sympathy and friendship to Uncle Affie and your House. WILLIAM I.R.

[*Telegram.*] *Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.*

BALMORAL, 11th June 1889.—Many thanks for your very kind telegram and for your kindness in giving dear little Alfred the Red Eagle 1st class, which is the first Order he receives. V. R. I.

The Duke of Connaught to Queen Victoria.

[*Copy.*]

MAHABLESHWAR, 20th May 1889.

DEAREST MAMA,—. . . In your last letter you mentioned Sir John McNeill's views on Indian affairs at the present moment.

One of the greatest and unfortunately increasing difficulties in Indian administration is the manner in which irresponsible people write in and to the papers on important Indian questions which they have never taken the trouble to understand, and then get Members of Parliament to ask questions on the strength of what appeared in the papers. If this kind of thing is going to be submitted to by the Government of the day and the Secretary of State it will largely increase the difficulties of governing this country, and will lower the position of all English authorities.

I see a tendency growing up to bring forward Indian questions for party purposes at home, and I fear this may some day lead to serious trouble in India. I know my views are not singular, but are shared by many of the wisest and most able officials

¹ The Duke of Edinburgh's only son, who died in 1899, aged twenty-five.

serving in this country, but I very much fear that this is hardly recognised at home. The best man to be found ought only to be selected for Viceroy of India, and he ought to be *trusted* and *supported* by the Secretary and his Council at home, and nothing should be done to hamper or lower his position.

I know the great interest you take in your Indian Empire, and I feel therefore that you will not mind my expressing myself clearly and strongly on a point which I from experience consider of vital importance to the well-being and stability of this complex Empire. . . .

I remain, ever dearest Mama, Your most affectionate son, ARTHUR.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 13th June 1889.—Am rather troubled with pain in my leg and am very stiff, so that I have difficulty in getting up- and downstairs.

14th June.—Sad, sad remembrance of last year. Darling Fritz's last day on earth. A good night, but the pain came on again, and I had to be rolled into the breakfast-room. The morning being very damp, did not go out, and rested on the sofa. Took a little drive in the afternoon.

Sir Edward Malet to Queen Victoria.

BRITISH EMBASSY, BERLIN, 15th June 1889.—Sir Edward Malet presents his humble duty to your Majesty and has the honour to inform your Majesty that he went to the Friedenskirche this morning shortly before the memorial service took place and deposited the wreaths according to your Majesty's gracious instructions. The metal wreath of laurels was encircled in another of white immortelles; the two fastened by a white silk sash with gold fringe and the words desired by your Majesty printed upon the sash in gold letters. At the foot of the coffin lay the two wreaths of the Emperor and Empress, on the right that of the Empress Augusta, and your

Majesty's was on the left. . . . I remained for the service, which was attended by the Emperor and Empress. . . .

Sir Edward Malet wrote to the Emperor yesterday to inform his Majesty that your Majesty would accept the regiment,¹ and would confer upon his Majesty the rank of a British Admiral, and Sir Edward ventures to enclose a copy of a letter which his Majesty wrote on receiving the news.

ENCLOSURE

The German Emperor to Sir Edward Malet.

[Copy.]

14th June 1889.

DEAR SIR EDWARD,—You cannot imagine with what joy I read the welcome news, which you so kindly sent me this evening. I shall immediately set to work in order to select a regiment fit for the great honour of having her Majesty as Honorary Colonel.

But the last sentence of your letter fairly overwhelmed me! What a surprise and an agreeable one too! I am indeed deeply grateful for the intention of her Majesty to make me a British Admiral! Fancy wearing the same uniform as St. Vincent and Nelson; it is enough to make one quite giddy. I feel something like Macbeth must have felt when he was suddenly received by the witches with the cry of "All hail, who art Thane of Glamis and of Cawdor too." I shall of course gladly accept the kindness her Majesty so graciously has proffered with all my heart. Of course I shall not breathe a word to anybody.

With best thanks, dear Sir Edward, believe me,
Ever yours gratefully, WILLIAM I.R.

P.S.—I beg to be allowed to remark that I do not look upon you as a witch, but more as a good fairy.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 15th June 1889.—This terrible day, which brought such agony and misery to my poor darling Vicky, and such loss to the whole world at

¹ The Emperor had offered the Queen the Honorary Colonelcy of the 1st Regiment of his Dragoon Guards.

large, not to speak of dear Fritz's own country. I saw young Vicky in my room before breakfast and she was calm. At eleven there was a short service in the Dining-room which Vicky particularly asked to have, and Mr. Campbell performed it. Everyone was there. Still in pain, and have to be carried up and downstairs, which is too tiresome. Only the ladies to dinner.

16th June.—Had a good night, and was able to walk alone with a stick from room to room. Service at eleven in the Dining-room, as I was not able to get down to the Chapel.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 23rd June 1889.

DEAREST GRANDMAMA,—Through the medium of my Ambassador in London, Count Hatzfeldt, I have received the intimation that the Houses of the British Parliament have resolved to assist at the Naval Review, and that it is your wish to have us a day earlier accordingly. I am very much gratified by this mark of kindness shown to us by the representatives of the whole British nation; which shows the world that the country fully concur and sympathise with their illustrious sovereign in tightening the bonds of friendship between our two families and countries. Accordingly, gratefully complying to your wish, I shall arrive on the afternoon of the 2nd. At the same time I am happy to see that you regard the Vienna affair as concluded, in which I heartily concur; and I shall be happy to meet Uncle Bertie in Osborne. . . .

Hoping that Balmoral has done you good, and full of joy of soon meeting you at dear old Osborne, I kiss your hands, and remain, Ever your most affectionate and devoted Grandson, WILLIAM I.R.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th June 1889.—Bertie, Alix, and the girls came to luncheon, but they asked

specially to speak to me before and I was still on the sofa. He said he had something very important to communicate, viz. to ask my consent to his Louise's marriage with Lord Fife! I was much pleased, and readily gave my consent, and kissed her and wished her all possible happiness. They seem all so pleased, as it was the *one* wish of Louise herself, and he also had long cared for her. We were a large party at luncheon. Bertie telegraphed to "Macduff," as Fife is always called by his friends and by Bertie and little Louise. Just before dinner, Bertie brought Lord Fife into the Audience Room, that I might wish him joy, and he thanked me for giving my consent. He was very nervous when he kissed my hand, but seemed very pleased.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Earl of Fife.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th June 1889.—I have received the announcement of your intended engagement to my dear granddaughter, Louise of Wales, with the greatest pleasure, and I most readily and gladly give my consent to it.

I love my dear granddaughters dearly and they are like my own children; their happiness is very near my heart. Dear Louise will, I am sure, be happy with you, whom I have known and liked from your childhood. That my beloved grandchild should have her home in dear Scotland and in the dear Highlands is an additional satisfaction to me!

As I hope to see you to-night, I will say no more, but that I remain, my dear Fife, your very affectionate future Grandmama, VICTORIA R.I.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Lansdowne.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th June 1889.—The Queen thanks the Viceroy for his kind and interesting letter of the 24th May, which she received on the 23rd inst.

She is sorry to hear of the fear of scarcity in part of Bengal, but trusts that this may be met by the means which the Indian Government possess. Lord

Cross has laid before the Queen the Viceroy's proposal for the arrangement of the Provincial Councils and for the introduction of the elective principle. This [is] a most serious question and [it is] very doubtful whether India is ripe for such an enormous change as this proposal would involve; and it is one which will require the most serious and careful consideration by the Cabinet before it could advise the Queen Empress to consent to it. Lord Cross is of opinion, which the Queen entirely shares, that the experience of Municipal Institutions does not yet warrant that extension, and if granted to the principal Councils, it would without fail be extended to the Supreme Council which we think would be fraught with great danger.

Holkar's coming is not desirable, but the Queen does not think it would do any harm here. The stories of his dissatisfaction were invented for him. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2nd July 1889.—Dressed for the visit of the Shah. At a quarter to two the procession appeared with a Sovereign's escort, the road up the hill from the gates being lined by the Guards. In the first carriage was seated the Shah with Eddy (who had come down with him), Christian, and Liko. I went downstairs with all the ladies. All the great Officers of State were down below. I received the Shah at the entrance, and he was very friendly, shaking and kissing my hand. After presenting Lenchen, Beatrice, and Marie L., walked up with him and slowly along the corridor to the Green Drawing-room, into which all the ladies and gentlemen of the suite came. Malcolm Khan was there, and the Grand Vizier, son of the late one, a clever young man, but, I understand, not to be trusted. The Shah speaks more French now. He looks very well, but older and stouter. Very soon after the usual presentations we went to luncheon in the large Dining-room, the Shah leading me in, and sitting on my right, Malcolm

Khan being on my left. My Indian servants were, of course, in attendance. After luncheon, at which the Shah talked, with Malcolm Khan interpreting for him, I spoke with some of the Persians, but very few spoke French. The Shah had spoken at luncheon of Russia, of whom he showed great distrust, and asked if the Ameer was giving trouble, that he was a bad and cruel man. Had a few words with Lord Salisbury. At half-past three the Shah left again, and I conducted him downstairs.

5th July.—I had a dreadful night¹ and could only get up late. Sat out at Frogmore and went to the Mausoleum, where I had to be carried up the steps. Resting and writing. Held a Council after luncheon, at which I declared my consent to Louise of Wales's marriage with Macduff (Fife).

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, *2nd July 1889.*—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

After questions to-day Mr. Smith brought up your Majesty's messages, and gave notice that he would ask the House to consider them on Thursday, whereupon Mr. Labouchere gave notice of opposition at every stage.

Mr. Smith saw Mr. Gladstone yesterday, and found that he entertained a very strong view as to the necessity for a Committee on the general question as a condition precedent to any grant whatever, and he promised to serve on such a Committee if it was appointed. Mr. Smith promised to consult his colleagues and to inform Mr. Gladstone as soon as he had done so. At a Cabinet held this afternoon the reference to the Committee which was submitted to your Majesty was adopted, and Mr. Smith has communicated that to Mr. Gladstone, who has called his late colleagues together for to-morrow at twelve to consider the question; and Mr. Smith proposes to

¹ The Queen, though not feeling at all fit, had gone up on the previous day to London for the Marlborough House Garden Party.

put down the notice for the Committee to-morrow after he has had Mr. Gladstone's reply. . . .

4th July.— . . . The first business this evening was your Majesty's gracious messages, which Mr. Smith moved to refer to a Committee. Mr. Gladstone seconded Mr. Smith's motion, and Mr. Labouchere severely censured Mr. Smith for not having proposed a Committee before, adding also that he regarded everything which proceeded from your Majesty's servants with suspicion.

Mr. Bradlaugh proposed to include within the enquiry your Majesty's Civil List; and Mr. Smith replied that that was a compact between the Crown and the people, made at the commencement of your Majesty's reign, which could not be disturbed. Mr. Gladstone supported Mr. Smith in that view, but a heated debate supervened, in which Mr. Picton of Leicester and Mr. Storey of Sunderland, who belong to the advanced Radical Party, made excited speeches.

Mr. Gladstone laid stress upon the fact that the reference to the Committee was wide, and he implied that no interpretation of that reference by Mr. Smith would hold good against the views of the majority of the Committee; but Mr. Smith trusts that your Majesty will read an accurate report of all that passed. Mr. Bradlaugh's motion was defeated by 313 votes to 125; and Mr. Smith regrets that the minority was so large.

As it may interest your Majesty, Mr. Smith encloses a print of the division list, from which it will be seen that Sir George Trevelyan voted with Mr. Bradlaugh, whilst Mr. Gladstone, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Lefevre, and Mr. Stansfeld voted against him.

Sir Wm. Harcourt and Mr. Childers walked out when the division was called and did not vote at all. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

9th July 1889.—I am quite horrified to see the name of that horrible lying Labouchere and of that

rebel Parnell on the Committee for the Royal Grants. I protest vehemently against both. It is quite indecent to have such people on such a Committee. You told me you would object to Labouchere, though perhaps not to Bradlaugh.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

9th July 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty has just received your Majesty's cypher.

He fears that he failed to make clear the point which he desired to submit to your Majesty.

The important matter in the formation of a Committee is to secure a safe voting *majority*. That has been done, as far as the rules of the House of Commons permit. The names of the Ministerial thirteen have been weighed with the utmost care, each name was discussed in Cabinet; and it is believed that they will vote straight.

The minority of ten are, according to the usage, selected by the other side. But it is comparatively immaterial of whom they consist so long as they *are* a minority. Indeed, it is better that the professedly violent men should be among them. It hampers them in subsequent proceedings; and in no way adds to their power.

There are *no* Moderate Liberals in the present day. The old judicial type of Member, who sat rather loose to his Party and could be trusted to be fair on an occasion of this kind, has disappeared. They are all partisans, and will vote as the Radicals tell them. It is better therefore to have at once on the Committee those who are frankly Radical. Their political power is not increased, and the moral authority of the minority in the Committee is thereby diminished.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 9th July 1889.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Questions were quickly disposed of, and shortly after four Mr.

Smith moved for the Committee on your Majesty's gracious messages. Upon that motion Mr. Storey moved an adjournment on the ground that sufficient notice had not been given of the names of the Committee. This motion was defeated by 233 votes against 80, Mr. Gladstone and the front Opposition bench voting with the Government.

On the question of increasing the Committee with the view of adding some Radical Members, Mr. Gladstone again supported the Government, and 105 voted with the Radicals against 300 for the Government.

Similar divisions took place on the names of Sir A. Campbell, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Hussey Vivian, very violent language being used against Mr. Chamberlain and sarcasm levied against Sir Hussey Vivian.

On the motion that the Committee have power to send for persons, *i.e.* witnesses, papers, and records, Mr. Smith explained that precedents were entirely against the power to examine witnesses, but that all necessary information to enable the Committee to discharge its duties would be furnished. Mr. Gladstone supported Mr. Smith's view. Mr. Labouchere said that without the power of calling witnesses the enquiry would be a farce, and Mr. Bradlaugh declared it was necessary to show that the grants of public money were larger in your Majesty's reign to members of the Royal Family than they had been in any previous period. On a division Mr. Labouchere's motion was defeated by 272 votes to 136, Sir Wm. Harcourt, Mr. Childers, Mr. Fowler, and other ex-Ministers voting against Mr. Gladstone and with Mr. Labouchere.

The Committee will meet to-morrow, Wednesday, at three to elect a Chairman and consider the course of procedure.

Mr. Smith saw Mr. Gladstone afterwards; and Mr. Gladstone, appearing much depressed, said it was right he should say that neither he nor his friends, ex-Ministers, could concur in any grant to the children

of your Majesty's younger sons ; and your Majesty's advisers will have to consider whether, in the face of such a declaration, it is advisable to invite a negative on the question from an important section of the Committee at a period so remote as the present from any possible application for a grant. . . .

Lord Knutsford to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 11th July 1889.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—I send you a confidential draft despatch which has been settled by myself and approved by Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stanhope, and Sir M. Hicks Beach, and which I submit to the Cabinet on Saturday. It will probably not be necessary to publish it at once, as Sir H. Loch will not take up the Cape Government until December, but it is important for H.M.'s Government to have a distinct line of policy in regard to the territories south of the Zambesi.

I am confident that a strongly constituted Company will give us the best chance of peaceably opening up and developing the resources of this country south of the Zambesi, and will be most beneficial to the native Chiefs and people. Such a Company¹ has been formed, and all the capital subscribed without going to the public. I believe the Duke of Abercorn has consented to be President of it.

I earnestly trust that the Queen will approve of the policy which has been most carefully and anxiously considered. I remain, Very truly yours,
KNUTSFORD.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 13th July 1889.—. . . At the Cabinet to-day the question of appanages was carefully discussed. The resolutions taken were within the limits of the principles submitted to your Majesty after a previous Cabinet. It was, however, resolved that a suggestion of Mr. Gladstone was

¹ The British South Africa Company.

worth attending to. He suggested that the Prince of Wales should receive at once a yearly sum calculated to satisfy the requirements of his children for dotations as they should arise. The Cabinet approved of this suggestion, on the understanding that the sum fixed was adequate. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th July 1889.—Louise of S.-H. came to luncheon, and stayed with us to hear Albani and the two de Reszkes sing. We went to the Red Drawing-room. The two brothers have most glorious voices and sing in the most perfect manner. Jean, the elder, a tenor, reminded me more of Mario than anyone I have yet heard, and Edouard has a splendid deep bass voice, which comes out so fully and powerfully. The duet from *Lohen-grin*, which is quite a long scene, was beyond anything beautiful, so dramatic, and Albani almost acted it. She was in great force. The music lasted till four, and I could have listened to it much longer. It was indeed a treat.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Lansdowne.*

OSBORNE, 18th July 1889.—. . . The Queen Empress is anxious to bring a subject before the Viceroy which has of late years (only) caused a good deal of bitterness and heart-burning between the Mohammedans and Hindus, and even led to fighting. It is relative to the Mohammedan religious ceremony of "Moharram." Of late years the two different parties fought, and even did so at Agra, where till now this had never been the case. It would really be well if the Viceroy took, or rather caused to be taken, some extra measure to prevent this painful quarrelling, which could be done by enabling the Mohammedans to carry out their ceremonies quietly and without molestation. It only comes once a year, whereas the Mohammedans complain that the Hindus, who have many religious feasts, *try* to have

one of their *own* at the very same time, hence the quarrelling. Could not the Viceroy arrange that the Hindus held no feast during the thirteen days of the Moharram? This would avoid all fighting, and enable the Mohammedans to carry on their religious festival in peace. If this is impossible, perhaps the Viceroy would give strict orders to prevent the Mohammedans and Hindus from interfering with one another, so that perfect justice is shown to both. But the former course would be for the best. The Queen Empress would be glad if the Viceroy gave the subject his earnest attention, as these religious quarrels and fightings are really very serious.

*Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*¹

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

18th July 1889.—As the Queen understands there is opposition to the grants for the children of the Dukes of Connaught and Albany she will not press their claims.

This message does not pledge the Queen in any way beyond not pressing the claims at present.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 18th July 1889.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs respectfully to state that the Committee on Royal Grants sat again this morning, but after a conversation of an hour adjourned until to-morrow at twelve, in the hope that an understanding might be arrived at in the interval; and your Majesty's gracious message and sacrifice will in Mr. Smith's opinion bring about that result.

Mr. Smith deplotes the present condition of political warfare which makes it advisable for your Majesty to offer this concession of right, but he is assured that it would not be possible now to obtain from Parliament further grants for the children of your Majesty's younger sons.

¹ A similar telegram was sent to Mr. Smith.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 23rd July 1889.—Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to return the business of the Council.

Besides the order for making the Emperor an Admiral-of-the-Fleet, there are various other matters of business, including the application of the Duke of Abercorn for a Charter for the British South Africa Company, which was referred to in Lord Knutsford's letter.

And there is an order (repeating the order of 1873) empowering the Commander-in-Chief and Secretary of State to sign Volunteer and Militia commissions which are in arrear. Regular commissions are not affected, and your Majesty has nearly made up the arrears of these by hard work in signing lately. But the Volunteer and Militia commissions are four thousand in arrear. This order will secure all this arrear being signed up to the 1st July.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd July 1889.— . . . The business of the House began by Mr. Smith bringing up the report of the Committee on Royal Grants which concluded its sittings to-day; and Mr. Smith fixed Thursday for its consideration, when Mr. Labouchere will move as an amendment an address to your Majesty alleging that the provision under the Civil List is adequate for all the purposes of the Royal Family if economies in the Household salaries and otherwise were introduced.

In the course of to-day's proceedings [of the Committee] Mr. Gladstone moved two amendments which Mr. Smith was obliged to resist, and, supported by Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Conservative Members of the Committee, the division showed 12 against Mr. Gladstone and 10 for him. At the end Mr. Smith proposed that a sum of £40,000 a year should be granted as a provision for the family of

the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Gladstone objected that the amount was too large. After some parleying he proposed £36,000 a year which, or indeed any sum, was opposed by Mr. J. Morley, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Burt, Dr. Cameron, and Mr. Labouchere, so that on the final division the members were 16 for the grant and 6 against it.

The debate, which will begin on Thursday, will it is feared be a long one and certainly an acrimonious one. . . .

25th July.— . . The debate began shortly before four by a short statement from Mr. Smith. Mr. Labouchere made a long speech in a more moderate tone than usual for him, in which he said that your Majesty had a clear income which, with savings from the Civil List and the properties of Balmoral, Osborne, and Claremont, would afford ample means for providing for all your Majesty's grandchildren. He declined altogether to admit the claim of right for a provision for them, and spoke of precedents and past practice as of no value whatever in the interpretation of the contract between the Crown and the Parliament on the settlement of the Civil List in 1837.

Mr. Storey seconded him in language still more advanced than Mr. Labouchere's. He professed personal admiration for your Majesty, but, alleging that savings existed to the amount of three millions sterling, which Mr. Smith promptly denied, he denounced the attempt to obtain further subsidies from Parliament, and from the poor taxpayer, for the Royal Family already fully provided for. He contrasted these demands with the limited pensions given to poor authors and men of science ; and drew down upon himself a severe rebuke from Mr. Gladstone for a comparison which was invidious and unjustifiable.

Mr. Gladstone spoke with great feeling and great ability. He said the wealth, the endowment of the Royal Family was tied down to public duties and public expenditure, which was necessary to the

splendour of a Court, which he did not wish, and the people did not wish, to see reduced in splendour. He was averse to any economy which would impair that splendour, but, while he had no doubt there was great room for economy, it was difficult if not impossible for a Sovereign to exercise thrift, and he was not certain that such partial and shallow reforms on the Civil List would be good unless on the opportunity of the complete revision of the Civil List, which would be afforded on the demise of the Crown. He again insisted that great concessions had been made. The increase in the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster made it possible for the Sovereign to undertake the provisions for the grandchildren which, although not formally withdrawn, were practically as much so as if it had been done by deed, and after asserting much more than Mr. Smith's statements or the Committee's report warranted,¹ he wound up a very eloquent speech by saying that if, as a Member of Parliament, he was a servant of the Constituency, he was still more the servant of a Sovereign whom it had been his honour to serve during very many years. . . .

26th July 1889.— . . . The debate this evening opened by Mr. Bradlaugh was continued by Lord Randolph Churchill, who went through the precedents which were presented by the reign of George III, William IV, and in your Majesty's reign to justify the contention of your Majesty's servants that the Sovereign was entitled to rely on the liberality of Parliament to make provision for the Royal Family. Lord Randolph showed great ability and great powers of sarcasm in dealing with Mr. Bradlaugh's historical and "pedagogic" speech. He ridiculed his argument that the Crown Lands were virtually the property of the people, and said that the assertion that the savings on the Civil List were not properly transferred to the

¹ In the course of the debates on the Bill, the Queen telegraphed to Mr. Smith: "The non-pressing of claims is only for the present. I do not relinquish the right of claiming grants for my grandchildren."

Privy Purse was tantamount to a charge of embezzlement, and that every Minister since 1837 who had sanctioned the transfer was by implication liable to impeachment. He referred to Mr. Storey's allegation that your Majesty possessed three millions of money, and denounced the misrepresentations which were intended to inflame and mislead the people. . . .

Mr. H. W. Lawson, as a Radical, spoke in favour of the grants, and Lord Hartington was as vigorous and straightforward as he always is in his declarations on the subject. Sir Wilfrid Lawson followed on the other side, and sought to excite the ribald laughter of the House. Mr. Goschen replied on the whole debate, putting the contention of the Government forcibly and plainly before the House, and on a division the House went into Committee by 398 votes against 116, the front Opposition bench and the Irish Members voting with the Government. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

16 JAMES STREET, 25th July 1889.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and gratefully thanks your Majesty for the message he has had the honour to receive this morning.¹

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

27th July 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty would respectfully urge upon your Majesty the expediency of acceding to the suggestion that you should give a copy of your Majesty's portrait to Prince Bismarck on the occasion of the Emperor's visit. It has been done at Vienna and at Rome, and the omission to do it here might produce a state of feeling which in the present state of Europe would be injurious to your Majesty's interests. It is impossible to give him any order, and this would be the only possible mark of courtesy. He has

¹ Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone were married on 25th July 1839, and the Queen had apparently sent a message of congratulation on their Golden Wedding; or perhaps of thanks for Mr. Gladstone's friendly support on the Prince of Wales's Children Bill.

become personally so sensitive that it has become a matter of some political importance to avoid any unnecessary hurt to his vanity. The matter was mentioned to Lord Salisbury at Marlborough House both by the Prince of Wales and by Count Hatzfeldt. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 29th July 1889.—Went downstairs to await the Shah's arrival, who was coming over in the *Alberta*. He arrived at half-past four, and I took him into the Drawing-room, where we sat down, and I gave him a miniature of myself set in diamonds. I asked him to write his name in my autograph book, which he did in a beautiful hand. I also conferred Orders on the Grand Vizier and others of his suite. After having some refreshments in the Council Room, the Shah returned to take leave. He was delighted with his whole tour, and especially with the Highlands, where he stayed at Glen Muich, Mr. McKenzie treating him royally, and also at Invercauld with Sir Algernon Borthwick. Now he is going straight on board the *Victoria and Albert*, which is to take him to Cherbourg.

[Draft.] *Sir Henry Ponsonby to Lord Knutsford.*

1st Aug. 1889.—As the Queen knows you wish to give all support to Loch she hopes that all questions relating to South Africa, including the new Company's district, will be referred to him, and not decided without his opinion being ascertained upon them. H. P.

Lord Knutsford to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 2nd August 1889.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—The Queen may rest assured that I shall give all support to Sir Henry Loch, and that he will be consulted on all questions relating to South Africa. I have in truth the greatest interest in taking this course, as I have had to fight against Mr. Chamberlain and others for the continued combination of the offices of Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner. Yours very truly, KNUTSFORD.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 2nd Aug.—. . . The first order was the Committee on the Bill for the Prince of Wales's children. . . .

Mr. Storey and Mr. Labouchere repeated over and over again their objections to any grant whatever on the ground that your Majesty was in possession of ample means to provide for all the grandchildren, including the children of the Prince of Wales.

In the course of the debate a curious incident occurred. Mr. Wallace, a Radical Member for Edinburgh, said that if the Government would declare plainly that your Majesty did not possess sufficient means to provide for all the grandchildren in a fitting manner, he for one would no longer oppose the Bill, and on receiving that assurance repeated twice over by the Chancellor of the Exchequer he went straight out of the House.

Mr. Gladstone intervened twice in the course of the debate, and most strongly supported the contention of the Government that your Majesty had rigidly and strictly adhered to the compact of the Civil List of 1837 in spirit as well as letter, and he voted with the Government in every division as long as he remained in the House.

The Bill passed through Committee at eight o'clock, after twelve divisions in the four hours, with majorities ranging from 176 to 130 against minorities of from 45 to 38.

The House was a very small one, as many Members had gone off to see the Fleet.¹ . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 2nd Aug. 1889.—All on the *qui vive* for William's arrival, which had been expected at five.

¹ The third reading was carried on the 5th in a thin House by 136 votes to 41, Mr. Labouchere protesting to the last, as Mr. Smith told the Queen, that "your Majesty was possessed of ample resources to provide for all the grandchildren without exception in a manner befitting their dignity and station."

The Guard of Honour with the band was drawn up and waited and waited. At length, at near half-past seven, he appeared. I received him at the door with Lenchen and Beatrice, and with all the ladies and gentlemen. Louise Buccleuch and the Lord Steward were also there. Bertie, with Eddy and George, Christian and Liko, had all gone on board the *Hohenzollern* to meet William, and accompanied him to Osborne. Lord Salisbury was also there. We took William, who was in British Admiral's uniform, into the Drawing-room, and then he went to his rooms downstairs. He was very amiable, and kissed me very affectionately on both cheeks on arriving. We dined in the big tent, arranged as it was at the time of Beatrice's wedding. William led me in, and I sat between him and Henry.¹ Bertie and Alix, with their children, and Louise and Lorne dined. We were in all forty. All the gentlemen were in uniform. The Household all came in after dinner, and William presented all his people. The Marine band played during and after dinner. I was very tired when I went up to my room.

5th Aug.—All the Princes and Princesses went with William at twelve to a Naval review, and the Duchess of Athole lunched with me. From the window we could see a good deal. I decided to go out in the *Alberta* and see the German ships, which were all anchored close to Osborne Bay, so at five embarked with the Duchess of Athole, Harriet P., Sir J. McNeill, and Major Bigge. Went round and through the German ships, who all played *God Save the Queen* in turn as we passed them. Home at seven. Heard all had gone off well. Just before dinner I received in the Drawing-room a deputation of the 1st regiment of Garde Dragoner, of which William has just nominated me Chief; composed of Colonel von Kotze, Captain Count Dohna, Lieutenant Count Hohenau (son of the late Prince Albert of Prussia by hismorganatic marriage), and Lieutenant Count Lynar. William intro-

¹ Prince Henry of Prussia, the Emperor William's brother.

duced them and made a very pretty speech, in which he said that his father had served in the regiment, which was one of the reasons why he chose it for me. I answered as well as I could. I had a bow on my shoulder of the colours of the regiment. Again a very large dinner in the tent. William of course always leads me in, and I sit between him and Henry. The band again played during and after dinner. I spoke to the German officers. William is always very friendly. General Hahnke is a pleasing man, with a straightforward manner, and is the principal person about William.

8th Aug.—Breakfast in the tent, which William took with us. We heard the sounds of an approaching band, as all the seamen and marines of the German ships were coming up to be seen by me. At eleven they had all formed up in line, and I got into my carriage with Lenchen and Beatrice, whilst William and the Princes walked alongside. Drove down the line and then got out, standing with my back to the Pavilion for the march past. William came by at their head and saluted me, and Henry also came by at the head of his Company. The men marched beautifully, though in that peculiar Prussian way, throwing up their legs, and were fine-looking. They all marched off to re-embark on board their various ships. The band played a delightful old march composed by Beethoven, which they call the York March. After one I gave Henry the Order of the Garter, which he was quite overcome at receiving, and Willy greatly pleased. The latter had given George the Black Eagle, and to me his bust by Begas, in a helmet, which is very like. William came up to see me, and we talked generally of things. He was all the time very amiable, and seemed delighted with his visit. Out to tea with Beatrice, and after a little while went in again to take leave of William in the Drawing-room. All the family, including Alix, etc., were there, and accompanied Willy to Trinity Pier.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

8th Aug. 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter. He congratulates your Majesty most earnestly upon the great success attending all the arrangements connected with the Emperor's visit, and with the military and naval reviews, and upon the admirable effect produced upon the mind of the Emperor and those who were with him by your Majesty's cordial and most gracious welcome.

Lord Salisbury cannot but hope that, when time has softened painful associations, the Empress Frederick also will look back upon this event with pleasure and gratitude to your Majesty; for it will tend powerfully to efface causes of estrangement and bring back a happy family affection and peace. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

8th Aug. 1889.—Count Bismarck asked Sir Henry Ponsonby to express his humble and most sincere thanks for the beautiful box which your Majesty had sent him.

He rejoiced that the visit had been so successful, and believed it would do much to dispel the ill-natured stories that evil-disposed persons set about as to bad feelings between the families.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 9th Aug. 1889.—Only Beatrice and Liko with me at breakfast, all such a contrast to the great crowd of people and bustle. Thank God! all went off well.

[Telegram.] *The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.*

WILHELMSHAVEN, 10th Aug. 1889.—Just arrived after splendid passage. I reiterate from the depth of my heart the thanks for your unbounded love and kindness to me, Henry, and all of us, which will never be forgotten, especially for the commission

as Admiral-of-the-Fleet. My best wishes for the recovery from your pain. WILLY.

[*Telegram.*] *Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.*

OSBORNE, 10th Aug. 1889.—I was just intending to inquire if there were no news when I received your kind telegram, for which many thanks. It gives me great pleasure to hear that you liked your stay and were happy here. My prayers and good wishes for yourself and your Empire will always accompany you. V. R. I.

The Marquis of Lansdowne to Queen Victoria.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA, 19th July 1889. *Recd.* 11th Aug.—The Viceroy presents his humble duty to the Queen Empress and he has the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Majesty's letter of June 27th.

He is glad to say that the prospects in the districts to which your Majesty refers have, upon the whole, materially improved during the last few weeks. Even, however, if the weather continues to be favourable, a considerable number of people will have to be supported at the public expense until the next harvest.

The Viceroy has taken careful note of the opinion which your Majesty has expressed with regard to the caution which should be observed in extending the principle of election to appointments to the local legislative Councils. He fully concurs with your Majesty in believing that any attempt to introduce into India a representative system at all resembling that which prevails in European countries would be unwise, and he trusts that your Majesty will not suppose that it is his desire to proceed otherwise than cautiously and tentatively in the matter. . . . Lord Lansdowne was of opinion that, although the scheme sent home by Lord Dufferin's Government required revision in many particulars, it was one which deserved favourable consideration by your Majesty's

Government, and he has in particular expressed his belief to the Secretary of State that it would be desirable not to exclude *altogether* from any measure of reform dealing with the local Councils the possibility of admitting, sooner or later, a certain number of elected members. . . . The Viceroy was extremely anxious that a moderate and yet liberally conceived measure dealing with this subject should be passed at the present time, as he cannot help feeling that, if the consideration of the question is postponed, proposals of a much more far-reaching and radical tendency might hereafter be put forward under circumstances which would render it difficult to resist them. . . .

16th Aug.—. . . The Viceroy's attention had already been called to the occasional outbreaks of hostility between Mohammedans and Hindus whenever Hindu festivals happened to coincide with the Mohammedan ceremony of the Moharram. These unfortunate collisions have taken place from time to time in different parts of India, and although it has been possible in many instances to prevent serious results from them, there have been many cases, notably that of the disturbances at Agra in 1888, to which your Majesty specially refers, when a breach of the peace has taken place. The Viceroy thinks it right to mention that in the case of the Agra disturbance, the collision seems to have been almost provoked by a very injudicious order issued by the local Commissioner, under which permission was given for the holding, upon a date which fell within the limits of the Moharram, of a secular fair, of which the magistrate had previously ordered the postponement with the object of avoiding the risk of disorder. It is, the Viceroy fears, impossible to arrange that the Hindus should hold *no* feasts at all during the period of the Moharram. The dates of many of the Hindu religious festivals are fixed with reference to the progress of the lunar month, and intense dissatisfaction would be occasioned if such festivals, which can only, according to the tenets of

the Hindus, be properly celebrated upon these special dates, were to be postponed by order of the Government. An endeavour is, however, being made to frame a list of all the unobjectionable religious festivals which could be safely held during the Moharram, and it is intended to give effect to the spirit of your Majesty's proposal by deciding that the comparatively unimportant, secular, or semi-secular, Hindu festivals shall not be held within the period of the Mohammedan celebration. With regard to the religious feasts, the dates of which it would be impossible to alter and which coincide with the Moharram, every precaution will be taken to avoid collisions; and this will be done with perfect justice as between Mohammedans and Hindus. . . .

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

BAYREUTH, 17th August 1889.

DEAREST GRANDMAMA,—Though I tried hard to find a moment to write to you, yet it was quite impossible. The trouble and bustle, which the visit of the Emperor [of Austria] brought upon us, was too great to allow of any free time. The quiet Schloss of Bayreuth, however, gives me my first opportunity, of which I immediately avail myself.

May I be allowed to reiterate my most fervent thanks for all the kindness which you lavished on Henry and me, and which I scarcely know how to repay? We have felt so comfortable and quite at home at Osborne through all the pains you gave yourself to arrange everything for me as well as also Aunts did. But personally I beg to be allowed once more to express my warmest thanks for the quite unexampled honour which you conferred on me with the commission as Admiral-of-the-Fleet. It really gave me such an immense pleasure, that I now am able to feel and take interest in your fleet as if it were my own; and with keenest sympathy shall I watch every phase of its further development, knowing that the British ironclads, coupled with mine and my

army, are the strongest guarantees of peace ; which Heaven may help us to preserve ! Should, however, the Will of Providence lay the heavy burden on us of fighting for our homes and destinies, then may the British fleet be seen forging ahead side by side with the German, and the “Red Coat” marching to victory with the “Pomeranian Grenadier !” With best love to all, I remain, Your most affectionate Grandson, WILLY.

Mr. Matthews to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 22nd Aug. 1889.—Mr. Henry Matthews with his humble duty to your Majesty thinks your Majesty may be interested to know the grounds on which he humbly advises your Majesty that the capital sentence on Mrs. Maybrick should be commuted to a sentence of penal servitude for life.

Mr. Matthews asked the Lord Chancellor to assist him with advice in this difficult case ; and he has had the advantage of repeated discussions with Mr. Justice Stephen, who tried the case, and of consultation with medical men of experience, including Dr. Poore. The conclusion Mr. Matthews has come to, in which the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Justice Stephen concur, is this : that the evidence clearly establishes that Mrs. Maybrick administered poison to her husband with intent to murder ; but that there is ground for reasonable doubt whether the arsenic so administered was in fact the cause of his death. Mrs. Maybrick is entitled to the benefit of that doubt to the extent of escaping the extreme penalty of death ; but she may properly be liable to penal servitude for life, which is the legal punishment for attempts to murder.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Would Sir Henry thank Mr. Matthews, and say the only regret she feels about the decision is that so wicked a woman should escape by a mere legal quibble !

The *law* is not a moral profession she must say. But her sentence must never be further commuted. . . .¹

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

PALÈ-LLANDERFEL, 26th Aug. 1889.—After luncheon we all started for Llangollen, going by rail, and had a beautiful afternoon. In three-quarters of an hour we reached Llangollen, where it seems I had passed the night with Mama in a small inn, overlooking the river, which is still standing. The station was very prettily decorated. We at once entered our carriages, Beatrice, Alicy, and Liko driving with me. We turned sharp to the left above the station, where there was a Guard of Honour of the Volunteer Battalion of the Welsh Fusiliers, with their band and goat, with its gilt horns (my gift), and drove up the beautiful, wooded, mountain-girt, deep valley, dotted with villas and cottages, to Bryntysilio, the well-known residence of Sir Theodore Martin, who with Lady Martin received us at the door. The place is beautifully situated, and the house is furnished and arranged with the greatest taste. They showed us all their rooms and his study, with the table at which he wrote dearest Albert's life. Had tea in the Drawing-room, during which a selected number of Llangollen choirs sang Welsh songs, in the pretty sloping garden. It is wonderful how well these choirs sing, being composed merely of shopkeepers and flannel weavers.²

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

PALÈ-LLANDERFEL, 27th Aug. 1889.—Would Sir Henry write fully to the Prince of Wales of the excellent and enthusiastic reception we have all met with here and to Sir F. Knollys to tell him *how* much this naturally *sensitive* and warmhearted people *feel* the neglect shown them by the Prince of Wales and his family, and that really it is very wrong of him not

¹ Endorsed: "29th Aug. '89. Wrote to Mr. Matthews. H. P."

² This call on Sir Theodore and Lady Martin was paid while the Queen was enjoying a short visit to North Wales.

to come here. It is only five hours from London, and as the Prince of Wales takes his title from this country, which is so beautiful, it does seem very wrong that neither he nor his children have come here often, and indeed, the Princess and the children not at all. . . .

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

ZANZIBAR, 2nd Sept. 1889.—[After compliments.] Said bin Ahmed and Ahmed bin Suliman are coming on our behalf to your Majesty to pay our respects and give to your Majesty our best salaam. What we desire of your Majesty is to receive them well and to always look to our interests because your Majesty wishes well for all people. May God preserve your Majesty's Government and make it more powerful!

Your Majesty is, we trust, well aware of the news concerning us, and of the trouble that we are in; all our places are spoiled, and the revenues derived from them have greatly diminished. We consider no other Government than your Majesty's can disentangle us from this great trouble, because your Majesty's Government have been looking after this Sultanate since the time of our late father, and your Majesty's friendship is engraved on our heart, and we beg of your Majesty to help us in every difficulty that may fall on us in the same manner as has been done before.

We pray God may He grant long and glorious life to your Majesty's children, and may He continue your Majesty's rule, obeyed and respected by your Majesty's subjects!

Mr. Goschen to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

TREASURY CHAMBERS, WHITEHALL, 4th September 1889.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—Nothing has been done as regards a new coinage since the time when I last had the honour of submitting a new head to the Queen, I think about a year ago.

As the general discussion on the Jubilee coinage had subsided, and the public appeared to have got used to the new coins, I thought that it might possibly be best to let the matter rest for a while. I doubt whether any fresh design would not again have been severely criticised, though I certainly preferred the last effort to the Jubilee head.

The Queen will remember that the head which has been so condemned was the result of long consultations, and I think it was Boehm who gave it his imprimatur.

If her Majesty herself would like the question to be taken up again, I need not say that I will see to its being taken in hand energetically. . . .

Endorsed, 9th Sept. 1889 :

The Queen dislikes the new coinage very much, and wishes the old could still be used and the new one gradually disused, and then a new one struck.¹

[*Telegrams.*] *The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.*

KIEL, 8th Oct. 1889.—Channel Squadron under Admiral Baird just safely arrived West Kiel ; weather windy but fine. WILLY.

9th Oct.—With Mama's approval I have invited Admiral and Captains of the Channel Squadron to a reception held by Mama and Sophie in Berlin on the 14th. I should be very grateful if you would kindly give the officers leave to come up to Berlin. I just inspected the Squadron, and found the ships in perfect order and trim. WILLY.

[*Telegram.*] *Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.*

BALMORAL, 9th Oct. 1889.—I thank you very much for your kind telegram. It is very kind of you to invite the Admiral and Officers of the British Squadron to the reception which dear Mama and Sophie hold on the 14th. I have given orders to allow them to

¹ Mr. Goschen, in his reply on the 12th, while thinking that there would be some difficulty in going back to the old coinage, wrote that he would "confer with the Mint authorities whether we should not go forward with the fresh designs which were approved by the Queen with some modification which would of course have to be dealt with."

have this honour. It will give Mama much pleasure.
V. R. I.

Prince Bismarck to Queen Victoria.

[*Translation.*]

BERLIN, 12th October 1889.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS QUEEN, MOST GRACIOUS EMPRESS AND LADY,—Your Majesty has shown me the high favour of bestowing upon me your most august portrait in memory of this year's visit of the Emperor and King, my master. This highly honourable distinction will constantly bring back to me, whenever I look at the portrait finished with such art, the gracious reception with which your Majesty honoured me in the Castle of Charlottenburg at a time grievous both for our Royal House and for my Fatherland, and I feel impelled to lay my deeply felt and reverential thanks for it immediately at your Majesty's feet.

The portrait will be for ever to me and my descendants an honourable testimony of your Majesty's favour, and a witness that in the service of your Majesty's grandson I have been able to win for myself the favourable opinion of the closely related Ruler of the friendly British Empire.

I trust your Royal and Imperial Majesty will be graciously pleased to accept the expression of the deep reverence in which I remain, Your Majesty's most obedient servant, v. BISMARCK.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, le 20 Octobre 1889.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Vous aurez été, comme nous, bien affligée de la mort prématurée de cet excellent Louis de Portugal.¹ Puisse son fils marcher sur ses traces et se conduire avec sagesse, modération, et selon les exigences de la civilisation moderne, dont les Portugais sont souvent peu disposés à favoriser les progrès !

¹ Who had died on 19th October, and been succeeded by his son Carlos.

J'ai visité pendant cette semaine les forts de la Meuse, de Namur et de Liège, et le grand nouveau fort construit sur l'Escaut à Rupelmonde. Ces travaux très remarquables seront finis l'année prochaine. J'ai été très content de ma visite et je puis affirmer que nous avons à Liège, à Namur, et à Anvers, des défenses formidables comme peu de pays en possèdent.

Je n'ai rien de neuf en fait d'incidents à signaler d'ici, chère cousine ; de petites grèves se succèdent dans le Hainaut et les ouvriers partout se montrent très exigeants.

Adieu, chère cousine, je vous baise la main et je suis pour la vie, Votre tout dévoué cousin, LÉOPOLD.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 24th Oct. 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for your gracious letter and for the letter of the Emperor William and your Majesty's reply to it.

The Emperor's attitude towards your Majesty is now very satisfactory. He is a changed man from what he was twelve months ago. It is to be hoped that he will take full heed of your Majesty's timely warning with respect to Russia.

In reply to your Majesty's gracious enquiries, Lord Salisbury has to report that his own health and that of Lady Salisbury are quite good. Having now served your Majesty as Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary for three and a half, close upon four, years, he is feeling the inevitable fatigue, but it has in no way affected his health. . . .

[*Telegram.*] *The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.*

ATHENS, 30th Oct. 1889.—Just home from inspection and lunch on board the Mediterranean Squadron. Ships in excellent order ; especially to be mentioned the *Colossus*, she being a perfect wonder of good keeping and fine appearance. Men were very handy and sharp at gun drill, and were well trimmed to their

work on all the ships I saw. The day I spent with the Officers and men of the Mediterranean Squadron was a great treat for me, and also a source of unqualified satisfaction to me with regard to everything I saw. WILLY.

[*Telegram.*] *Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.*

BALMORAL, 31st Oct. 1889.—I thank you warmly for your kind telegram. It is very gratifying to see the interest you take in my Navy, which is very flattering to them. So glad all went off so well at Athens, and trust you will have a good passage. VICTORIA R. I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 9th Nov. 1889.—Dear Bertie's forty-eighth birthday. May God bless and protect him! He has many qualities, and is such a good son.

Lord Knutsford to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 13th Nov. 1889.—Lord Knutsford being aware of the great interest your Majesty takes in the affairs of South Africa, submits with his humble duty a copy of a second message which is to be sent to Lobengula, and which has been approved by Lord Salisbury.

In the first message sent by your Majesty, Lobengula was advised not to make concessions of large rights to private individuals, and Lord Knutsford submits that that advice was good. But since the delivery of that message, the different persons who had got concessions from Lobengula have united to form one large and important Company, the South Africa Company, to which your Majesty has been pleased to grant a Royal Charter. It has been thought desirable, therefore, in the altered position of affairs, to despatch a second message to Lobengula, and to advise him, in the interest of himself and his people, to assist and support this influential Company.

Lord Knutsford humbly trusts that this step may be approved by your Majesty, as it is through this Company that our influence in Matabeleland may be most beneficially exercised.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 15th Nov. 1889.—Alarming news of a revolution in Brazil and the deposition of the Emperor and his whole family, who were to leave immediately. Very dreadful and distressing.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 17th Nov. 1889.—Much shocked and grieved. The sudden emancipation of the slaves caused great discontent. Should not ships be sent there to protect lives of Emperor, Empress, and Royal Family, and to take them on board, as is always done in such cases, and to protect British interests? Most anxious on account of near relatives there.

[*Télégramme.*] *Duc de Nemours to Queen Victoria.*

PARIS, 17 Nov. 1889.—Empereur et famille, faits prisonniers par insurgés, ont été embarqués pour Europe. Telles sont dernières nouvelles reçues aujourd'hui. Bien triste et touché de votre sympathie. NEMOURS.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd Dec. 1889.—Received a sad account of poor Katherine Bruce's (Mrs. Robert Bruce) very sudden death at Charing Cross station as she was starting for Rome. Mary and Franz with May and Frank Teck arrived, and I went to see them. They, Lorne, Lord and Lady Zetland, Cecilia Downe, Lord Bridport, Lord Burghley, and Colonel Carington dined. May Teck looked very pretty, and Frank is a very fine young man.

Lord Zetland has been appointed Lord-Lieutenant

of Ireland, and is shortly going there, most anxious to do all he can to be of use, as well as she.

*Colonel Euan Smith*¹ to *Sir Henry Ponsonby*.
[Telegrams.]

ZANZIBAR, 5th Dec. 1889.—Stanley and companions arrived Bagamoyo yester-morn. Wissmann went to Kinghani River welcome him, also Captain of *Sperber* in name German Emperor. All well, except Emin, who owing short sight misjudged height Wissmann's balcony wall, fell twenty feet, suffered several severe injuries, right eye closed, ears bleeding. Parke remains attendance, considers case hopeful. German doctors very doubtful. Pasha unconscious ten hours, this morning better, able speak. Stanley arrives to-morrow in *Sperber*, specially ordered fetch him by German Emperor.

Stanley sends humblest salutations.

6th Dec.—Please inform her Majesty, message given to Mr. Stanley. He wishes me to say he and officers are profoundly touched by it and send most devoted thanks. Emin's condition is much better. Surgeon Parke, who is left in attendance at Bagamoyo, with German surgeons, is sanguine as to his recovery ; even the German surgeons, who yesterday feared the worst, are more hopeful. SMITH.

[Draft.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Stanley.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10th Dec. 1889.—My thoughts are often with you and your brave followers, whose dangers and hardships are now at an end.

Once more I heartily congratulate all, including the survivors of the gallant Zanzibaris, who displayed such devotion and fortitude during your marvellous expedition.

Trust Emin Pasha progresses favourably.

[Telegram.] *Mr. Stanley to Queen Victoria.*

ZANZIBAR, 12th Dec. 1889.—Your Majesty's most humble and devoted servant Stanley thanks you

¹ British Agent at Zanzibar ; afterwards Sir Charles Euan Smith,

from the bottom of his heart on behalf of his English officers, his Zanzibari and Soudanese followers, for your Majesty's most gracious message received yesterday. Your Majesty's words have elicited the most profound and respectful loyalty, gratitude, and enthusiasm. The thought that the Queen was interested in us all often encouraged us in our darkest moments of uncertainty and depression; and the assurance, that you now so graciously send, that your Majesty is satisfied with our work has more than repaid us for what we have passed through. STANLEY.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

OSBORNE, 21st Dec. 1889.—The Queen has taken pains to enquire into some of the people who Lord Salisbury mentioned as candidates for bishoprics; and she finds that Canon Fleming would *not* be acceptable, though a very popular preacher and a kind-hearted man. . . . He has no intellectual powers of a high order; is very unpopular with the *Clergy*, especially the liberal-minded ones, and takes no interest in questions outside his parish. To this, the Queen ought to have mentioned the other day, that he has not a very good or high-bred manner. Another man who is very cultivated and would be useful on the bench is Dr. Perowne, Dean of Peterborough. If a man of power and weight is wanted no one would be better than Bishop Barry, who is really quite falsely accused of shiftiness. His leaving Melbourne was entirely caused by his wife's health. He would be especially good in a large town like Birmingham. The Queen fears the Dean of York would not do. He is a High Churchman, and not of sufficient power and weight to be suitable for a Bishop, when men of strength and knowledge are required.¹

The Queen is sorry to see that the Bishop of Durham is very ill again.

¹ This letter largely reproduces advice tendered to the Queen on the 18th December by Dean Davidson.

She must add in conclusion that, much as she would wish to aid Lord Salisbury in his difficult choice, she could not really spare the Dean of Windsor, for his position as her Chaplain and Dean of Windsor is of the greatest importance.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAËKEN, ce 22 Décembre 1889.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—La conférence a pris ses vacances. J'aurais voulu voir ses travaux plus avancés. Les Français ont fait attendre longtemps leurs observations relatives à la repression de la traite par mer. Les Allemands paraissent hésiter à approuver les mesures que les Anglais et les Belges croient nécessaires de prendre relativement à l'introduction en Afrique des armes et de l'alcool.

Pour l'honneur de notre siècle il ne peut cependant être dit qu'une conférence de toutes les Puissances réunies à Bruxelles à la demande de votre Gouvernement n'a guère avancé la fin du terrible fléau.

J'ai écrit à Lord Salisbury pour le prier de me permettre de recruter huit cents hommes dans votre Empire, chère Cousine, et de m'autoriser pendant 6 ans à maintenir ce petit corps à ce chiffre. J'ai formé de grands camps dans le haut Congo, je vais en développer l'organisation et en augmenter les effectifs. J'ai écrit à Stanley de venir me voir et puis de diriger mes opérations afin de mettre fin à la traite dans un de ses principaux foyers. En un mot, si je ne suis pas entravé, je vous promets, chère Cousine, d'agir activement et efficacement contre l'infâme traite et d'amener ainsi sans délai des résultats conformes aux nobles aspirations de votre Gouvernement et de mes amis Anglais.

L'influenza a envahi la Belgique ; jusqu'ici nous avons résisté à la contagion.

Je vous baise la main, chère Cousine, et je suis pour la vie Votre tout dévoué cousin, LÉOPOLD.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

23rd Dec. 1889.—. . . It seems probable that the Portuguese Government will refuse to give the undertaking not to interfere with the settlements of British subjects, and the protected chiefs, which has been required of them. In that case, it has been agreed by the Cabinet to recommend that the island of Mozambique shall be temporarily occupied. It is probable that the Portuguese Government dare not give way on account of the strong feeling there is in Lisbon; and that they themselves would not be sorry that Great Britain should take some decided step showing her to be in earnest in the matter. The negotiations are not yet concluded: but, in case they should end badly, the requisite naval force is being assembled at Zanzibar. . . .

The Earl of Hopetoun¹ to Queen Victoria.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MELBOURNE, 6th December 1889.

MADAM,—In accordance with your Majesty's gracious command I write to humbly inform your Majesty that we arrived here safely on Thursday last. It is impossible for me to describe to your Majesty the enthusiasm with which your representative was received.

I have ventured to send by this mail, for your Majesty's inspection, a photograph of the scene at the Treasury taken immediately after the ceremony of swearing in; but even this can only give your Majesty a very imperfect idea of the scene, as every building and every square yard in front of the Treasury was crowded with people, as indeed was the whole route from the landing-place at Port Melbourne. There must have been nearly half a million of persons present to welcome us. I can assure your Majesty that I was greatly gratified at this splendid show of loyalty towards your Majesty's Crown and Person.

I have been much pleased with what I have seen

¹ Governor of Victoria, 1889–1895; first Governor-General of Australian Commonwealth, 1900–1902; created Marquis of Linlithgow, 1902.

of the Ministers of this Colony ; Mr. Gillies, the Premier, and Mr. Deakin are both very nice men, and men of great ability. Mr. Deakin, I may mention, is the chief of the Liberal section of the Coalition Cabinet, and is very highly respected by all parties. . . .

With the deepest respect and most humble duty, I am, Madam, your Majesty's humble and obedient servant and subject, HOPETOUN.

Dean Davidson to Queen Victoria.

DEANERY, WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd December 1889.

MADAM,—I have had the honour of receiving this evening, on returning from a day's absence, your Majesty's most kind and gracious letter.

The sad death of the great Bishop of Durham¹ has so entirely changed the position of matters as regards episcopal vacancies that it will now be necessary, I imagine, for your Majesty and Lord Salisbury to reconsider the question of any new appointments. It is not easy to think of anyone suited to fill the Bishop of Durham's place. . . .

As regards myself, it is not necessary that I should assure your Majesty how deeply I feel the kindness of your Majesty's words, or that I should repeat that it is my one desire to do just that which may be given me to do, for the glory of God, for your Majesty's service, and for the promotion, in whatever way I can, of the good of the Church and Realm.

The present position is a critical and complex one, in which I shall be intensely grateful for such direction as your Majesty may be pleased to give me. Most assuredly your Majesty may rely on my anxiety simply to serve your Majesty in whatever way God may enable me, and the generous and kindly words your Majesty has now used must be to me a strength and stimulus, whatever I should be called upon to do—here or elsewhere. . . .

I have the honour to be, Madam, Your Majesty's obedient servant, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

¹ Dr. Lightfoot.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

23rd Dec. 1889.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits his thanks to your Majesty for the telegram of yesterday with respect to the lamented death of Bishop Lightfoot. The loss is very deplorable. It is evident that he persisted to the end in doing his learned work and his Bishop's work together; and his strength was not equal to the double task. This is a heavy penalty on the appointment of learned men to be Bishops; for the ordinary work of a Bishop, which can be done by a man of administrative and oratorical gifts, is too much for a man of learning, if he pursues his learned work at the same time.

Lord Salisbury regrets very much to hear that your Majesty objects to either the Dean of York, the Dean of Windsor, or Canon Fleming. It makes the task of selection very difficult. The Dean of Peterborough is a man against whom little can be said; but he is a man of no conspicuous ability, and quite unattractive.

Lord Salisbury's impression is that the best man to supply the place of Bishop Lightfoot would be the Bishop of Ripon. There will be some difficulty in filling up Ripon. It is a Low Church diocese, and Lord Salisbury's idea when he heard of Bishop Lightfoot's death was to have recommended Canon Fleming for Ripon. If that be impossible he will enquire further with respect to Dr. Perowne. He would not like to take the responsibility of recommending Dr. Barry to your Majesty. He has profoundly offended the Church on a matter on which they are, perhaps unreasonably, sensitive; and neither politically nor ecclesiastically would such a selection be a prudent one.

The Bishop of Ripon is the ablest Bishop in the Northern Province now, and his opinions are more sympathetic to those of the Durham people than is the case with any other Bishop.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, 24th Dec. 1889.—These letters speak for themselves. The Queen must however explain, that after the Dean's first letter she wrote the one, which is there, to Lord Salisbury, and the next day wrote to the Dean, saying what she had done without naming him. She at the same time told him (which she now thinks was imprudent) that both the Bishop of Ripon and Lord Salisbury had said *how fit* the Dean *himself* would be for the office of Bishop; but that she had said that *for a while at least she* could not spare him, as the office of Chaplain and Dean of Windsor was very important, but she trusted he would not think she was unmindful of his interests. She is sure Sir Henry will agree that, after only six years, he ought *not* to be taken away so soon. In short, the Deans *never were* moved. But she owns that the Dean's answer is not *quite what* she expected. She knows of no one whatever who could at all take his place.

The prejudice against Bishop Barry the Queen does not understand. The Dean has *such* a very *high* opinion of him. The Dean of York (a Cust) is said to be quite unfit for a bishopric. The Queen would not wish to have a personal discussion with the Dean about himself. Canon Fleming is said not to be quite a gentleman, and his manner is not good.

The Queen wonders if the Dean is at all an ambitious man. She wishes she had said nothing to him about this idea of Lord S.'s, but she did it from a (perhaps mistaken) sense of straightforwardness. Silence is however generally the best. "Least said soonest mended."

Archbishop Benson to Queen Victoria.

ADDINGTON PARK, CROYDON, 24th December 1889.

MADAM,—The most sad loss of the Bishop of Durham, whom your Majesty has so long held in an esteem, which no one knows better than I to have

been deserved to the utmost, makes me venture to write a few lines on the serious conjuncture with regard to the bishoprics which is now approaching.

It is a crisis, because we not only are losing persons of such great weight, and so beloved as the Bishops of Durham and St. Albans, but because so many of the senior Bishops are of advanced age together.

I need scarcely speak of the necessity that, if there are a number of young Bishops by-and-by, they should be men who will, with some vigour, interest themselves in the welfare of the people, and be capable of taking part in the central discussions of questions affecting them. Such social matters will be before the House of Lords, and there, as well as in diocesan administration, the Bench needs strengthening.

I have taken the liberty of saying something like this to Lord Salisbury, trusting that vacancies may be considered not merely one by one as they occur, for the satisfaction of this or that Church party, but upon a comprehensive view of the fact that there will be great change of persons, and that great questions await us. I am sure your Majesty will forgive me for saying so much.

It is my humble duty to send to your Majesty a copy of the charges I have lately delivered to the Diocese of Canterbury and an Address in Wales.

May I assure your Majesty of my prayers for the highest blessings of this season upon your Majesty's person and family? I have the honour to be, Your Majesty's dutiful and devoted servant,
EDW. CANTUAR.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Copy.]

26th Dec. 1889.—Although naturally indignant at conduct of Portugal¹ H.M. hopes that no step may be taken which will place King in a dilemma of

¹ See Introductory Note to Chapter 6.

acting against us and being in conflict with the demands of his people.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

27th Dec. 1889.—Lord Salisbury utterly rejects the archæological arguments of the Portuguese, who claim half Africa on the supposed cession to them in 1630 of the Empire of Monomotapa, of which event Lord Salisbury can find no account whatever in this country. Nor does he consider that the existence of ruined forts proves any claim, but rather the contrary, since it shows that the power that built these forts has abandoned them.

Your Majesty's Government therefore announce to all the Powers that they consider the attempt of the Portuguese to exercise dominion over the Shiré, etc., as an invasion of your Majesty's rights.

Dean Vaughan¹ to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

THE DEANERY, LLANDAFF, 28th December 1889.

DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,—I know that your kindness will pardon the liberty I take in asking whether you do not feel that the time has come for placing the Dean of Windsor in a still more prominent station in the Church. I do not say that any station could be more important than that which he now occupies as the Domestic Chaplain to the Queen.

But, in these days, when wisdom is so urgently wanted in the management of the affairs of the Church, it cannot but strike one that a person so singularly gifted with discernment, experience, and absolute straightness of view and purpose, ought to be where he can make his voice heard with authority both among the Bishops and in Parliament. He is no longer young, except in the sense of vigour. He is older than Dr. Lightfoot was when he was offered the bishopric of Lichfield in 1867.

I feel myself impelled to say this to you at this

¹ Master of the Temple, and Dean of Llandaff, and a famous trainer of clergy. He had himself refused bishoprics.

moment, because I feel it more than probable that it may be left to her Majesty to take the *initiative* in putting him forward for a higher place in the Church. Some might even imagine it an interference with the Queen's immediate surroundings to suggest his translation from the Deanery to a bishopric.

I do not believe, my dear Sir Henry Ponsonby, that there exists at this moment a wiser or a more trustworthy person than he for *any* office, were it even the highest of all, to which the administration is confided.

You alone can judge how far it may be possible to breathe such a thought into the ear of the Sovereign. I can but say that, without some such suggestion from one so near the person of her Majesty as yourself, I greatly fear that one opportunity after another may be allowed to pass by, and that the Church will be left destitute of the counsels of the one man who possesses alike the judgment, the courage, and the skill which were never more imperatively wanted than at this moment for its guidance through a crisis of enormous difficulty.

With the greatest respect and with all possible deference, Believe me, dear Sir Henry Ponsonby,
Your obedient and faithful servant, C. J. VAUGHAN.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

28th Dec. 1889.—The Dean said it was painful to speak about himself, but he was bound to do so. He was most happy at Windsor, and your Majesty's approval of his services gave him great pride and pleasure. But the Archbishops and others remonstrated with him for remaining in this quiet and comfortable place when others were doing their utmost for the Church and devoting themselves to work. His training has given him a larger view and insight into the affairs of the Church than many others, and he admits that he feels it scarcely right of him to shield himself under your Majesty's gracious kindness, and to refuse to engage in the busy work of the Church.

Whoever is made Bishop now will probably enter the House of Lords, where useful men are so much needed, in four or five years' time. But as there may probably be many young men appointed Bishops next year, whoever is appointed in a year's time would probably not enter the House of Lords for ten or twelve years. It is this reason that makes him anxious to be made a Bishop now, otherwise he would never be able to look forward to be of use to the Church—not in Ecclesiastical matters so much as in social and national points of view. It has been suggested that he should go to St. Albans, and this is his wish. In a pecuniary way he would lose money by the promotion; but he believes that, being young and active, he could do good service in the East End of London, that he could stir up a national feeling in the Church, and if in a few years he entered the House of Lords, he could take part in the great questions which at present require to be discussed, but which from a lack of energetic Bishops are scarcely noticed. He was much touched by your Majesty saying he was useful as an adviser; but he believed he could be of equal use from London, as he would have to live in the East End or near it. . . .

The matter had been so strongly pressed upon him that he felt it would not be honest if he did not state all the circumstances; but he left it entirely in the Queen's hands, and would most cheerfully abide by your Majesty's decision.

It is only to St. Albans that he hopes to go. He would strongly urge that he should not be considered for any of the higher sees.

The Marchioness of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HATFIELD HOUSE, 28th December 1889.

MADAM,—Your Majesty has been so kind to me that I feel I must tell you when I am anxious. Dr. Douglas Powell says Salisbury has congestion of the kidneys, which made him so ill nine years ago.

only we had Sir William Jenner I should be happier, because he really knows Salisbury's constitution; but I feel this doctor is rather groping in the dark.

Salisbury does not know I am writing. He is, as usual, quite calm, and takes everything quietly. You will quite understand, Madam, now why you do not hear from him, as he is told he ought to do no work for the next week or two. He has given up the great meeting at Grantham.

Dr. Powell only told me to-day what was the matter with him, or I would have of course told your Majesty at once. I am, with great respect, Your Majesty's faithful subject, G. SALISBURY.

Colonel Euan Smith to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

ZANZIBAR, 28th December 1889.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—. . . Stanley has now been a guest in my house for nearly a month, and we have talked "Africa" until the most unpronounceable names are now familiar in my very mouth as household words. His hair is as white as snow. When first I saw him he looked dreadfully *usé* and done up; but the rest and good living have worked a wonderful change for the better in his appearance. His experiences and sufferings have been beyond anything that it would enter into the mind of man to conceive, and he has a frightful tale to tell of the inhumanities and cruelties of the Arabs in Central Africa, which will I am convinced make all England ring with indignation. He is thoroughly in earnest in his belief that to him has been confided the mission of rescuing the natives of Central Africa from their present desperate situation. He depends almost entirely on two great measures to effect this. The first: that all the European Powers should combine to put an absolute stop for a term of years to the importation of arms and ammunition into Africa; the second: the immediate construction of a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria Nyanza. He has already telegraphed on this latter subject to

Mackinnon, who has at once taken up the question with much earnestness and enthusiasm.

Stanley's four English officers, Lieutenant Stairs, Captain Nelson, Mr. Jephson, and Surgeon Parke (the latter of whom has been at death's door from fever, but is now recovering), are certainly a splendid quartette of Englishmen; but there is no love lost between them and Stanley, who, I fancy, though an unequalled leader of natives, does not understand how to treat Englishmen. They all, however, un-animously acknowledge that no other leader could have successfully extricated the expedition from the hideous difficulties in which it found itself entangled. . . .

It is easy to see that Stanley has neither liking nor admiration for [Emin Pasha]; and he openly expresses his opinion that the estimation in which [he] was held in England, as an heroic figure holding his post against overwhelming odds, is entirely false and unsatisfactory. He declares the Pasha to be a weak-minded, sweet-natured, pleasant-mannered *savant*, but to be wholly incapable of ruling or of leading men. He says that since Gordon's death the entire equatorial province under Emin Pasha's command has been the scene of the most unbridled licence and oppression of the native population by the Egyptian soldiers, and that the only reason why Emin was allowed to keep his position was because he did, or attempted to do, nothing to check this state of affairs. Stanley hardly cares to disguise the contempt with which he speaks of the Pasha, and he hints that a very great deal of curious matter will see the light before long. In the meanwhile, the poor Pasha is something of a prisoner in the hands of the Germans, whose tender mercies are perhaps not without a tinge of unintentional cruelty. It is quite impossible to say whether or when he will leave Bagamoyo. He has a little daughter by an Abyssinian woman with him, a child of some twelve years old, large-eyed and bronze-skinned. Stanley himself has made over to the care

of my wife and myself a most charming little boy whom he rescued from starvation on his way back to the coast. The little fellow, who is without a friend or relative in the world, has taken very kindly to garments and to civilisation, and I hope some day to take him home with me.

I should like to explain that it was at the express request of the English officers of the relief expedition that I telegraphed to you suggesting that her Majesty might be graciously pleased to send a message of sympathy and congratulation to the surviving Zanzibaris of the expedition. These men were always talking about her Majesty, and her gracious message gave them the most unfeigned satisfaction. They have done excellent service, but less than half the number who left Zanzibar have returned here. I have done my best to do them honour, took them to the Sultan, made them a speech, had them photographed, and finally dined them all. They were greatly pleased, but it is melancholy to reflect that, as Stanley informs me, when pay-day came, and they were paraded to receive nearly three years' wages, their Arab owners assembled at the pay office and seized from each the entire sum he received. I am told that the larger proportion of the sum so received went to the Sultan as being the largest slave-owner. The gratuities they received, over and above their pay, on a separate occasion were, however, not known by the Arabs and consequently not touched. . . .

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER VI

THE fall of Prince Bismarck, after nearly twenty-eight years of uninterrupted office and power, made 1890 a notable year in European, and indeed world, history. During the winter of 1889–1890 serious differences of opinion developed between Emperor and Chancellor. The Emperor desired a more decided backing of Austria in Balkan affairs, and less coquetting with Russia; at home he wished to co-operate as far as possible with the Socialists, whom the Chancellor determined to crush. Finally, he was resolved to have personal control over Government; to consult subordinate Ministers at his pleasure, and to be taken completely into the Chancellor's confidence. It was the overthrow of Prince Bismarck's system; on 17th March he tendered the resignation of all his offices; his resignation was accepted, and Count Caprivi was appointed his successor.

The new Administration in Germany showed cordial feeling towards England. The Prince of Wales had an enthusiastic reception in Berlin in March; and the German Emperor not only repeated his August visit to Osborne, but paid friendly attention to the Queen when she stayed at Darmstadt in April on her way home from Aix. Opportunity was taken in May and June to arrange by negotiation the boundaries between the spheres of interest of the two Powers in Africa. Under this agreement a long stretch of coast north of German East Africa, with a vast *hinterland* embracing the sources of the Nile, was preserved for the action of the Imperial British East Africa Company; but it was found impossible to secure for Britain the protectorate of Zanzibar and Pemba without ceding Heligoland to Germany. There was some demur to this cession, especially on the part of Queen Victoria; but little opposition in Parliament, whose assent had been stipulated for in the agreement. A similar arrangement with regard to the boundaries of African colonies and protectorates was subsequently come to with France. Portugal had endeavoured to assert her shadowy claims to the central territories between Angola and Mozambique by a piratical expedition under Major Serpa Pinto. Though an ultimatum from Lord Salisbury in the beginning of the year caused her to withdraw, the British South Africa Company still met with Portuguese opposition in the settlement of the country now known as Rhodesia.

After the excitements of 1889 France had a fairly quiet year in 1890. In Germany, owing to the changed conditions,

there was a Labour Conference of the Powers in the spring, and an international Socialist Congress in the autumn. Our Behring Sea dispute with the United States threatened at times to be critical. Russian influence in Bulgaria declined, and Prince Ferdinand's Government won popularity at home and consideration from the Porte. The King of the Netherlands, William III, died in November, and was succeeded by his young daughter, Wilhelmina; his widow, Queen Emma, being Regent during the minority.

Once more the Irish Question dominated politics at home. The Report of the Special Commission on "Parnellism and Crime" was issued in February. It was a mixed verdict. Mr. Parnell and his colleagues were entirely acquitted of the charge of insincerity in their denunciation of the Phoenix Park murders; and the "letters" were pronounced to be forgeries. Moreover, the charge of denouncing crime in public and expressing approval to supporters in private was "not established"; and some of the Nationalists, notably Mr. Davitt, expressed *bona fide* disapproval of crime and outrage. In short, the Nationalists did not directly incite persons to crime other than intimidation. But the Judges found that to intimidation, in order to prevent the payment of agricultural rents, the Nationalists did incite, with the consequence that crime and outrage were committed by the persons incited; and this system of intimidation they did not denounce, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effect. They disseminated newspapers tending to the commission of crime; defended persons charged with crime, supported their families, and compensated those injured in committing crime. It was further found that they invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the Physical Force party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and of Patrick Ford, a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite; from Ford it was also proved that they accepted subscriptions of money.

Before the Report of the Commission was issued, *The Times* had compromised an action brought by Mr. Parnell in the Edinburgh courts for £100,000 by payment of £5,000; and the Opposition had raised the "letters" as a question of privilege on the opening day of Parliament, and had only been beaten by the relatively small majority of 48. When the Report appeared, it was claimed by the British Home Rulers to be a practical acquittal of the Nationalists; by the Unionists to be sufficient proof of the intimate and

vital relation of "Parnellism" and "Crime." When Ministers proposed that Parliament should enter the Report in its journals and thank the Judges, Mr. Gladstone and his followers vehemently protested in prolonged debates in which both *The Times* and the Ministry were bitterly arraigned. An amendment by Mr. Gladstone asked for a Parliamentary condemnation of the "flagrant iniquity" of the charges of *The Times*; but the Government secured majorities of 60 and 70.

These debates occupied much Parliamentary time which could be ill spared, as the Government had two important bills on hand—a comprehensive Irish Land Bill, and a Tithe Bill. Though both bills obtained satisfactory majorities on the Second Reading, both were threatened with indefinite obstruction; and the position was complicated by a proposal in the Budget for the buying up and extinction of Liquor Licences, which had excited the vehement opposition of most of the Temperance Societies. Worst of all, the management of public business suffered through the loss of strength and nerve, incurred through overstrain, of the Leader of the House, Mr. Smith. In the result the Licensing Proposals were abandoned; and the Irish Land Bill and the Tithe Bill were withdrawn, to be reintroduced in a new session to open in November.

During the spring the Hartington Commission reported. Besides proposing the creation of a Naval and Military Council of Defence, they recommended that the War Office should be remodelled after (more or less) the fashion of the Admiralty; that the Secretary of State should be advised by a council of military officers, responsible for the various military departments, with a Chief of the Staff corresponding to the First Naval Lord; and that the office of Commander-in-Chief should be abolished. This final recommendation was immensely distasteful to the Queen, and the Cabinet decided against it, at any rate for the present. But a military council to advise the Secretary of State was created, only with the Commander-in-Chief as the First Military member of it.

In Ireland agrarian disturbance had become so localised that in the beginning of the year the provisions of the Crimes Act had been relaxed over large areas. There was a spectacular proceeding at Tipperary, where, to punish Mr. Smith-Barry, admittedly an admirable landlord, for helping a neighbour against unreasonable demands, his tenants in the town were ordered by the League to refuse to pay rent and, on being evicted from their substantial

houses and shops, to take up their abode in a "New Tipperary" just outside, which the Nationalists proceeded to build. This was far from popular; Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien came down in order to stimulate the reluctant, and held a meeting which involved them in serious collision with the police. They were subsequently arrested and put on trial, but absconded from their bail, and fled to America. The imminence of potato disease in the late autumn brought Mr. Balfour in person to the western counties, where he moved freely about among the people, and took counsel with local authorities as to remedies.

A week before the November session of Parliament the prospects of Home Rule were vitally affected by a decree of the High Court, granting Capt. O'Shea, a former Nationalist M.P., a divorce from his wife because of her adultery with Mr. Parnell. The case was not defended, and the evidence showed that the conduct of the co-respondent had been more than usually dishonourable. At once it was made clear that the English Nonconformists and Scottish Presbyterians, who furnished the core of the Gladstonian Party, would not continue co-operation with the Nationalists if he remained leader. But his own party promptly rallied to him, proclaimed their unabated loyalty in a great meeting at Leinster Hall in Dublin, and re-elected him unanimously at the opening of Parliament. Then a letter was published in which Mr. Gladstone declared that Mr. Parnell's continuance in the leadership of the Irish Party would render his own retention of the Liberal leadership "almost a nullity." This declaration split the Nationalists in two. Mr. Parnell issued a manifesto to the Irish people saying that the question at issue was whether the Irish Party should be really independent, or subservient to Mr. Gladstone and the British Liberals, and bringing insidious charges of treachery against Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley. For many days the Nationalists deserted the House—thereby allowing the Government materially to advance their important left-over bills—for Committee Room No. 15, where Mr. Parnell conducted a vigorous struggle to retain command or at least prevent a vote for his deposition. Finally the majority, forty-five members, seceded, and elected Mr. Justin McCarthy to lead them. Mr. Parnell was left with twenty-six. He crossed to Ireland, and started there a violent internecine campaign, the Irish Roman Catholic bishops having after consideration pronounced against him.

CHAPTER VI

1890

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1st Jan. 1890.—Received many letters and telegrams. Horrified at getting one announcing the total destruction of Laeken by fire ! Too dreadful, and what a beginning to the new year ! Telegraphed to Leopold, who confirmed the distressing news Lord Vivian¹ had already sent. Leopold and Marie were holding the usual great New Year's Day reception at Brussels, when the news reached them, and they hastened off at once. Mercifully their daughter Clémentine escaped, but her poor governess perished in the flames. All poor Marie's belongings were lost, including precious relics of her dear lost son, and everything in the Palace has gone, excepting Leopold's room and the great hall under the dome. Some pictures were saved. Such remembrances of dear Uncle Leopold and Aunt Louise gone !

Queen Victoria to Archbishop Benson.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 3rd January 1890.

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—The great amount of letters and telegrams which I have received and had to write during the last few days will, I trust, be understood as the cause of my not sooner answering your kind letter and thanking you for it, and for the volume of your charges.

¹ British Minister in Brussels.

I deeply regret the death of the Bishop of Durham, whom I knew well in former days, and who was a man of such knowledge and power, and of such use in his position; and I entirely agree with you in the immense importance of the selection for Bishopricks. It is a great anxiety, and the men to be chosen *must* not be taken with reference to satisfying one or the other *party* in the *Church*, or with reference to any political party, but for their *real worth*; we want people who can be firm and yet conciliatory, else the Church cannot be maintained. We want large, broad views, or the difficulties will become insurmountable.

I have been told by various people that the Dean of Windsor would be admirably suited to be made a bishop. You will easily understand that I do not wish to lose him, as besides his merits as a preacher, and his great suitableness for the position, which as the Queen's Chaplain and Dean of Windsor is one of great importance, he is socially most agreeable, which is also of importance. My first impulse was to say I *could not* give him up, but when it was represented to me by people of influence and experience how much good he could and would do, I felt I could not, from selfish motives—though I *do* think *all underrate* the *importance* of his present position, even for the good of the Church—refuse to allow his name to be submitted to me when the time comes for new bishops.

I have understood that you consider Canon Westcott as the fittest successor to Bishop Lightfoot. A few days must elapse before much can be done; and Lord Salisbury, though much better, is still ordered to keep quiet.¹ In conclusion pray accept my best wishes for a happy and bright New Year to yourself and your family, and believe me, Always yours truly, V. R. I.

¹ Lady Salisbury, writing on the previous day, told the Queen that, by the doctor's orders, "Lord Salisbury must remain quietly at Hatfield till Parliament meets, though [Dr. Powell] hopes work may be resumed in moderation in a few days."

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 5th Jan. 1890.—Heard that the poor Empress Augusta had got influenza and was very weak. This influenza made its appearance first in Russia, and has been in many cases fatal.

Archbishop Benson to Queen Victoria.

ADDINGTON PARK, 7th January 1890.

MADAM,—I beg to acknowledge with my humble thanks your Majesty's græcious letter.

I recognise perfectly the justice of your Majesty's description of the kind of men whom the Church and the country really need as bishops. The choice never was so difficult. The best zealot—ecclesiastical or political—might easily work irreparable mischief. Yet easy, colourless men will not do at all. The new bishops must be interested and instructed in central affairs and social questions, ready to work at them, and able, if wanted, to speak on them. Strength and moderation, breadth and earnestness are a rare combination.

Since your Majesty is so gracious as to mention the subject to me, I cannot say that I know anyone so well qualified as the Dean of Windsor. I have always attached, as he is aware, the highest importance to that office. His discretion, sympathy, and superiority to party and personal feeling (besides his other admirable qualities) fit him singularly to fill it. And yet I cannot see elsewhere—if your Majesty's unselfishness and judgment permit him to go—qualifications so necessary for the episcopate, especially for a see connected with London.

Canon Westcott is no less eminently marked for Durham—Bishop Lightfoot's friend, full of his spirit; ready to take up all threads of progressive work in that northern population; learned, and with a University to care for; not really "crotchety" in *practical* matters, but businesslike; and keen in social questions.

I am glad to hear how anxious the northern people are to have him. It shows how they care for realities in the Church. Their newspapers are eager for him, and I can answer for the Chapter and Clergy. I have the honour to be, Your Majesty's most dutiful humble servant, EDW. CANTUAR.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 7th Jan. 1890.—Received the news of the poor Empress Augusta's death. For forty-four years we had been on intimate terms, and I cannot forget how fond dear Albert was of her, and she of him. How happy it always made her to come to England!

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

10th Jan. 1890.—It turns out that your Majesty was right in doubting whether the Dean of Windsor would be strong enough to undertake the severe work of the diocese of St. Albans; for he writes that he finds it would scarcely be advisable for him to be appointed to it, or at any rate if he went there he could do no other work, nor could he be active on behalf of Church interests, as the regular duty of the diocese would be more than he has strength to accomplish.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 12th Jan. 1890.—Was shocked to hear that Lord Hartington was alarmingly ill with congestion of both lungs. We have also been anxious about Lord Salisbury, who is recovering very slowly from a severe attack of influenza.

14th Jan.—Heard of the death of dear old Lord Napier of Magdala from influenza. Much grieved, as he was such a good, loyal, and sensible man.¹ The

¹ The Queen both telegraphed and wrote to Lady Napier, expressing her "true and deep sympathy," and saying that she had "the greatest respect and admiration" for one of the "brightest ornaments" of the country, and especially of the Army.

accounts of the dear little King [of Spain] are much better, also of Lord Hartington and Lord Salisbury.

[*Telegram.*] *The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.*

BERLIN SCHLOSS, 15th Jan. 1890.—Please accept my warmest sympathy for the loss of such an excellent soldier, fine character and trusted friend, as late Lord Napier was. I am proud to have known him, and always deeply respected him. WILLIAM I.R.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

18th Jan. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully offers his grateful thanks for your Majesty's gracious and repeated enquiries and for the very great indulgence your Majesty has extended to him during his illness.

He would have written sooner, but that the strange muscular prostration arising from this complaint makes legible writing very difficult. Lord Salisbury hopes to write more fully to your Majesty about the vacant bishoprics in a day or two.

He now humbly submits that the promoters of the Forth Bridge, supported by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, are anxious that your Majesty should grant some honours on the occasion of its being opened by H.R.H. A baronetcy to the Engineer (Sir J. Fowler) and a knighthood to the Contractor would be in accordance with precedent in dealing with so great a work.

It is also desired that a baronetcy should be given to the Chairman of the Midland Railway, Mr. Thompson; this railway is largely concerned in the work.

Baronetcies have been given to the Chairmen of the North Western (Sir R. Moon), the Great Western (Sir D. Gooch), the South Eastern (Sir E. Watkin), the Canadian Pacific (Sir J. Stewart). Lord Salisbury therefore sees no objection to recommending a similar honour in case of the Midland, if it should be agreeable to your Majesty's wishes.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 18th Jan. 1890.—Heard that the poor Duke of Aosta was alarmingly ill with influenza. Whilst at tea, received the news of the Duke of Aosta's ¹ death, the King [of Italy] telegraphing himself.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 26th January 1890.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—The Queen has recently communicated with me once or twice about bishops through you; and I think that, in view of the state of my handwriting, it may be more convenient if I write to you what I desire to submit to her.

I entirely concur in a remark she made in her last letter to me that episcopal appointments at the present time might affect the question of the disruption of the Church. I am deeply sensible of the responsibility of advising her at this juncture—as the conflict between the two parties has become so hot that a trifle might kindle it into a dangerous flame. The exasperation on both sides is equal, the High Church being backed generally by a majority of the clergy, and the Low Church by a majority of the laity.

But I do respectfully differ from the Queen in thinking that a remedy for this particular disorder will be found in nominating a man like Canon Westcott to the See of Durham. He is a man of prodigious learning, and as a student most admirable. But I understand that he is a man of little personal influence, unimpressive, a bad presence, no hold over other men. As a learned man he would be thrown away, as Lightfoot was thrown away. His time would be occupied in the petty details of diocesan administration; and his unequalled erudition would become useless to the world for want of leisure to produce it.

¹ He was brother of King Humbert of Italy, and reigned in Spain from December 1870 to February 1873, when he abdicated, as King Amadeo. He had attended the 1887 Jubilee, as representing King Humbert.

If the Queen has a strong opinion that his great merit ought to be rewarded by a bishopric, it should be a small diocese, which would not make exhaustive claims upon his time. The Bishop of Chichester is eighty-eight years of age, and will probably retire before long; and Westcott might have that bishopric without entirely shutting his library up.

But there is another and more general reason for which I think he would be an unsuitable candidate for a bishopric at this moment. He is a Broad Churchman. Probably the Broad Church contains many more able men than the other two sections. But they have no hold upon the combatants in the present ecclesiastical conflict. Neither side will take much account of any advice except what they get from men of their own colour. It is a profound disaster for the Church at this moment that the High Church party are represented on the Bench by Bishop King; and the Low Church by Bishop Ryle. Both men, I do not doubt, are holy and well-meaning men; but the part they have practically played is that of fire-brands. I am very anxious to get upon the Bench a High Churchman and Low Churchman of moderate temper and views. Their counsels of prudence will be much more listened to than those of men with whom, however distinguished, neither side have much sympathy. I am far from saying that I would exclude the Broad Churchmen: they are on the whole the strongest men. But first I should like to get a good and moderate and influential Low Churchman and High Churchman.

Starting from this point of view, the advice I should be disposed to submit to her Majesty would be to make this vacancy at Durham the occasion for promoting a prominent Low Churchman. I should put the Bishop of Ripon into Durham and the Dean of Peterborough into Ripon. As the Queen knows, I, on the whole, prefer Canon Fleming to the Dean of Peterborough; but the result of my more recent enquiries is favourable to the latter; and, if the

Queen remains indisposed to Canon Fleming, I should not consider the Dean of Peterborough (whom she suggested) to be an unsuitable appointment.

St. Albans will be vacant very shortly; in fact, I am just about to submit his application to resign. I should recommend for that vacancy, as a reasonable and prudent High Churchman, Edward Talbot, now Vicar of Leeds. I mentioned his name to her Majesty before. I consider him specially suited to this diocese, where there are a great number of gentry, and where such matters as manners and birth and connection assume a considerable importance. If Talbot would not accept it, or if a third diocese fell vacant, I should recommend the Dean of Windsor. He has not the influence over High Churchmen which Talbot would have. On the other hand, his power of dealing with men is very great indeed. He ought to have a southern diocese, as he would be constantly wanted in London. I have no doubt that in time he would establish an influence over the Church not unlike that which Bishop Wilberforce possessed towards the close of his life.

Of course, Westcott's claims would have to be considered still. I should be very loth to put him before the three men I have named. But I should not shrink from the responsibility of recommending him for a small diocese if the Queen wishes it. I have been much pressed to recommend the Bishop of Wakefield (Walsham How) instead of the Bishop of Ripon. I do not think Walsham How would be a bad appointment; but I prefer the Bishop of Ripon.

I am very sorry to have delayed so long before writing this letter, but my strength has returned to me very slowly. Believe me, Yours very truly,
SALISBURY.

Dean Davidson to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

DEANERY, WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th January 1890.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—I have your important letter about the vacant bishoprics. I do not quite

follow Lord Salisbury's argument about the unsuitableness of Dr. Westcott for Durham.

You say he is "too learned for Durham," and that if he is to be a bishop he should wait for Chichester. Now Durham's whole tradition for a century is a tradition of learned bishops. Bishop Butler (100 years ago) and lately Van Mildert, Maltby, Longley, Baring, and Lightfoot—all learned men. Nor is the diocese a very laborious one. It is not now very extensive; and, though the population is large, the number of parishes (a very important thing to a bishop) is small, when compared even with Chichester; Durham has 235 parishes, Chichester has 380, St. Albans, 590!

Dr. Westcott would certainly decline Chichester; but he could probably be persuaded by his friends to accept Durham, in order to carry on there the great work of his colleague and friend, Bishop Lightfoot, both in organisation and in scholarship. The bishop is at the head of the *University* of Durham.

Of course, Bishop Boyd-Carpenter will shine in many respects, wherever he is; and if Dr. Westcott is really impossible, the Queen would of course accept the nomination of Dr. Boyd-Carpenter, but it would not, I fear, be a very popular appointment in the north, nor do I think he would himself be happy there, as Bishop Lightfoot's successor, though I do not doubt he would accept it.

Then, supposing him to be transferred there, and to vacate Ripon, Lord Salisbury suggests Dean Perowne for Ripon. He is a good and learned man, but he is nearly seventy years old! (he is certainly more than sixty-seven), and Ripon is a most laborious and heavy diocese, with all the work of huge towns (Leeds, Bradford, etc.), needing the full energies of a younger and stronger man. Even Bishop Barry (who is sixty-three) is scarcely perhaps up to such a post, and Dr. Perowne *far* less so. If Lord Salisbury desires to send an Evangelical there (and there is much to be said for it), why not such a man as Mr. Glyn of

Kensington? He has not Dr. Perowne's scholarship, but Ripon is not a scholarly diocese. Canon Fleming is, as the Queen knows, not fit for such a position.

I quite feel that if Bishop Boyd-Carpenter, or Dr. Westcott, be sent to Durham, it would be suitable that so good a man as Edward Talbot of Leeds should go, say, to St. Albans or elsewhere.

I could easily go into more detail upon all these points if desired, but it is probably needless. The matter is at present of vital importance on public grounds; and, if you think my having a conversation with you on any of the points would be of service, as enabling you to put them before the Queen, I would readily go to the Isle of Wight at a moment's notice to see you. Yours very truly, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Copies.]

28th January 1890.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—The Queen thanks you for your letter on the subject of the bishoprics.

Her Majesty cannot agree with you that Canon Westcott is not well fitted for Durham, and maintains that Lightfoot's learning was not thrown away. For at Durham, with its University, they expect a scholar, and Dr. Lightfoot was certainly popular.

Dr. B. Carpenter is not Low, but is a Broad Churchman.

Canon Fleming is certainly not popular, and not fitted for a Bishopric. H. P.¹

OSBORNE, 3rd February 1890.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—As you object to Canon Westcott's promotion to Durham, the Queen will say nothing more, except that she would have thought a man of his peculiar influence and learning would have

¹ In a reply, dated 2nd February, Lord Salisbury strongly urged his objections to the appointment of Dr. Westcott to Durham; but, while preferring Ripon on account of his eloquence, said he would "be well satisfied to recommend Wakefield, Chester, or Southwell," i.e. Bishops Walsham How, Jayne, or Ridding.

been specially suited to succeed Bishop Lightfoot in that See. Whatever objections anyone might raise to his theological views, they would tell with still greater force against Bishop Boyd-Carpenter, who is distinctly one of the Broad Church party.

But her Majesty gladly adopts your alternative proposal of translating Bishop Walsham How to Durham. He has, as member of several Royal Commissions, taken a prominent part in the discussions on the public questions of the day, and would be, the Queen thinks, a valuable acquisition to the House of Lords.

In this case Dr. Perowne, who is approaching seventy years of age, might, as proposed by you, be promoted; and the comparatively easy See of Wakefield would be suitable for a bishop who has passed the vigour of youth.

When St. Albans is vacant the Queen will be happy to see Mr. Talbot in that important and busy See.

Should any vacancy occur at Chichester, her Majesty hopes that the Dean of Windsor may be induced to accept that bishopric. Yours very truly,
HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 7th Feb. 1890.—Saw Mr. Goschen after tea for more than an hour. He said Lord Salisbury was much better, but had been very ill, and that Lord Hartington had been in still more imminent danger, though also recovered. The Government held their own well in the country, and the by-elections did not signify. Ireland had greatly improved, and Mr. Balfour was an immense strength, having done wonders. The land question was of course the great difficulty.

The Duke of Cambridge to Sir Henry Ponsonby.
Private.

CANNES, 7th February 1890.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I have been much annoyed at seeing various paragraphs in the papers, stating that I had pressed upon her Majesty a desire to be

relieved of the Command of the Army. Whence these have come I cannot imagine, but you know me too well not to be assured that if I at any time had such intention, the first person to whom I should make known such a wish would be the QUEEN, and you are of course fully aware that no such communication has been made by me to this effect; I therefore hope her Majesty will exonerate me from all blame in this respect.

Lord Wolseley has written a very injudicious article in *Harper's Magazine* on the British Army, which contains doctrines and views I deeply regret and highly reprobate, more particularly as coming from the Adjutant-General of the Army, who I think has no business either to write articles or make speeches on army matters. Mr. Stanhope has written to me on the subject, and is evidently much annoyed, and I have forwarded an official letter to me about it from the Secretary of State to Wolseley for any explanation he may think it desirable to offer. The mischief has been done and cannot be undone, but I cannot help thinking that a hint from her Majesty to the Adjutant-General, either through Mr. Stanhope or myself or even directly, should that course be preferred, might stop such proceedings in the future, and would relieve me of a very considerable difficulty and much annoyance. I remain, Yours most sincerely, GEORGE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 10th Feb. 1890.—The fiftieth anniversary of my wedding, and I am already twenty-nine years a widow. Still, the reflection of those twenty-two years of great happiness remains. Had many kind telegrams. Dear Beatrice brought me in at breakfast a sweet little gold basket with lovely orange flowers and myrtles and a large prayer book, given me by all my children. Tennyson wrote the following beautiful lines for it:

Remembering him who waits thee far away,
And with the mother taught us first to pray,
Accept on this your golden bridal day
This book of prayer.

The Household presented me with a lovely red enamel of my wedding picture, framed in white leather, with a spray of gold orange blossoms on the top. It gave me great pleasure. I also received endless lovely nosegays, and was quite overcome at so much kindness.

*Sir Edward Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.*¹
 [Copy.] BERLIN, 12th February 1890.
Private and Secret.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—Prince Bismarck called on me on the 10th inst. and plunged at once *in medias* as to his position with regard to the Emperor and his Majesty's projected labour conference.

I asked the Prince how he was; he replied, "I ought to be well, for my general health is good, but I am made nervous and out of sorts by the situation. I cannot approve of or agree in what the Emperor is doing,² and it has come to this, that I have made up my mind to resign all the offices I hold except those of Chancellor of the Empire and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Empire. I shall cease to be Prussian Prime Minister, and resign the portfolios which I hold in the Prussian Ministry (Foreign Affairs and Commerce). I would retire altogether, but the Emperor wishes me to remain, and I cannot refuse, for if I were to go now on the eve of the elections it might have an effect upon them which I desire as little now as before the present situation arose. . . . My position will be a difficult one. Herr von Boetlicher as Prussian Prime Minister will be over me in the Bundesrath, while as Chancellor I direct the policy of the Empire. I doubt its working, and it will probably end in my complete retirement. The Emperor is very cordial towards me, but he wishes to govern, himself. He has not realised the utility of having a screen between himself and his subjects on which the blows of unpopularity may fall without injuring him.

¹ Submitted by Lord Salisbury to the Queen.

² In making advances towards the Socialists.

He has no doubts. He thinks he can do all things, and he wishes to have entire credit all to himself." . . .

I remarked that the Emperor must know that he (Prince Bismarck) was regarded as a guarantee of the maintenance of peace in Europe, and that his disappearance from the scene would be regarded with something like consternation, as his Majesty had not as yet acquired the confidence of the Powers in his pacific intentions; but the Prince said that his Majesty believed himself capable of managing foreign affairs quite well himself. "He is elated with what he considers to be the success of his visit to Russia and other countries. He only wants me to remain in order that I may make speeches in the Reichstag and induce it to vote money." These were the only words he uttered with some bitterness of manner. "I am glad," he said, "that seventy-five years are behind me and not before me; my work is done, but it is sad to see the edifice which I have raised brick by brick in danger of crumbling. When I was called to be Minister in Prussia I found things in a state of chaos. The King wanted to abdicate. I brought him to see that it was better to share the dangers of the situation with his people than to die in dishonoured retirement. He was all for peace. He wanted to surrender Augustenburg. I made the Austrian war against his urgent wishes. In 1870 I was obliged to have resort to a stratagem to force on war at that moment. It must have come later. It was everything to us to choose the time. The Empress Augusta never ceased to work against me. In 1877 the crisis came, and I told the Emperor that he must choose between me and my enemies. He wept and besought [me] to remain. There was nothing at that time that my enemies did not say. . . . I survived all their attacks, and defeated all those who strove to destroy me."

As he went away he said, "I came to make you my call and to apologise to you for all the trouble we are going to give you, but it is not of my making."

In giving this general account of what he said I

think I have not sufficiently accentuated the impression which he conveyed that the Emperor deemed himself quite able to stand alone and to direct the internal and external affairs of the Empire without any anxiety as to his own capacity. . . .

Believe me, etc., EDWARD B. MALET.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Duke of Cambridge.

OSBORNE, 13th February 1890.

SIR,—I am sorry for the delay in answering your Royal Highness's letter, but I did not like to write till I had received the Queen's commands, which I have only just been honoured with.

The Queen had not seen the rumours referred to by your Royal Highness, and is glad she did not read them, as any suggestion that your Royal Highness contemplated resignation would have much distressed her.

The Queen has seen Lord Wolseley's article in *Harper*, though she cannot say she has attentively read it. He complains that sufficient attention is not paid by the ever-changing civilian Secretaries of State to the advice given by the Commander-in-Chief and his staff; and her Majesty is afraid she cannot say that she entirely disagrees with this view. But it is no doubt inconvenient that the Adjutant-General of the Army should ventilate his opinion on military matters in the pages of a magazine, and if your Royal Highness thinks it desirable that the Queen should address your Royal Highness or Mr. Stanhope on the subject she will do so, but asks that she may be furnished with the words she should use, as she is not sure what special point she should refer to. . . .

There is a good deal of discussion going on here about the Duke of Connaught and the Commander-in-Chiefship in India. Much seems to depend on whether Roberts is to succeed as Adjutant-General this year or not. I find there are many officers who hope that Buller may be selected. But Mr. Stanhope is in favour of Roberts. McNeill has gone to join the

Duke of Connaught in India, and intends, I believe, to advise his Royal Highness to make a push for the Commander-in-Chief [in India] in any case. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Royal Highness's obedient humble servant, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 14th Feb. 1890.—Heard at breakfast that dear Lord Sydney¹ had passed peacefully away. He is a great loss, and was ever such a loyal devoted servant of the Crown, much devoted to me personally, a man full of knowledge and experience, to whom one could turn at all times.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 14th Feb. 1890.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has again to report a dull and wasted evening.

Mr. Parnell moved his amendment complaining of the unjust, exasperating, and futile administration of the Coercive Act of 1887 and of evictions, and he supported his motion by reading out a long series of apparently trivial prosecutions as they were reported in the Nationalist newspapers. He insisted that under the stimulus of hope from the sanction of Mr. Gladstone, boycotting and agitation had entirely changed their character since 1882, when things were left undone which ought to have been done, and he wished it to be inferred that the movement now was loyal, orderly, and legal. He read out his speech from a printed paper, and was tedious and almost feeble.

The Attorney-General for Ireland replied in a very able speech, showing that no arguments and no facts had been advanced in support of that part of the resolution which complained of evictions; that, as regards Press prosecutions, they should be regarded as offences committed through the Press; that boycotting was still a crime, if to refuse a man food, to starve him, was still regarded as a crime; and as

¹ He had served the Queen for several years as Lord Chamberlain.

regards the minor offences which, in the judgment of Mr. Parnell, it was exasperating to prosecute, he showed that they were directed against the liberty and freedom of the subject. As to the futility of the administration of the Act, he quoted statistics showing that crime had largely diminished. . . .

17th Feb.—Mr. Smith with his humble duty to your Majesty has to state that at the meeting of the House this afternoon he gave notice of a motion for next Monday adopting the report of the Special Commissioners, which had been submitted to your Majesty, thanking them for their just and impartial conduct in the matters referred to them and ordering the report to be entered on the journals of the House.

The notice was received in dead silence by the front Opposition bench, with jeers from the Irish Members, and was cheered by the Conservatives.

The debate [on Mr. Parnell's amendment] was resumed. . . .

18th Feb.—Mr. Smith . . . is thankful to say that the debate on Mr. Parnell's amendment was concluded at midnight, 240 voting for the amendment and 307 against it. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

15th Feb.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that a Cabinet Council was held to-day. The first matter dealt with was the receipt of the Emperor of Germany's [letter] inviting your Majesty to join in a Conference on Labour controversies. The Cabinet were of opinion that the invitation should be readily accepted ; but as the letter communicated to us intimated that he proposed to consider the question of limiting by law the number of hours grown men might be allowed to work, the Cabinet thought the Emperor should be frankly told that it was impossible for this country to accept laws for the restraint of the labour of grown-up men ; it would be contrary to all our principles to prevent a man who wished to work nine

hours from working more than eight hours. But, subject to this reservation, they would advise that England should join fully in any discussion of the methods by which the lot of the industrial classes could be improved. . . .

[*Telegram.*] *The Sultan of Zanzibar to Queen Victoria.*

ZANZIBAR, 17th Feb. 1890.—I have to inform your Majesty by the Will of God my brother Seyyid Khalifa is dead, and that I have succeeded him as Sultan of Zanzibar. I pray that your Majesty will graciously continue to me the same support and favour and assistance which you have always shown to my predecessors and which I shall ever endeavour to deserve. I trust that I may be fortunate enough with the help of God to further cement the friendship and alliance which has so long existed between England and Zanzibar. May God preserve your Majesty and your family, ALI BIN SAID.

The Duke of Cambridge to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Private.

CANNES, 17th February 1890.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I have received your letter of the 13th and am glad to find that her Majesty is so gracious in her views as to the rumours about myself to which I alluded in my last letter to you. I agree with the Queen that there is much in Wolseley's article about which I go along with him, but there are many points which I don't think the Queen would approve of any more than I do. But the real point is this: Has the Adjutant-General of the Army any right to publish his abstract views on military matters whilst holding that high office under the Commander-in-Chief? The Adjutant-General is, as regards myself, very much in the position that the permanent Under-Secretary, Sir Ralph Thompson, is to the Secretary of State, and yet if the latter gave his opinion to the public on War Office proceedings without any authority he could be *at once* turned out

of office. That is the real point, and on this her Majesty might request you to write a line to Wolseley to express to him that it is undesirable, or she might write me a private note to show to Wolseley on the subject, saying for instance, that she thought it would be so much better for him as Adjutant-General not to publish anything or even to speak as seldom as possible on Army matters. However, if her Majesty prefers leaving it alone, let it be dropped, but I can assure you these outbursts are very embarrassing to the successive Secretaries-of-State as well as to myself, as I think you will easily understand.

You mention Roberts as a probable successor to Wolseley ; I cannot say I think he would be a good selection. Having been Commander-in-Chief in India, he would not submit himself to a higher military authority with comfort to himself, and he ought to hold an independent post, Malta, Gibraltar, or the Irish command. . . . Redvers Buller is so rough, though a fine fellow, but best where he is at present. The man to my mind is Harman, who would make the very best Adjutant-General of all the officers I know in the Army, active, a good rider, a perfect gentleman, an excellent soldier, and I do hope he may be the man. I remain, my dear Ponsonby, yours most sincerely,
GEORGE.

The Marquis of Lansdowne to Queen Victoria.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA, 18th Feb. 1890.—The Viceroy presents his humble duty to the Queen Empress, and begs to acknowledge the receipt of your Majesty's letters of the 17th and 24th January. He returns your Majesty his cordial thanks for the good wishes conveyed in the first of these, and is very grateful for your thought of him and of Lady Lansdowne.

The Viceroy is glad to say that H.R.H. Prince Albert Victor of Wales' tour has proceeded most satisfactorily ; in some places H.R.H. must, the Viceroy fears, have had to take part in an unpleasantly

large number of public functions. It was, however, impossible to avoid these altogether, and those which found a place in the programme could not have been excluded without giving offence.

The Viceroy observes what your Majesty has written with regard to the meeting of the Congress at Bombay. He believes your Majesty is quite right in thinking that Mr. Bradlaugh's visit has to some extent disappointed the advanced party, which expected him to take a much more pronounced and aggressive line. Mr. Bradlaugh's public utterances were upon the whole cautious, and more moderate than was anticipated. Lord Lansdowne believes that his attitude has to some extent had a salutary effect in undeceiving those who believed that the Radical Party in Parliament was ready to take up anything and everything which the agitators in this country might suggest. On the whole, the general impression is that the last meeting of the Congress fell flatter than those held in previous years.

Lord Sydney's death will, the Viceroy fears, have greatly grieved your Majesty. He was one of the Queen Empress's most devoted servants, and Lord Lansdowne has no doubt that your Majesty will feel the loss of one who had so much knowledge of the world combined with such excellent business abilities and such sound judgment. . . .

Mr. Edward Stanhope to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Private.

WAR OFFICE, 21st February 1890.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—I am sorry that urgent business prevented my writing yesterday, but I now enclose the official correspondence between myself and the Commander-in-Chief on the subject of Lord Wolseley's article. I have not included some private letters showing that H.R.H. and myself are completely in agreement upon the subject.

The points in the article to which I took special objection related to the Commander-in-Chief and to myself. I objected very strongly to the remarks made

on the subject of clothing. It is well known that some difference of opinion has existed on the subject between Lord Wolseley and the Commander-in-Chief, and it was singularly unfair on the part of the Adjutant-General to make his view public through the Press. I also had strong objection to the passages which related to the calling out of the Army Reserve, the armament of the Artillery, and the pay of the private soldier, all of which might fairly be brought before the Government through the Commander-in-Chief, but which ought not to have been dealt with in an article.

I do not presume to express any opinion as to whether it would be desirable in the interests of State that her Majesty should be pleased to address any further communication to Lord Wolseley on this subject.

If it should appear to her Majesty that any further step is necessary, I think it would be well to address it to the Commander-in-Chief for communication to Lord Wolseley, and I would humbly submit the terms in which it might be couched. If, on the other hand, her Majesty should be of opinion that, now that it has been referred to in Parliament, enough has been said on the subject, then I am inclined to think that the incident might be allowed to close. Believe me, dear Sir Henry, Yours very truly, EDWARD STANHOPE.

I am bound, however, to add that this is by no means the first occasion on which complaint has arisen, and I am not at all surprised that the Commander-in-Chief should desire some security against its recurrence.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

24th Feb. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for the very interesting letter from the Empress Frederick, which he returns. The Emperor William is beginning to feel the great loss he has had in not having passed a few years under his wise father's rule. If the Empress is

right in thinking that he has fallen under the guidance of two or three fanciful favourites, there are dangerous times in front of him. He is meddling with very sharp-edged tools indeed.

Lord Salisbury would respectfully advise that your Majesty's answer to the Queen of Portugal should be couched in terms as friendly and affectionate as her own. The policy of your Majesty's advisers will be to make the fall as soft for Portugal as possible. If the Portuguese Ministers would have listened to the warnings which for two years past we have addressed to them, there need have been no fall at all, and the whole difficulty might have been amicably arranged.

Lord Salisbury is very grateful to your Majesty for the kind permission to stay away from the Drawing-room. Though he is improving steadily, he is not yet strong enough to stand for so long.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Duke of Cambridge.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26th February 1890.

SIR,—Mr. Stanhope sent to the Queen the correspondence he has had with Lord Wolseley, and suggested a form of letter which might be written by her Majesty *if* she wished to do so. But after reading all the papers the Queen said she would not be sorry if Lord Wolseley knew she disapproved of what he had written; still, she thought it might be unnecessary to prolong the discussion. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Royal Highness's obedient humble servant, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

28th Feb. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty his thanks for the letters of the German Emperor and the King of the Belgians which he returns.

It is very agreeable to note the respectful affection of the language in which the German Emperor addresses your Majesty.

On the Labour question there seems to be no

serious difference between the two Governments, as the German Government do not now propose to discuss the question of restraining male adult labour, and your Majesty's advisers are quite ready to discuss any other points.

There is no immediate apprehension from the naval programme of the Americans. It will take very long to complete; and during that period there will be many changes of administration. Moreover, there has hitherto been so strong a jealousy of an increased naval service that without a great change of feeling we have little to fear. But, as H.I.M. says, we can always catch them up.

[Copy.] *The Queen to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st March 1890.—. . . The Queen is sorry for all this difficulty about the bishops, and this very unusually long delay in finding a successor to Bishop Lightfoot.¹ . . .

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 3rd March 1890.—. . . Mr. Smith moved the resolution of which he had given notice to thank the Judges² and enter their report

¹ Writing to the Queen on this same day Sir Henry Ponsonby said that he had "spoken to the Dean of Windsor on Bishop Jayne's refusal. It is remarkable that three bishops should have declined this high appointment, possibly fearing that they were not fit successors to Bishop Lightfoot. It is to be observed that all these three were proposed by Lord Salisbury." Dean Vaughan, despairing of the appointment of Dr. Westcott to Durham, wrote to Sir Henry Ponsonby on 2nd March:

"If this one hope must be abandoned, I feel that it is in a totally different form that the mantle of the late bishop can best be taken up. An inferior copy of Dr. Lightfoot, presenting a shadow perhaps of his learning, but without his wonderful influence upon minds, hearts, and lives, would not possess half the *real* right to take his place which a different *order* and *kind* of personality might be found to present. The Dean of Windsor's appointment would bring with it an energy, a life, a sympathy, a judgment, and an experience, such as few men possess in one or two particulars, and none, I dare to think, in their combination. I believe that his style of speaking would be admirably suited, in its directness, its simplicity, its strength, and its moderation, to the difficult atmosphere of the House of Lords."

² Who sat on the Parnell Commission. See Introductory Note.

on the journals, going through the various Parliamentary stages which preceded the passing of the Act constituting the Commission, and remarking on the practical condonation of all the offences charged and proved against the Irish Party, by the terms of Mr. Gladstone's amendment.

Mr. Gladstone then made an extremely eloquent speech, in which he excused the offences on the ground that they were, most of them, committed a few years ago, that without agitation the Land Bill of 1881 would not have been passed, and that in times of revolution some excesses must be and have always been committed; and that the period in question was a period of that character. He then, in very passionate and eloquent terms, appealed to Members on the Conservative benches to do justice to a man who had been so greatly wronged as Mr. Parnell, and he sat down amidst great cheering from his own supporters.

Sir Michael Beach replied, showing that the more grave charges dealt with by the Commission were not personal, but those which concerned the very existence of society; and with great effect he dealt with charges against the Conservative Party, hinted at by Mr. Gladstone, but stated in a speech at Bath by Sir Wm. Harcourt, that there was a treaty in 1885 between the Conservatives and Mr. Parnell which turned out Mr. Gladstone's Government in that year. Sir M. Beach showed that the statement was "calumnious" by reading Mr. Parnell's letter denying utterly any foundation for it, and Sir Wm. Harcourt, rising in great heat, was called to order by the Speaker and left the House. . . .

4th March.— . . . At no time during the evening was the House full; and excepting that it is politically impossible for Mr. Smith to ask for the closure there is no excuse to be offered for the continued waste of public time. It has been proposed to close the debate and take the division on Friday, but Mr. Parnell, who is supreme, is absent from the House;

no one knows where he is, and Mr. Gladstone is unable, as leader of the Opposition, to come to any arrangement in the absence of the Irish leader. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

4th March 1890.—Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to submit the enclosed letter from the Duke of Cambridge.

He is alarmed by Lord Hartington's Committee report, which proposes to abolish the office of Commander-in-Chief. There are many changes proposed in this report, but they have only just come under the consideration of the Government.

Endorsed by Queen Victoria :—

This cannot be allowed for one moment, and Sir Henry should take steps to prevent this being even discussed. V. R. I.

Dean Davidson to Queen Victoria.

DEANERY, WINDSOR, 5th March 1890.

MADAM,—Sir Henry Ponsonby has this morning told me of the result of your Majesty's conversation yesterday with Lord Salisbury, and I hope your Majesty will pardon my presumption in writing at once to your Majesty to say how thankful I am to hear that your Majesty's arguments have prevailed to convince the Prime Minister that, instead of looking further for new names, he ought to acquiesce in the general desire, among those best qualified to judge, that Dr. Westcott should be appointed to the See of Durham.

I feel how very much the country and the Church owe to your Majesty for what has been done, and I feel very certain that your Majesty will never have cause to regret it.

With dutiful apologies for this intrusion, I have the honour to be, Your Majesty's most obedient humble servant, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 6th March 1890.—. . . Sir Charles Russell . . . made an elaborate attack on the Attorney-General. He charged him with conducting the proceedings in the case of "*O'Donnell v. Walter*" and before the Commissioners in a vindictive and relentless spirit; he implied that he went beyond the ordinary functions of an advocate, and imparted his own belief and prejudice into the case; and he went on to deal with the forged letters endeavouring to fix the Attorney with knowledge of the unreliability of the evidence on which they were to be sustained. He concluded his speech with a very eloquent appeal to the Conservative Party to do justice to Mr. Parnell, behind whom was the whole Irish nation.

The Attorney-General answered him immediately, justifying his Oxford speech, and showing that, if he had not spoken then, he would have been accused of cowardice, and he went through all the charges made against him one by one and refuted them. He insisted especially on the suppression of evidence before the Commission, the disappearance of the Land League books, and the withdrawal of Counsel and witnesses from the case when they found that it was going against them. . . .

10th March.—. . . Mr. Sexton rose at ten minutes to five and spoke until twenty minutes to eight. He went minutely through all the events of 1887 when the forged letter was published, the demand for a Committee then, and the renewed demand in 1888, which was met by the special Commission Act. He repeatedly accused the Government of conspiracy with *The Times* to ruin the Irish Members, but he made the remarkable admission that if Mr. Parnell had brought an action against *The Times* in 1887 or 1888 he would have lost it. . . .

Mr. Balfour rose at twenty minutes past ten and spoke for an hour and a half with good voice and great deliberation and emphasis. He took up Mr. Sexton's

assertions and insinuations of the complicity of the Government, and categorically denied that it was any party directly or indirectly to any inducement to convicts to give evidence as the price of liberty. He pointed to the fact that there was no true denunciation of crime on the part of Mr. Parnell and his friends, and that *United Ireland*, his own paper, edited by Mr. W. O'Brien, excused it. He denounced the agitation as being sordid and criminal, that the Home Rulers had founded their power on the corruption of the people, and he said it was a bad day for England when a great historic party took their politics and their morals from the Irish agitator. The speech was a very powerful one, and no abstract of it could be satisfactory to your Majesty.

Sir Wm. Harcourt attacked Mr. Balfour personally by way of a reply. He quoted paragraphs from Unionist newspapers to show that the Government had made a mistake in the Commission and their action, and he concluded an elaborate argument by impugning the fitness of the Judges to deal with the matters referred to them.

The House divided at one, 339 voting for Mr. Smith's resolution and 268 for Mr. Gladstone's, giving the Government a majority of 71. . . .

11th March.—. . . The House adjourned last evening on the understanding that it would enter on the further amendments which stood on the paper, but Lord Randolph Churchill got up at four o'clock and made a speech for an hour denouncing the Commission Act of 1888 as unconstitutional, and the course proposed by your Majesty's servants as tainted by the same evil. He spoke of the proceedings as a prosecution by the Government of their political opponents, and he revealed the fact that he had transmitted to Mr. Smith a memorandum against the Bill while it was in progress, but he excused himself from opposing it openly on the ground that such a course would have exposed him to calumny, and as an evidence that his judgment against the

Commission was right he referred to the decrease in the majority of the Government since 1888. He was loudly cheered by the Opposition, but murmurs were heard on the Conservative benches.

Mr. Chamberlain spoke very temperately in reply. He said Lord Randolph might have been sure that any objection he could have urged on the House to the Bill would have been received with respect and attention, and that the aim had been to do justice to the Irish Members; and justice had been done by clearing them from some charges and showing that others and very serious ones were true. . . .

Mr. Louis Jennings, an adherent of Lord Randolph's . . . had an amendment on the paper to censure *The Times*, which Lord Randolph had expressed his intention to support, and he now said that the violent attack of the noble lord, the attempt to stab the Government in the back, made it impossible for him to move his amendment. He objected to the Commission and to *The Times*, and to all that followed on the publication of "Parnellism and Crime," but he still more objected to Lord Randolph's speech, and he would therefore take no part in the division. . . .

Mr. Goschen wound up the debate on behalf of the Government in a speech of great power. He defended the Attorney-General from the personal attacks made upon him, and said that the Government associated themselves with him in all his official acts; and he then proceeded to deal with Mr. Gladstone's assertion that the Land Act of 1881 would not have been passed without the aid of the Land League agitation, and he pointed to the immoral doctrine involved in that statement; and he dwelt at length on the greater iniquity of the charges of the Irish National papers against Lord Spencer and Sir G. Trevelyan than those of *The Times* against the Irish Members.

Mr. Morley followed in a short speech justifying the assertion that agitation and all that followed

upon it in Ireland were necessary to remedial legislation, as the Tories would never listen to the cry of oppression unless disorder forced them to do so.

The division gave the Government 321 votes against 259 for the amendment, notwithstanding the defection of Lord Randolph and two of his friends, and the abstention of some four or five other Members.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12th March 1890.—Mr. Balfour, Sir Henry James, and Mr. Raikes dined. Mr. Balfour is most agreeable, and seemed in very good spirits. Sir H. James I also found very agreeable. He spoke very encouragingly and talked interestingly about different things.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 13th March.—Dear Arthur's wedding day. At half-past eleven left with Beatrice for Buckingham Palace. Soon after our arrival Dr. Reid asked to see me, which always alarms me. He said he had bad news of Sir Howard Elphinstone. I asked if he was very ill, and he said no, but that he had been drowned, swept overboard, and his body had never been recovered. The news quite stunned me. Dear Sir Howard is an awful loss, he was such a confidential devoted friend, and had been quite a father to Arthur, with whom he had been since 1859, having been chosen by beloved Albert. I am quite in despair, and the whole thing haunts me.

Saw old Lady De Ros, who is nearly ninety-five. She was a great friend of the Duke of Wellington's, and rode with him over the battlefield of Waterloo. She is marvellous, and looks not more than sixty-six.

[Telegram.] *The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.*

BERLIN SCHLOSS, 19th March 1890.—I deeply regret to have to announce to you that Prince Bismarck has placed his resignation in my hands—his nerves and strength have given out and beginning to fail—in the hope of preserving and refreshing his broken health. I have accepted his resignation,

hoping to be able to consult him on any difficult question when he is better, and to have him as Councillor as long as he lives. My policy will undergo no change whatever. General v. Caprivi has been named Chancellor. WILLIAM I. R.

[Telegram.] *Queen Victoria to the German Emperor.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19th March 1890.—I thank you very much for informing me of the unfortunate event of Prince Bismarck's resignation. VICTORIA R. I.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th March 1890.—The Queen has talked fully over the subject of this really abominable report,¹ which she beyond measure is shocked should have emanated from a Conservative Government, with the Duke of Cambridge, and found him most fair and not irritated or angry; and she must say she *entirely* agrees with him and she wishes now to see how the reckless changes and incredibly thoughtless proposals can best be met. She wishes to write in very strong terms to Lord Salisbury asking him to show it first to Mr. Smith, who is the chief culprit, Mr. Stanhope, and the rest of the Cabinet; and she would ask Sir Henry, who is more conversant with the proper terms than she is [to draft a letter]—which she could alter if necessary—from what she now gives as her opinion.

The points the Queen wishes to write about are:

1st. That nothing *whatever* should be done, decided, or said *during* the Queen's absence.

2nd. That the Army *must* remain as heretofore in direct communication with the *Sovereign* through the C.-in-C., who is unpolitical, and who, with the assent of the S. of W[ar], must have the dispensation of patronage. It is notorious that this is done with the greatest impartiality, and that it is the greatest safeguard against the Army becoming political and parliamentary.

¹ The Report of the Hartington Commission.

3rd. The idea of the Chief of a Staff, which was entertained by the Duke of Wellington himself (*vide* the minutes of the Prince Consort on his conversation with the Duke of Wellington when he wished the Prince of Wales [to] become Commander-in-Chief), is not objectionable; but the Chief of the Staff must be *under* and *attached* to the Commander-in-Chief and *not* the Secretary of State, who changes with every Government and who never could be unpolitical.

4th. The War Office wants a great deal of sweeping, and so does the Admiralty, the constitution of which is extremely disliked by the officers, who form the Board themselves.

5th. There may be useful changes made, many further arrangements to facilitate communication, though this is hardly necessary, as the Duke says there never has been any difficulty on this head.

6th. The Queen must consider her successors, and hand down to her son and grandson her crown unimpaired, and she feels more anxious for the future than even for herself. If the Commander-in-Chief were to be made a mere cypher and lowered, the Duke of Cambridge would resign, and this would create a tremendous uproar in the Army and greatly injure the Government. Whoever the Commander-in-Chief is, be he a Prince of the blood or not, he must have the place he now holds, assisted, if you will, by a Chief of the Staff.

Lord Salisbury should see and hear Sir G. Harman, a very calm, honest man who can tell him the real state of the case, and the relations of the Commander-in-Chief and Secretary of State. Lord Wolseley and Sir R. Buller (a Radical, but most distinguished officer), are horrified at this report, and say that it is *quite* impossible to carry out the recommendations. The Queen earnestly presses [that] Lord Salisbury before going abroad should see these officers who understand the position completely and have it thoroughly explained to him, for he knows only one side. Lord Salisbury could of course see the Duke,

but he being Commander-in-Chief might feel some delicacy in speaking for this office.

Sir Edward Malet to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 22nd March 1890.—Sir Edward Malet presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

The Emperor spoke to him yesterday at length about the circumstances which led to the retirement of Prince Bismarck, and said that he should like Sir Edward to inform your Majesty of what he told me. Sir Edward has accordingly drawn up the accompanying memorandum, and has the honour to enclose it herewith.

The point which remains at issue is whether the health of the Chancellor was really in so precarious a state as the doctors asserted. Of course, their communications to the Emperor were confidential, and he no doubt felt bound to act on them without disclosing their precise nature. Probably the vehemence of Prince Bismarck's manner to the Emperor led his Majesty to believe that a crisis was imminent when it was not, for the Prince has carried his point over and over again, especially with the late Emperor William, by violence of manner; and he, very likely, in his discussions with the young Emperor, assumed this manner in the hopes that it would have a like effect.

Princess Bismarck receives her visitors in tears, and complains bitterly of the way in which her husband has been treated.

Sir Edward Malet has sent a copy of the secret memorandum in a private letter to Lord Salisbury.

Secret. Memorandum by Sir Edward Malet.

22nd March 1890.—The Emperor said to me: "I should like to explain to you the train of circumstances which has brought about the present state of affairs. The Chancellor had been staying at Friedrichsruhe for eight months, and was ignorant of what was going on at the capital.

“It was not my intention to launch into a Socialistic policy, but things occurred which forced this course upon me. . . . The strikes which had recently occurred in Germany had created a deep impression of anxiety, and there was a feeling in the air that, in order to prevent future disorder and even calamity arising from the state of things which had produced the strikes, something must be done. . . . Under these circumstances I had to choose between yielding hereafter, perhaps with the appearance of bad grace, to the popular movement or of taking the initiative myself. When Prince Bismarck came to Berlin on the last days of the debate on the Socialist Bill, it was evident that the Government was about to suffer the defeat which eventually came; but I learnt that the Conservatives would even at the last moment be willing to vote with the Government, if the Government would abandon the Expulsion Clause in the Bill, or if they would even only make an announcement that they would not press that clause during the present session, but would hold it over in order to take the opinion of the new Parliament. I implored Prince Bismarck to adopt this course, but he absolutely refused. The result was, as you know, that the Conservatives and the Socialists voted together.

“About this time I spoke frequently to the Chancellor about the necessity of taking up the Socialist question, but he was dead against it. One night I sat up for two hours by myself and wrote down my own views as to what ought to be done on a paper which now forms the basis of the Bill, which will be laid before Parliament. I gave this to the Chancellor, but he treated it lightly, and I could make no way with him. . . . In the meanwhile I had been endeavouring to gain over the Ministers separately to my views, but I found that they were one and all in complete subjection to Prince Bismarck, and dared not help me. Prince Bismarck did not differ with me in the view that the Socialist question must soon

take an acute form, but his policy was to allow it to progress until it should be necessary to call out the troops to sweep the streets with grape-shot, and so to make short work of the whole affair. Such a policy as this might be possible, if my grandfather were still alive. The whole German people regarded him with such confidence, admiration, and respect that if he had thought it wise to allow things to come to such a pass, it would have been believed that he acted with a full sense of justice and responsibility, and he would not have alienated their affection. But for me, a young monarch, just come to the throne, to have allowed my people to be shot down in the streets, without making an effort first of all to examine their grievances, would have been disastrous to me and my whole House. It would have been said that my only idea of governing was by bayonets.

"I do not expect by the course I have taken to be able to remedy their grievances, but at least I have given a proof of my desire to do so, and my view is that although this Conference may not find a solution of the difficult questions put before it, it may serve as a prelude to frequently recurring Conferences, in which foreign nations shall take part, doing perhaps little each time, but producing a conviction, in the minds of the classes whose affairs they examine, that their welfare is a constant object of solicitude, and that by this means we may have some hope that we may separate the large mass of honest Socialists from those who merely use the name as a cloak to their republican or anarchical designs.

"When Prince Bismarck finally accepted the idea of a conference, I hardly like to say it, but I can assure you that he used small and undignified means to prevent its ever coming to anything. For instance, without my sanction he put into the programme the question of limiting the hours of adult labour, no doubt thinking thereby to frighten your Government and the French Government into refusing to take part in it. In my discussions with him he treated

me like a schoolboy. When I urged that I believed the Ministers were really in favour of my views, although they would not venture to say so because he was opposed to them, he told me that they were all blackguards and cowards. He became so violent on occasions that I did not know whether he would not throw the inkstand at my head. The moment came when I was obliged to think of my own dignity.

"On the other hand, I was assured by the doctors that his state of mental excitement was such that it might end in a crisis at any moment. He told me six weeks ago, when I urged that he should lighten his labours, that he intended to resign the Presidency of the Prussian Ministry and remain only as Chancellor. A short time after he told me he should resign the Chancellorship as well, and a short time after that he sent to me to say that he had changed his mind and that he should resign nothing, and he began to take upon himself increased work. I finally decided that, if I wished his life to be preserved, I must relieve him of his duties. He and all his family are at present incensed against me, but I hope that in a few months they will see that they have reason to thank me.

"I cannot tell you the pain and anxiety I have gone through this winter on his account. I have always had the greatest admiration for him, and when I was Prince I went through bitter moments from taking his side. I used to say to myself, 'Ah! if, when I am Emperor, I could have such a Minister!' for of course I never thought that I should come to the throne before I was sixty. When I became Emperor I was overjoyed at having him as my Minister, and I looked forward to keeping him at my side until old age should force him to retire, and now my real aim is to keep him alive for the sake of Germany and of Europe." . . .

[*Telegram.*] *The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.*

BERLIN SCHLOSS, 22nd March 1890.—Georgie just been invested by me with Uncle Bertie's consent.

I beg you to allow me to place Eddy and Georgie *à la suite* of your Dragoon Guards with their respective ranks, and to date the Commissions from to-day, dear Grandpapa's birthday. WILLIAM I. R.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 24th March 1890.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

The great business of the night was the introduction of the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill by Mr. Balfour, who spoke for nearly two hours in explaining the details of the measure, and attained a great success, still further improving his reputation.

He told the House that it was proposed to unite all the authorities dealing with land in one Court. They are five at present. That it was proposed to secure the money or stock, to be advanced for the purchase of the land, on the land itself and the tenants' interest in it, which is commonly greater than that of the landlord; and behind those securities there would be the grants from Imperial funds for local Irish purposes, which would warrant an advance of 33 millions, without involving any risk to the taxpayer in the issue of an Imperial $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. stock with which the landowner would be paid. The congested or very poor districts of Ireland are to be treated separately; and in their aid the Church surplus, estimated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, is to be appropriated.

The scheme was received with favour, and Mr. Gladstone rose immediately and said that it was a bold, although a complicated, attempt to deal with a great question which ought to be treated as far as it was possible to do so apart from party politics, and he sat down in ten minutes, only asking for memoranda and figures in explanation of Mr. Balfour's statement. To the intense surprise of the whole House no other Member rose, and leave was given to bring in the Bill. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Duke of Cambridge.

ROYAL YACHT, CHERBOURG, 25th March 1890.

SIR,—I am commanded by the Queen to let your Royal Highness know that her Majesty found Lord Wolseley agree in almost all that your Royal Highness had said about the Hartington Report.

The Queen has asked Lord Salisbury and Mr. Smith to see Lord Wolseley. Lord Salisbury has answered the Queen that he advises her that your Royal Highness's successor should not be a Prince of the Blood (this seems to me to confirm what your Royal Highness privately suspected), and her Majesty replied that it was unnecessary to discuss this question now, as the Duke of Cambridge would continue as Commander-in-Chief for some years to come.

Lord Salisbury said there was no intention of interfering with the Sovereign's position as regards the Army, but the Queen observed that the abolition of the office of Commander-in-Chief did very distinctly alter her position. She added that she would not *ask* him to see your Royal Highness, but at the same time would be very glad if he did so. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Royal Highness's obedient humble servant, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

[Copy.]

BERLIN, 27th March 1890.

DEAREST GRANDMAMA,—. . . Yesterday Prince Bismarck said good-bye to me, and we parted under tears after a warm embrace. I hope and trust that the woods of Friedrichsruhe will do him good and help to recruit his forces and strengthen his nerves, for he is very much shaken. I spoke to his doctor two days ago, who assured me that, if the Chancellor had kept on a few weeks longer, he would infallibly have died of apoplexy. The nights he could not sleep, and in daytime, as well as in bed, even sometimes when he worked with me, he suddenly would break down with crying fits. After this had gone

on for a month I became afraid of the consequences ; and, after much discussion and with deep regret ; I resolved to part from him, in order to keep him alive. I look upon the Prince as an international European capital, which I must try to keep going as long as possible, and not use him up in the guerilla warfare with the Reichstag. It was a very hard trial, but the Lord's will be done. I have been educated politically by the Prince, and now I must show what I can do.

Caprivi is a splendid character, and quite the man to follow up Prince Bismarck's ways and traditions implicitly. As I wrote to you before, the policy is not changed in the least ; this I have told all the Ambassadors here. . . . WILLIAM.

Sir Edward Malet to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 29th March 1890.—Sir Edward Malet presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He lunched with Prince Bismarck on the 26th instant in company with Lord Londonderry and the other gentlemen of the Prince of Wales's suite ; a few caustic remarks which fell from the Prince showed that his bitterness towards the Emperor was by no means assuaged. For instance, a letter was brought in to him addressed to "The Duke of Lauenburg." It seemed to irritate him, and he said, "I told his Majesty that I should only use the title when I travel incognito." He talked to me apart for a little while, and told me that the ultimate rupture was occasioned by the Emperor's having raised objections to his having had an interview with Herr von Windthorst, the Chief of the Ultramontane Party in the Reichstag, while on his side he had been obliged to complain to his Majesty that he consulted people on Government affairs over the head of his chief Minister. He also told me that he had just had a stormy interview with the Grand Duke of Baden, whom he had blamed for interfering in affairs on which it was the sole duty of the Chancellor to advise the Sovereign. The interview had

ended, he said, in the Grand Duke's abruptly leaving the room without taking leave of him.

The Emperor told Sir Edward Malet yesterday that the final interview between his Majesty and the Prince had passed off satisfactorily, that all was well, and that he had promised to go and visit the Prince at Friedrichsruhe during the summer. His Majesty informed Sir Edward that he had appointed Freiherr von Marschall, at present Baden Minister here, to be Minister for Foreign Affairs for the present, and that he hoped to have Count Bismarck back again in six or eight months, when his health was restored.

Nothing could have gone off better than the Prince of Wales's visit, there were no *contretemps* of any kind. The Emperor and his Royal Highness appeared to be equally satisfied and pleased.

Your Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at the Labour Conference leave to-night, having concluded their labours. They inform me that the result of the conference is satisfactory. It has afforded opportunity for an interchange of views which has been most useful, and the resolutions adopted are beneficent and not embarrassing to your Majesty's Government.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

AIX-LES-BAINS, 2nd April 1890.—Heard from Arthur (his last letter) from Bombay. He is very sad at leaving. The kindness and regret shown by the British, as well as, and principally, by the natives, is very gratifying.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

7th April 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for the copy of the Emperor William's letter which he returns. It is a curious Nemesis on Bismarck. The very qualities which he fostered in the Emperor in order to strengthen himself when the Emperor Frederick should come to the throne have been the qualities by which he has been overthrown.

There seems still an utter absence of movement all over Europe. There are several clouds on the horizon, and any day any one of them may rise, but they are very motionless now. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

AIX-LES-BAINS, 9th April 1890.—Received the Archbishop of Chambéry, who was accompanied by his Vicaire-Général. The Archbishop is a dignified, portly old man, with white hair. He wore a purple cloak and soutane and a red skull cap, a very fine cross hanging from a chain, and episcopal ring of a single amethyst surrounded with diamonds. He kissed my hand, and then, at once, took a large paper out of a cover and read a beautiful address. I could only say how pleased and touched I was. The Curé of Aix, a pleasing man, but not the same one as before, came with the Archbishop as well. After luncheon received the Pasteur Evangélique, an insignificant-looking, very nervous little man, who also spoke very kindly.

The Archbishop of Chambéry to Queen Victoria.

[Avril 1890.]

MADAME,—Votre Majesté ayant bien voulu me faire l'honneur de m'admettre en sa présence, je suis heureux de pouvoir lui redire, de vive voix, ce que je n'ai pu lui exprimer que par écrit, il y a trois ans.

Oui, Madame, l'Archevêque de Chambéry est pénétré pour votre Majesté Royale et Impériale du plus profond respect, et il la prie d'agréer tous les hommages qu'il se plaît à lui rendre en cette circonstance.

Ayant vécu longtemps à Boulogne-sur-Mer, il y a entretenu avec les meilleures familles d'Angleterre et d'Irlande de très intimes relations, et c'est au milieu d'elles qu'il a pu apprécier jusqu'à quel point tous vos sujets vous vénèrent, vous aiment, vous sont dévoués, et combien ils admirent votre haute intelligence, votre prudence consommée, la bonté

de votre cœur, et surtout vos vertus royales et si chrétiennes.

Permettez-moi, Madame, de m'associer à tous leurs sentiments pour votre auguste personne et de vous les exprimer avec sincérité. . . .

Permettez-moi enfin, Madame, de vous témoigner, de nouveau, la reconnaissance qu'ont pour vous, sans exception, les missionnaires, évêques et prêtres des Colonies de votre vaste Empire, et, en particulier, ceux de la Savoie, à cause de la pleine liberté qu'ils doivent à votre bienveillance et à celle de votre Gouvernement et des autres avantages dont ils jouissent partout où ils vivent sous votre protection.

Je prie le Seigneur, Madame, de donner aux Eaux d'Aix et à l'air pur de nos montagnes toute l'efficacité nécessaire à la conservation de votre santé si précieuse, afin que, durant de longues années encore, votre Majesté puisse maintenir en sa sagesse, et son esprit chrétien, dans des États soumis à sa domination, la paix et la prospérité. Je lui demande, en même temps, et de toute l'ardeur de mon âme, de vouloir bien conserver entre la France et l'Angleterre l'union qui n'a pas cessé d'exister depuis le commencement de votre règne ; car cette union, sincère et durable, est certainement appelée, dans les vues de la Divine Providence, à devenir, pour ces deux grandes nations, une source infinie de toutes sortes de biens, et à repandre, même chez les peuples les plus barbares, la civilisation dont Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ est la source unique et inépuisable.

Daignez, Madame et très gracieuse Souveraine, agréer, avec votre bonté habituelle, l'expression de ces sentiments et de ces vœux de l'Archevêque de Chambéry qui aime à se dire de nouveau, Votre très humble et tout dévoué serviteur, FRANÇOIS DE SALES ALBERT LEUILLIEUX, Archevêque de Chambéry.¹

¹ The Queen subsequently sent a copy of this address to (amongst others) Dean Davidson, who, when thanking her Majesty, wrote on 4th June : " I doubt whether any parallel could readily be found in

The Duke of Cambridge to Sir Henry Ponsonby.
Private.

GLOUCESTER HOUSE, 9th April 1890.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I have to thank you for your letter of the 5th, and in reference to what you say regarding the recommendation of Lord Hartington's Commission, I can only remark, that I am *most anxious* to do anything in my power to save the Crown and the Army from CATASTROPHE that must befall them if the abolition of the post of Commander-in-Chief be actually decided upon. But I can only do so on one condition, which I think I have a perfect right to be firm upon, and that is, that my position as Commander-in-Chief be in no respect LOWERED in status or dignity. I will NOT accept any altered title, and must retain that of Commander-in-Chief, and could not for one moment accept that of Chief of the Staff. If that is insisted upon I MUST resign, and I hope her Majesty will quite understand and feel that I am right in this. I am quite prepared to go as far as the Memorandum goes which the Queen has got. A membership of Council I would accept and a Chief of the Staff to *myself* as Commander-in-Chief, but *not* to the Secretary of State. . . .

I remain, Yours most sincerely, GEORGE.

Viscount Wolseley to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WAR OFFICE, 10th April 1890.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—. . . The Duke will not accept the position of Chief of the Staff. Indeed, history for an Address couched in these particular terms, emanating from a Roman Catholic dignitary, and addressed to a Protestant Sovereign, to whom he himself owes no direct allegiance. It is no small matter that the excellence and advantage of the principles, not merely of *tolerance*, but of liberality and comprehension, should be thus officially recognised in such a quarter, and it makes one hopeful that some at least of the estrangements and the recriminations which even in modern days have sometimes characterised the mutual relation of Christian Churches may be giving way to a more really 'Christian' tone and temper. That your Majesty has done something at least to promote such a spirit, both in our own land and elsewhere, must be hereafter recognised as a great fact of English history."

after being so long Commander-in-Chief it would be impossible for him to do so. I still hope the office of Commander-in-Chief may not be done away with. You know I am not one who would oppose any reform that means progress or the adoption of new ideas. But this proposal is to go a step backward. We sorely want a doctor, I admit, but Brackenbury and Co. have sent us an executioner. Sincerely yours, WOLSELEY.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

MONTE CARLO, 13th April 1890.—. . . With respect to St. Albans, I deeply regret the refusal of Dr. Talbot to undertake it. Under all the circumstances of the case, the considerations with respect to the parties in the Church which I have already laid before her Majesty in previous letters, induce me to conclude that I ought to ask her leave to offer this bishopric to Dr. Liddon, though I have no confidence that he will accept it. After all that has been said, and after the appointment of Dr. Westcott to Durham, I think that harm will be done if this offer is not made.¹ . . .

Sir William Mackinnon² to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

HOTEL CONTINENTAL, CANNES, 14th April 1890.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—I feel cheered and encouraged by the kind and gracious message from the Princess Louise which your note of 12th conveys.

I have felt discouraged and disheartened by the passive and evasive attitude of our Foreign Office. They inform us of the opportunity presented by the revolution in Uganda and of the aggressive activity of Germany, and ask what we propose to do in the circumstances. But when we in reply ask them whether they will support us if we succeed

¹ Sir Henry Ponsonby telegraphed in reply on the 15th that the Queen "sanctioned your making offer of St. Albans to Liddon when she saw you. You can do so now." Dr. Liddon refused the bishopric.

² Chairman of the Imperial British East Africa Company.

in making treaty arrangements with the ruler of Uganda before the proposed Wissmann-Emin expedition arrives, or whether there is any private arrangement with Germany which would render our efforts unavailing, the answer is too vague to be reassuring.

The Company cannot contend against the German Government, and if left entirely to our own resources we should be exposed to the unpleasant alternative of abandoning our work and throwing on the Government the responsibility of this issue. We shall, however, continue our efforts; and, if we succeed in preserving for our country her fair share of influence in East Africa, we shall feel amply rewarded.

The Government of India, after much correspondence, have at length agreed to permit us to enlist men in India for service in East Africa, but these men will not be available for the present crisis.

If we could get 200 or 300 trained Indian troops despatched promptly from Aden, where I can have a ship in readiness to receive them, no one need know where they are going until they arrive at Mombasa, and start thence for the great lake and Uganda. Such a force would satisfy M'wunga that he might rely on our readiness and ability to protect him, and Germany would accept the situation.

I know how difficult a thing it is even to suggest to Lord Salisbury the idea of sending Indian troops to help us, but he might perhaps give favourable consideration to a suggestion for the declaration of a protectorate in favour of the I.B.E.A. Co. in the same way Germany has done both in the south and more recently northward of our first concession boundaries. Such a protectorate in the direction of territories in the interior, to which the sphere of British influence legitimately extends, would enable us to push on vigorously with our work, and would afford the Government a reasonable excuse for assisting us with a small Indian force and a few Indian officers.

Mr. Stanley and Sir Francis de Winton are with

us here. We all start together for Paris on Thursday. Stanley has a great deal of valuable information, and can be most helpful to us. He enters heartily into the spirit of our enterprise, and will do everything in his power to help us.

Lord Salisbury I have not seen, although he has been good enough to write me twice during the last week.

Mr. Stanley has sent me a nice report on the services rendered to the expedition by the officers who accompanied him. It is written in a generous spirit; and, thinking it might interest the Queen to know something of its contents before it is sent to the War Office, I take the liberty of enclosing a copy herewith.

I fear I have trespassed a great deal too much on your time and on your kindness by this long letter, but if so I pray you to forgive and believe me, Yours truly, W. MACKINNON.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Duke of Cambridge.

AIX-LES-BAINS, 15th April 1890.

SIR,—As it is very important that the Queen should know your Royal Highness's views on the questions raised by the Hartington report, I gave her your letter of the 9th, and her Majesty has since desired me to thank your Royal Highness for another letter addressed to the Queen. Her Majesty fully concurs in the opinion of your Royal Highness that you should not accept any inferior position at the War Office than that which you now hold.

She supposes that Lord Salisbury shares these views, though she is afraid he does not quite understand the subject. But he certainly said that he objected to any proposal which would reduce the position of the Commander-in-Chief.

What the Queen especially wishes to prevent is that the question should be set aside while your Royal Highness holds the present office, thus making you the last of an old system instead of the first of

a new one. Her Majesty therefore hopes that if changes are necessary they should be made now when your Royal Highness's valuable aid can be given in creating the new organisation and in working in it. . . .

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Royal Highness's obedient humble servant, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Sir William Mackinnon.

[Draft.]

21st April 1890.—The Queen thanks you for a record of the services of those who served under Stanley.

She has communicated your wish for military aid to Lords Salisbury and Cross. But as this is a question which obviously involves serious political considerations, she can express no opinion on it at present. H. P.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

DARMSTADT,¹ 25th April 1890.—After tea, Louis and Liko went to the station to meet William, who arrived at seven. He came up to see me at once, and was very kind and friendly. There was a large dinner in uniform, downstairs in the dining-room. Sat between Louis and William. The latter was very cheerful and gay.

26th April.—At a quarter to eleven we started for a review of the troops of the Darmstadt garrison. At the door I met Dona, whom I had not seen since she was Empress, and who had just arrived from Berlin. Drove with her in a phaeton with four horses. We were received with royal honours. The troops were formed up in two lines; General Bülow, who commands the Hessian Division, was in supreme command. After driving along the ranks our carriage halted at the saluting point, and the troops marched past. At the conclusion of the parade we returned to the Neues Palais. The streets were crowded, and the people were very excited, shouting, "Lebe hoch!"

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

Had a large luncheon in the dining-room, to which Fritz and Louis of Baden and the Landgravine of Hesse came. I had a good deal of conversation with William and Fritz of Baden, between whom I sat. The former spoke of Prince Bismarck and his resignation. He said it would have been impossible to go on with him, and that his violence in language and gesture had become such, that he had to put a stop to it. He was sorry to say that Bismarck was intriguing with Russia behind his back, telling the Emperor that William was entirely changing his policy. Fritz of Baden spoke in still stronger terms about Bismarck's conduct.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

ON BOARD THE "VICTORIA AND ALBERT," 30th April 1890.—The Queen thinks Lord Salisbury cannot have had her last telegram when he sent his, but he seems labouring *still* under the extraordinary delusion that the Queen wishes to *force* her son on, whereas it is the opinion of high military men who led her to believe, supported as she was by Lord Cross's feeling and Sir F. Roberts's *very strong* opinion, that the Duke, *not* because he was her son, but from his fitness, would be the best appointment.¹ . . .

If this goes on, no Prince can serve. What is so offensive to the Queen is the sort of way in which Lord Salisbury treats the idea as so absurd and impossible. The Queen will not discuss it *with him*, she feels too grieved for that; and will not bear him any [ill] will for it, as she thinks he lets himself be overruled. But she is anxious Sir Henry should see him *soon* and make him understand the situation and the Queen's feelings, and how the Duke of Connaught himself has been *led to believe* it, great as the sacrifice would have been to *return to India so soon* again.

The Queen hopes Sir Henry will tell the Prince of Wales the *whole*, and see (besides Lord Salisbury) Lord Cross and Lord Wolseley also about the other far

¹ For the post of Commander-in-Chief in India.

more serious matter.¹ The Queen wishes a satisfactory arrangement, but the C.-in-C.'s position must not be lessened or weakened. One of the greatest prerogatives of the Sovereign is the *direct communication*, with an immovable and non-political officer of high rank, *about the Army*. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Duke of Cambridge.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st May 1890.

SIR,—The Queen heard from Lord Salisbury three days ago of the resolution adopted by Government on Army administration, and was extremely surprised, for she had been assured that nothing was to be done till after her return. But Lord Salisbury said the question was imminent in the two Houses, and Government must be prepared. Her Majesty has been very much occupied with this subject ever since, and on arriving late last night from the Continent desired me to come to London at once this morning and see your Royal Highness.

I have received your Royal Highness's letter, which shows how the matter is viewed by your Royal Highness.

The Queen was informed that you approved of the Council to the Secretary of State, and desired me to ascertain what this Council consisted of, for in the Report the Commander-in-Chief was not included, because he was to be abolished. I am however informed that in the proposed Council the Commander-in-Chief will have the first place. The Queen had previously believed that your Royal Highness did not altogether like this Secretary of State's Council, but, as she is told otherwise, no doubt it will be formed in a suitable manner.

I understand that the other questions are not postponed, but that up to the present no decision has been taken upon them. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Royal Highness's obedient humble servant, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

¹ The report of the Hartington Commission.

*Sir Frederick Roberts to the Duke of Cambridge.*¹

[*Extract.*]

SIMLA, 3rd May 1890.—. . . Whatever changes may be finally decided upon, my hope is that the existing relations between the military forces of the Empire and the Crown may be as little disturbed as possible. To place the patronage of the Army in the hands of a Secretary of State would, in my opinion, be a grievous error, for, however independent he might be, it would be difficult for him to avoid the imputation of using the royal prerogative to conciliate political opponents, or to reward political friends. The Sovereign, whilst inspiring our Army with feelings of the utmost loyalty and devotion, stands far above the exigencies or influences of party, and, if for this reason alone, I earnestly hope that her Majesty will continue to be regarded as the fountain-head of all honour and rewards. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6th May 1890.—At half-past seven the wonderful traveller and explorer, Mr. Stanley, who has been absent for so many years and so long in search of Emin Pasha, was introduced by Lord Salisbury and the Lord-in-Waiting. Sir William Mackinnon, whom I had not seen for eighteen years at Dunrobin, came with him. Saw Lord Salisbury afterwards. We spoke of many things, of Stanley, and what he could do, of his not wishing to have an order offered him, etc. Lord Salisbury thought Mr. Smith well. The accounts of Ireland were satisfactory. The difficulties with Germany about Africa were very great, and really it may interfere with all the great projects Stanley is so eager to carry out. Also spoke of the Slave Trade Conference at Brussels, which was going on very well. Lenchen, Christian, and their girls, Louise and Lorne, Lord Salisbury, Sir Wm. Mackinnon, Sir F. de Winton,

¹ Submitted by the Duke of Cambridge to the Queen.

Lady Erroll, Mr. Stanley, and Sir H. Ponsonby dined. After dinner spoke to Mr. Stanley, who said that the part of the country he had explored was very healthy, and would be a splendid place for emigration. Then we went to the White Drawing-room, where we were joined by all the ladies and gentlemen, and Mr. Stanley gave us a most interesting lecture.

*The Duke of Cambridge to Sir Henry Ponsonby.
Private and Confidential.*

GLOUCESTER HOUSE, PARK LANE, W., 9th May 1890.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—Thanks to the intervention of Mr. W. H. Smith, and I believe some others, I have *carried the day*, and am to be on this singular Committee which Mr. Stanhope wanted to exclude me from. It is a great triumph, and I am therefore so far pleased; but pray read his letter on the subject, and tell me what you think of it. The fact is, it was intended to be a foregone conclusion, as you will observe by what is said regarding the division of the Royal Artillery; and I was to have been powerless, by merely registering officially what the Secretary of State had determined upon. Happily that has been arrested, and now I shall hear the arguments, and be able to judge of the reasoning in the case. That the Artillery are to be divided he has settled, so now the only thing to do is to try to find a plan for doing it with the least possible injury to the public service and to the Corps of Officers. You will see by this note that he has fixed 3.30 *to-day* for our first meeting. I should be very anxious to attend, and would ask her Majesty's permission to leave the Court soon after it has commenced, if she will graciously allow me to do so. Will you let me know if I may do so? I remain, Yours most sincerely, GEORGE.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Viscount Wolseley.

[Copy.]

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 9th May 1890.

MY DEAR WOLSELEY,—The Queen kept your letter for two days and yesterday thoroughly talked it

over, saying she fully understood all that you had written and in which she agreed.

Her Majesty does not understand the object to be gained by counter-changing you and Roberts, unless it is supposed that each of you will infuse new spirit into the two systems; and if this is intended the Queen fears that very serious inconvenience and confusion will be the result.

She will certainly not express any wish that you should go to India [unless] it were your special desire to do so. The Queen cannot think it desirable, nor should she have thought the Secretary of State would have liked you to be so far off.

War with Russia means fighting in Europe as well as India; and to change Commanders from the countries where they are accustomed to the special system of warfare, on the eve of a conflict, seems to the Queen to be the surest mode of leading to ill-success.

As regards Ireland, the Queen would much rather that her son should not go there, and she fears that his health would suffer. But she does not like to answer for him, and he may consider it his duty to accept the post should it be offered.

If Wood were sent to India, her Majesty would very much prefer that his Royal Highness should go to Aldershot. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

*Viscount Wolseley to Sir Henry Ponsonby.*¹

BELGRAVE MANSIONS, GROSVENOR GARDENS, S.W., 9th May 1890.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I spent yesterday miserably in bed with a sharp attack of my old enemy, Indian fever. I am very shaky and puzzle-headed still, which prevented me from seeing you. Stanhope presses me for an answer about India. I see through the little game, which is to pretend that there is some serious emergency threatening in India as an excuse for having refused to allow the Duke of Connaught to go there. My answer to this, an unanswerable one, [is]: if what you write be true, why bring away

¹ This letter apparently crossed the last in the post.

Sir F. Roberts, who has spent his life in the contemplation of Indian subjects? There is no regulation that in any way prevents his being kept on there.

However, what I write to you now about is to ascertain the Queen's decision as to whether the Duke of Connaught is to have Ireland or Aldershot. From your last note I presume her Majesty has chosen Ireland. If so, what I want the Government to do is to send Sir E. Wood to India and let me have Aldershot. To go to India at my time of life, when, no matter what Stanhope may make out, [it] is in a state of profound peace, would be professional suicide; and to remove me from all chance of helping forward the administrative army reforms still urgently wanted, and to prevent wild Secretaries of State from making changes destructive to all military efficiency.

I hope the Queen would approve of my going to Aldershot if his Royal Highness goes to Ireland, and if so would it be possible for that approval to be communicated to Lord Salisbury? I am being merely pushed out to India to cover up the refusal of the Government, the cowardice of the Government in refusing to allow the Duke of Connaught to go there as he very naturally at his time of life wished to do.

I had hoped to have been at the Drawing-room to-day to see my girl presented, but I am too limp to move anywhere. Believe me to be, Sincerely yours,
WOLSELEY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th May 1890.—At a little before two went downstairs to receive Queen Isabella of Spain, grandmother of the little King, and elder sister of the Duchesse de Montpensier. Affie and Marie, who had arrived earlier, went down to the station with Beatrice and Liko to receive her. The Queen embraced me most warmly, saying, “*Quel bonheur pour moi,*” as she always wished to make my acquaintance. Affie led her upstairs, and I followed. We then went to luncheon, and the band played.

The Queen is very stout, but has a pleasant face and smile. She is very lively, and has the same manner of speaking as Eulalie. Speaking of Isabelle Paris, her niece, she said she thought she was much cleverer than her husband. At half-past three the Queen took leave, and was going to visit part of the Castle and take a short drive before returning to London.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

PROCKELURTZ, 22nd May 1890.

DEAREST GRANDMAMA,—With all my heart do I wish you many happy returns of your birthday. My most fervent wish is that heaven may bless and protect you and grant your country the blessings of your wise reign and to us the happiness of knowing you well and in good spirits. Our present for you is a tea set, which I am sorry to say is not yet quite ready. . . . To-day we had a very fine sight, the Spring review at Berlin, which was a good one, and I am happy to say your regiment came by in first-rate form. To-morrow I shall see the troops at Potsdam, and afterwards a grand dinner for the whole Corps of the Guards is to be given, and your toast will be proposed.

I am very sorry that Prince Bismarck plays such a sorry part in Europe instead of reposing on his laurels ; especially his perpetual leaning and pointing towards Russia does him great harm here, and shows how right I was in not trusting him ; for it seems sure that his more than outspoken remarks to Mr. Lwoff indicate underground manœuvring on his part with Russia, even against me, my Government, and the Triple Alliance. Great is the number of people who now are beginning to understand the dangers I had foreseen, and who are thankful that the Prince is no more in a responsible position.

But I must not waste your precious time any longer. I kiss your hands, and with my reiterated wishes, I remain, Your most affectionate and obedient grandson, WILLY.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

23rd May 1890.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Interview with German Ambassador lasted an hour and a half; at the end we were as far from an agreement as ever. The Emperor wants to cut us off from the great central lakes, which we cannot admit.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 24th May 1890.—My poor old birthday, the twenty-ninth anniversary I celebrate without my beloved Albert.

At half-past eleven went down to receive Leopold of Belgium, who came the whole way from London, for two or three hours, expressly to wish me joy of my birthday, which was most kind of him. I took him for a moment into the Drawing-room, and then went up to get ready for going out. Leopold of Belgium, Beatrice, Liko, Henry, and Irène went with me along the river. Leopold spoke of Stanley, and the hope he had of being able to help us out of the difficulty respecting a road between the English and German possessions. Leopold had given me a splendid basket of orchids, which I had placed on the luncheon table. He left again afterwards.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

24th May 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits that at the Cabinet yesterday the most important matter dealt with was the grave telegram from Sir J. Pauncefote at Washington. It was agreed unanimously that, whatever the consequences might be, the Cabinet could not recommend your Majesty to allow your North American subjects to be interfered with on the open ocean in the prosecution of their legitimate industry; and that the claim of the United States to treat the Behring's Sea as if it were their own territorial waters could not be tolerated. The First Lord of the Admiralty was

directed to make provision for sending ships to Behring's Sea to protect the British sealers ; but the orders would not be given to them to start from Japan until it was quite certain that orders to stop British ships had been given to United States cruisers. In the meantime a formal protest was telegraphed ; and will be renewed by mail in a fuller way.

The incident is extremely to be deplored, but your Majesty has, under our advice, already carried patience and long-suffering to a point which is arousing much discontent on both sides of the Atlantic ; and you could not submit to this quite unjustifiable assumption, without a serious loss of reputation and power.

The rest of the Council was occupied in discussing the state of business in the House of Commons and the mode in which the block was to be met. It is very serious ; but far the most serious effect of it seems to be that it has gravely affected the health of Mr. Smith. It is hoped that by some modification of the rules of the House the bulk of the business in hand can be got through.

Lord Salisbury's negotiations on the subject of the African boundary, as he telegraphed to your Majesty, are not prospering. It does not seem likely that the German Emperor will accept any terms which will be acceptable to our Companies and missionaries who are first in possession of the disputed ground ; and they naturally feel very bitter at the idea that the result of their labours should be signed away in London, in order to serve the ends of British policy in Europe. It will not be practicable or desirable to come to any agreement which is not acceptable to them.

Mr. Edward Stanhope to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 24th May 1890.—Mr. Edward Stanhope presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to submit proposals relating to the Command in India and to the office of Adjutant-General in this country.

Mr. Stanhope had been anxious to secure the assistance of General Sir Frederick Roberts in the administration of the War Office, as his term of office expires in the autumn; but after consideration with his colleagues, and full examination of the question, he now humbly submits to your Majesty that the period of Command of General Sir Frederick Roberts in India should be extended for a term not exceeding two years, and that the vacancy created at the War Office by the expiration of the term of office of Lord Wolseley should be filled by the appointment of Major-General Sir Redvers Buller to be Adjutant-General.

Mr. Stanhope has only to add that, in these recommendations which he humbly submits to your Majesty, he has the entire concurrence of H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 26th May 1890.—The Queen thanks Lord Salisbury for his long letter with the account of the Cabinet and the unsatisfactory state of this question respecting the Behring Sea fisheries, and about Africa and Germany. She rejoices to see that the Government are ready to be firm in both instances, for we *cannot*, as Lord Salisbury says, allow ourselves to be treated in so insolent a manner by the United States; and this country feels very strongly on the subject of the African boundary.

Mr. Smith's state of health is a very serious question. Could not some arrangement be made by which he could be assisted and relieved to a great extent by Mr. Goschen and Mr. Balfour?

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

1st June 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for the copy of the Emperor's letter which he returns. It is in every way satisfactory. If your Majesty thought good to do so, it would be very useful to point out

to the Emperor that a great deal of sentiment gathered in Scotland round the Stevenson road from Lake Nyassa to Lake Tanganyika, and that any attempt to sacrifice it to Germany might produce serious feeling and would certainly help Mr. Gladstone very much. That is the serious point of difference. Sir W. Mackinnon is unreasonable, but he has got all he really has a right to, which is Uganda. The Duke of Fife's Company¹ is not unreasonable; but there is this road with the sentiment which gathers round it, and which therefore may be very inconvenient and embarrassing.

Mr. Edward Stanhope to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 2nd June 1890.—Mr. Edward Stanhope presents his humble duty to your Majesty and ventures to submit, which he has never before had an opportunity of doing, the reasons that induced him to propose to his colleagues that General Sir Frederick Roberts should be appointed Adjutant-General.

In recommending to the Cabinet that no steps should be taken to carry out, on the retirement of Lord Wolseley, the proposals of Lord Hartington's commission, Mr. Stanhope felt that, to enable the Government to carry out that policy successfully in the House of Commons, it was absolutely necessary that the successor to Lord Wolseley should be the strongest man available for the post. He accordingly suggested to the Cabinet the appointment of Sir Frederick Roberts, and this was agreed to by the Cabinet without a dissentient voice, and Mr. Stanhope humbly submits that the name of Sir Frederick Roberts would have been specially acceptable to this country as the successor to Lord Wolseley.

Mr. Stanhope trusts this explanation will satisfy your Majesty that, in the course which he felt it his duty to take, he was animated solely by the desire to do the best he could for the interests of your

¹ The British South Africa Company.

Majesty's Army at home; and he is heartily glad that the recommendations recently submitted to your Majesty meet the entire approval of your Majesty.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 4th June 1890.—Saw Lord Cross, who had been up to London to attend a Cabinet. He spoke of the great difficulty the Government was in, on account of Mr. Smith's health. Talked of Africa and what we required, which he showed me on the map. Germany wants more; he said there was an idea of giving up Heligoland as an equivalent, its being of no use to us; but this has not been brought forward yet.

5th June.—Saw Lord Cross about Arthur, and also about the questions raised in that most unsatisfactory report of the Army Commission. He said Lord Salisbury had put his foot down, and would not allow any of the wild and unwise proposals to pass.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

4th June 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that the Cabinet yesterday was mainly engaged in discussing the question of African frontiers. After a long and patient examination of the question in all its bearings, the Cabinet came to the conclusion that it was desirable to come to an arrangement with Germany if it were possible; and that they would regard the following conditions as bases of an acceptable settlement.

1. That the Stevenson road be taken as the frontier to the south of Lake Tanganyika. This seems indispensable, as it has been for many years occupied by British Missions and by the African Lakes Company; and the Germans have no title to it whatever, or to the territory that lies beyond it.

2. That in the north, on the west of Lake Victoria Nyanza, the line of one degree south latitude joining the lake to the frontier of the Congo State, which it is

understood the Germans are ready to give, would be in accordance with existing rights so far as they can be laid down; but that it is desirable that the frontier should be pushed about thirty miles farther south, as Stanley's Treaties appear to extend to that point. The above arrangement would fully secure Uganda to the British Company.

3. That mutual agreements be entered into giving right of unobstructed passage and free transit of goods through each other's territory; and right of settlement and trade to be extended equally to the subjects of both Crowns, on the territory of both.

Lord Salisbury saw the Ambassador in the afternoon, and is of opinion that the above terms can be obtained, probably, with little modification. Larger demands on our part would involve breaking off negotiations, which on the whole is not expedient.

Mr. Smith is much reduced by his malady (eczema) and by the doctors, who have treated him heroically, but he hopes to get back to work next week.

8th June.— . . . At the Cabinet yesterday the African negotiations were the principal subject of discussion. With the general arrangement of the African questions the Cabinet was satisfied on the assumption that some modifications could be obtained in the region of the Ngami Lake, and of Damaraland, and of the River Volta in the north-west. Lord Salisbury communicated this view to Count Hatzfeldt later in the afternoon, and he has transmitted the intimation to Berlin.

But any fresh arrangement is conditional on the Cabinet being satisfied that it is wise to part with Heligoland. They thought after lengthened discussion that the matter required more careful sifting; and your Majesty's anxiety upon that point was duly communicated to Lord Salisbury by Lord Cross. A Committee of Cabinet, consisting of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Smith, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Stanhope, and Lord G. Hamilton, were appointed to confer with the naval experts on the question, and to report

to a Cabinet which will meet for the purpose on Tuesday. Lord Salisbury will telegraph their conclusion to your Majesty as soon as it is arrived at; and the advice which they think they ought to offer.

The United States question is not going very well, as your Majesty will have seen from the telegrams; but Lord Salisbury's impression is that they do not mean to push matters to extremity.

The state of affairs in the House of Commons is so bad that it will probably be necessary to make arrangements for carrying over to a future session measures of the first rank which it is important to carry through without unnecessary delay. It is impossible to keep the House of Commons sitting into the middle of September. The men will not stay.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 9th June 1890.—Have received your account of the Cabinet. Understood from Lord Cross that nothing was to be done in a hurry about Heligoland, and now hear it is to be decided to-morrow. It is a *very serious* question which I do not like.

1st. The people have been always very loyal, having received my heir with enthusiasm; and it is a shame to hand them over to an unscrupulous despotic Government like the German without first consulting them.

2nd. It is a very bad precedent. The next thing will be to propose to give up Gibraltar; and soon nothing will be secure, and all our Colonies will wish to be free.

I very much deprecate it and [am] anxious not [to] give my consent unless I hear that the people's feelings are consulted and their rights are respected. I think it a very dangerous proceeding. It seems to me that we are always changing, and often thereby may upset things.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

10th June 1890.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Your Majesty's telegram was duly read to the Cabinet. They are of opinion that in any agreement arrived at with Germany the rights of the people of Heligoland should be carefully reserved. That has been done : no actual subject of your Majesty living now will be subject to naval or military conscription. The existing customs tariff will be maintained for a period of years, and every person wishing to retain his British nationality will have the right to do so. The Cabinet thought it was impracticable to obtain the formal consent of the 2,000 people who live there : anything like a plebiscite would be very dangerous as admitting the right of the inhabitants of an imperial post to decide for themselves as to the political disposal of that post. It might be used by discontented persons in Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and even India. But the information the Cabinet get is that the population, which is not British but Frisian, would readily come under the German Empire if protected from conscription. The Cabinet unanimously and earnestly recommend this arrangement to your Majesty under these conditions.

The equivalent for Heligoland will be the protectorate over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and 150 miles of coast near the Sultanate of Monastir Witu, and the islands of Manda and Patta, and the abandonment of all claim to the interior behind it by Germany. Under this arrangement the whole of the country outside the confines of Abyssinia and Gallaland will be under British influence up to Khan, so far as any European competition is concerned. On the other hand, we could not without this arrangement come to a favourable agreement as to the Stevenson road, and any indefinite postponement of a settlement in Africa would render it very difficult to maintain terms of amity with

Germany, and would force us to change our systems of alliance in Europe. The alliance of France instead of the alliance of Germany must necessarily involve the early evacuation of Egypt under very unfavourable conditions.

On these grounds the Cabinet unanimously recommend the arrangement for your Majesty's sanction.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 11th June 1890.—No fresh news about dear Janie Ely early, but after breakfast Beatrice came in with a telegram from Marian Buchanan, saying: "My dear mother passed away quietly this morning at five." I was much upset. God knows what an awful loss she is to me. She was absolutely devoted to me and we were so intimate. She was always so kind to all my children, and we looked upon her almost as one of ourselves. No one can ever replace this dearest kindest friend. She understood all my feelings and likings perhaps more than anyone else, and was so gentle and sympathetic. Everyone so grieved and distressed, for beloved Janie was adored in the house by high and low alike.

12th June.—Had many touching letters, which made my tears flow afresh. Dear Janie, I see her everywhere before me, with her sweet kind smile.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

11th June 1890.—Your cypher about Heligoland received. The conditions you enumerate are sound and the alliance of Germany valuable; but that any of my possessions should be thus bartered away causes me great uneasiness, and I can only consent on receiving a positive assurance from you that the present arrangement constitutes no precedent.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

12th June 1890.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Lord Salisbury quite understands and so do his



Jane Marchioness of Ely

colleagues that this case is not and cannot be a precedent. It is absolutely peculiar. The island is a very recent conquest. It became a British possession by Treaty in 1814. Why it was retained at the general settlement we do not certainly know; but most probably because it was geographically a dependency of Hanover which was then ruled by the British Sovereign. Now that Hanover has gone it has no connection with us. No authority has ever recommended that it should be fortified, and no House of Commons would pay for its fortification. But if it is not fortified, and we quarrelled with Germany, it would be seized by Germany the day she declared war, and it is so near her great arsenals that she could fortify it im pregnably in three or four days; unless we are prepared to arm it, we are merely incurring a certain humiliation if ever we are at war with Germany. Yet a war with Germany is the only contingency in which any possible advantage could arise from it. There is no danger of this case being made a precedent, for there is no possible case like it.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 12th June 1890.—Your answer respecting Heligoland forming no possible precedent I consider satisfactory. I sanction the proposed cession or almost exchange. But I must repeat that I think you may find great difficulties in the future. Giving up what one has is always a bad thing.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

15th June 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty tenders his respectful thanks for your Majesty's letter.¹

¹ Making enquiries about the circumstances of Mr. Monro's resignation of the Commissionership of Police, which had been announced in the House of Commons before her Majesty had received Mr. Matthews's explanatory letter.

He is quite aware of the clumsiness shown by the Home Secretary on many occasions, and admits that perhaps [Lord Salisbury] was too apprehensive of losing a seat last autumn. It is possible a similar opportunity will soon occur; and he will not fail to bear in mind your Majesty's views. But it is fair to point out that in this matter Mr. Monro has taken up a position which it is impossible to tolerate. He posed not as your Majesty's servant, bound, so long as he held office, to consider the public service first; but rather as if he had been the Captain of a band of Allied troops whom your Majesty had temporarily taken into your service. On all occasions he acted for, and represented, the police: spoke for them, and as their spokesman and advocate upheld all their demands upon the Government. He was constantly threatening to resign unless this or that was done that he demanded. It was owing to his contrivance that first Mr. Jenkinson, and afterwards Sir Charles Warren, were induced to resign; and now it is evident that he would bear no control, and hoped to oust Mr. Matthews. Mr. Matthews is not suited for the place, which requires one of more decision and knowledge of the world; but he has been badly served both [by] Mr. Monro and by Mr. Lushington.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

IN THE TRAIN, 20th June 1890.—Greatly astonished at getting a telegram asking for my approval to Sir Edward Bradford's¹ appointment as head of the police. I regret it, as he will be such a loss at the India Office.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

25th June 1890.—Lord Salisbury . . . is very anxious to induce Mr. Smith to go for three weeks abroad. In his present state of health he is incapable of a fixed resolve.

¹ Sir E. Bradford (1836–1911), after a brilliant military and political career in India, had been summoned home by Lord Cross in 1889 to fill

Lord Cross showed Lord Salisbury your Majesty's gracious letter. He is quite sensible of the Imperial interests attaching to the trust your Majesty has reposed in him. So long as his health lasts and your Majesty wishes him to remain, he has no intention of resigning, unless the House of Commons pass a vote expressing want of confidence in the Government.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th June 1890.—After luncheon started for London, and from Paddington station drove in a closed carriage to Kensal Green Cemetery. There were crowds out, we could not understand why, and thought something must be going [on], but it turned out it was only to see me. Got out and walked a short way along a path, where the vault is in which dear Janie Ely rests. Placed our wreaths there. Unfortunately, there were such crowds that the privacy of my visit was quite spoilt; still, I felt glad so many bore witness to this act of regard and love paid to my beloved friend.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th June 1890.—The Queen thanks Lord Salisbury for his kind letter received to-day. She need not say that he knows he possesses her confidence, and how anxious she is to support him in every way. He knows also that it is of more than vital importance that the Socialist Home-ruling Party, which really contains no one of respectability, and who could not stand alone, should not be allowed to have the *failure* which their attempt at governing would entail, because it would upset the whole country and the whole world, and destroy all confidence in British policy abroad.

But the Queen does think that Mr. Smith's state of health and nerves renders him unfit for the position of leader, and that Mr. Goschen, or, still more, Mr. Balfour ought to have that place. Mr. Smith should the post of secretary in the political and secret departments of the India Office. He became subsequently G.C.B., G.C.V.O., and a baronet.

remain, if possible, in the Government, but not in the House of Commons. Mr. Matthews ought not to remain, and the Queen thinks the same of Mr. Stanhope, only he might do in another position or rather other office.

The Queen is most anxious to see the Government strengthened and supported, and she *does* think that want of firmness in the leader of the House of Commons is most detrimental to it. Lord Salisbury himself ought to have more assistance, he works too hard.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th June 1890.—Heard that Lord Carnarvon, who had been very unwell for some time, died to-day. I am very sorry. Though not a good politician, he was a very clever, good, and accomplished man.

4th July.—At half-past three we had a great treat. The two de Reszkes and Madame Melba sang, accompanied by Signor Mancinelli, who conducts at the Covent Garden Opera. The selection was very good, and the two brothers sang most charmingly and splendidly. Mme. Melba is an Australian. She studied at Paris, and has a very beautiful voice, particularly her high notes, but to my mind she lacks a little in feeling. M. Lassalle, a French baritone, also sang, and has a very fine voice.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 5th July 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits to your Majesty that a Cabinet Council was held to-day.

After a lengthened and animated discussion all the Members of the Cabinet who were in the House of Commons (Mr. Stanhope was absent) joined in the opinion that the resolutions on procedure ought to be abandoned for want of time. This decision involves the abandonment of the Tithe Bill, and of all important legislation for this session. Lord Salisbury opposed this decision to the utmost of his power.

He cannot conceal from himself that it will bring great discredit on the Government. He was not, however, able to make any impression on his colleagues.

The situation is very abnormal, for under ordinary circumstances a Cabinet ought not to continue in office, when so grave a difference of opinion exists between the Prime Minister and his colleagues. But he thinks that great injury would be inflicted not only on the party but on the country, if a dissolution were to take place now. For the two years which remain they must get on as well as they can.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 7th July 1890.—The Queen thanks Lord Salisbury for his letter received to-day.

She regrets the annoyance he must experience at the resistance of his colleagues in agreeing to what he thinks right and best to do; but she trusts that in the end this may prove the wisest course, though of course it is somewhat humiliating. At the same time it is to be borne in mind that the position is abnormal. We have to maintain order and the safety of the Empire, and imperial and national interests depend on the Gladstonians being kept from making even an abortive attempt to form a Government. They cannot stand alone, and all would unite against them.

Foreign affairs are rather uncomfortable in some places. . . .

Mr. Matthews to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 9th July 1890.—Mr. Henry Matthews with his humble duty to your Majesty begs leave to report to your Majesty that the trouble and anxiety caused by the condition of the Metropolitan police have been very much mitigated by the events of the last two days.

There is no doubt that the movement of opinion, which has led to strikes among colliers, dock workers, and many others, and to agitation among Post Office employees, has been for some time fermenting among

the police. They have hoped to better their position both in regard to pay and in regard to pension. Outside agitators have been at work, exciting dissatisfaction, and suggesting combination. The older constables especially desired larger pensions. The younger men, on the other hand, pressed for more pay. The fact that Mr. Monro supported the demand for larger pensions no doubt encouraged those who put forward this demand. And the interval of time, which necessarily elapsed between the resignation of Mr. Monro and the final appointment of Sir Edward Bradford, enabled the men to arrange some sort of combined action.

When Sir E. Bradford took the command he prohibited combination among the different divisions, and punished one constable who was active in organising the malcontents. This brought the disaffection to a head. On Monday afternoon Mr. Matthews received a telegram from men styling themselves "delegates" of the divisions, demanding immediate compliance with all demands, with the threat of a general strike unless this was granted. Immediate preparations were made for calling upon the reserves, who are old and steady men, and eventually for enrolling special constables, and calling out the troops if necessary. Some forty insubordinate men, who had refused to do duty on Saturday, were dismissed on Monday. Monday was an anxious night. Bow Street was thronged with a disorderly crowd, among whom were the dismissed constables, and many disaffected members of the force, Socialists like Mr. Williams (who was arrested), and the usual roughs who flock to any disturbed spot in London. The police did not disobey orders or refuse to act; but they were sullen, and showed a total want of zeal and alacrity. The troops were called out about eleven at night; and the evening ended without any very serious injury to persons or property, although there were many regrettable incidents, and much mischievous horse-play.

Last night, however, there was a marked change. None of the constables in any of the divisions refused to do their duty. The officers report that they were everywhere respectful, cheerful, and ready to act with vigour. Bow Street was cleared without any help from the troops. For the present Mr. Matthews has every reason to hope that the danger of a general strike of the police has been averted. No precaution has, however, been relaxed as yet. It is essential that the police should learn that they are not the masters, and cannot be allowed to dictate terms. On the other hand, the Superannuation Bill, which has long been promised by successive Governments, will be pressed forward; and as soon as the present excitement has calmed down, Mr. Matthews will apply himself to remove the few grievances that may really exist.

Viscount Cranbrook to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 10th July 1890.—Lord Cranbrook with his humble duty submits to your Majesty a short account of the proceedings in the House of Lords this evening.

The ordinary Bills in progress raised no discussion and perhaps less than usual, as a crowded House, with a large audience of ladies, was eager to hear Lord Salisbury's motion for the Second Reading of the Bill to confirm the Anglo-German agreement with respect to Heligoland. For nearly an hour he has fully kept the attention of his audience, and with singular clearness laid down the grounds upon which the action of the Government has been taken. On neither side does he consider that there is gain to the loss of the other. Each has obtained what they specially desired, and causes of collision and friction have been removed in Africa, where, and especially in Zanzibar, they were becoming serious and dangerous. Lord Rosebery, in replying, has admitted the gravity and moderation of Lord Salisbury's speech, and has declared his unwillingness to pick small holes in a large agreement. It is clear therefore that there will be no protracted

debate ; and no signs of opposition in the form of an adverse vote have appeared. On the whole the measure is well received, though its novelty may at first have raised some repugnance. The agreement must be regarded as a whole, which may tend to a lasting friendship between the parties to it.¹

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 11th July 1890.—. . . Some questions were asked relating to the postmen's strike, and Mr. Conybeare sought to move an adjournment upon the subject ; but the attitude of the House, as well on the Opposition as on the Government benches, was so unmistakably on the side of the authorities that Mr. Conybeare desisted ; and Mr. Smith has great satisfaction in stating for your Majesty's information that the postmen's like the police strike appears to have collapsed. Much credit is due to the Postmaster-General, Sir Arthur Blackwood, Mr. Turnor, and the other officers of the Post Office, but the week which has passed has been in many respects a very anxious one for the Government.

Mr. Dillon resumed the debate on the vote for the Chief Secretary's Office, and made a second and violent speech directed mainly against Mr. Balfour himself, raking up every possible story of prejudice or mischief which has been stated during the past four years. Mr. Parnell, however, spoke in a very different tone ; and, referring to the Land Purchase Bill, expressed a hope that it might be passed with modifications, which would exclude the larger grass farms where no necessity for peasant proprietorship exists, and generally exhibited a conciliatory attitude which came as a complete surprise on the House and on his own Party. Mr. Balfour met him more than half-way ; and the effect of these speeches was so remarkable that the Irish Party appeared to be stunned, and the vote for the Chief Secretary, when

¹ There was subsequently a majority in the House of Commons on the Second Reading of the Bill of 209 to 61.

put from the Chair, was not even challenged but passed without a division.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 20th July 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty and respectful acknowledgments for your Majesty's gracious letter.

He has seen Sir Edward Bradford. The latter repeats with great energy his belief that, if Mr. Matthews remains, the entire vote of the police will be lost. His unpopularity is quite phenomenal, but Lord Salisbury believes that Mr. Monro's evil practices are responsible for a great portion of it. There appears, Lord Salisbury believes, to be no immediate danger of a quarrel between Sir Edward Bradford and him. Sir Edward understands his work well, and can get on with difficult people. Lord Salisbury entirely shares your Majesty's wish to transfer Mr. Matthews to another sphere of usefulness.

The Marquis of Lansdowne to Queen Victoria.

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA, 5th July 1890.—. . . The Viceroy is sure that your Majesty will have been gratified by Sir Frederick Roberts's decision to accept a two years' extension of his appointment as Commander-in-Chief in India. It was, the Viceroy has reason to know, a serious disappointment to him to give up the idea of succeeding to the Adjutant-Generalship, which had actually been offered to him; but when he became aware that there was a difficulty in replacing him, he at once intimated his readiness to meet the wishes of your Majesty's Government. He, of course, feels that, now that Sir Redvers Buller has succeeded Lord Wolseley, he cannot look forward to the Adjutant-Generalship on his return to England in 1892. The Viceroy trusts that Sir Frederick's cheerful postponement of his personal interests to those of the public service will be properly appreciated. . . .

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, 30th July 1890.—The Queen is much annoyed at this, but is not prepared to give it up yet.

Would Sir Henry answer in the Queen's name, as she is rather tired from a great deal of writing?

Firstly, that she cannot and will not submit to the *shameful principle* that Princes are to suffer for *their birth* in a monarchical country. Have a Republic at once, if that is the principle. She must *have an assurance* that such is *not* the case. Arthur was recommended *solely* on account of his peculiar *fitness*.

It is very abominable that the Government, and a so-called Conservative one too, should wish to pander to the Radicals! Questions may and will be asked whatever is done; but the simple answer is that the Duke has gone through *every grade* from the lowest with honour and distinction, served in Canada, at Gibraltar, in the field in Egypt, and in India for five years where he earned golden opinions. He would smoothen difficulties and help the Secretary for War greatly. Why not wait, as the change is not *now*, till September or October, when Parliament is not sitting, and then let him have the office¹ for a year or two? When Parliament meets and any questions are asked, why then Mr. Stanhope ought to have the courage and state the truth *once for all*, viz. that the Duke of Connaught is considered the fittest and therefore ought to be employed as any other good officer is, quite irrespective of his rank, and that the Queen's sons will always be ready to serve their country in peace or war wherever their duty may call them.

Viscount Wolseley to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WAR OFFICE, 2nd August 1890.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I have not heard what Stanhope said were the final reasons which induced

¹ Of Adjutant-General.

the Cabinet to refuse the Duke of Connaught to come here. He merely said they were "*Political*." What that means I don't know. I merely say that Lord Salisbury's Cabinet—it consists of Salisbury and Goschen only—seem to be even greater cowards than most Cabinets.

What I conceive to be at the bottom of the matter is that they have made up their minds to do away with the office of Commander-in-Chief, and are afraid that, if they allowed the Duke of Connaught in here, they could not refuse to make him Commander-in-Chief by and by.

It is hard that a man should be held to be disqualified for high military command because he is the Queen's son. Behind all this matter is the Duke of Cambridge. Hartington, and all the Secretaries of State here in my time, have suffered so much at his hands, have had all needful reforms in the Army so blocked by him that one and all were determined never to have another Prince here who might prove equally immovable and irremovable. I am so fond of the Duke of Cambridge that I hate even thinking this, but I am sure it is true, and I think everyone who has been long here knows this as well as I do.

I had looked forward to the Duke of Connaught making great changes in our drill and military training, and bringing the Army up to those modern requirements which he understands well, but which our present Commander-in-Chief can neither understand nor appreciate. I write thus freely now, because my time here will finish in a few weeks. If we could have had the Duke of Connaught even as Quartermaster-General, he and Buller would have been too much for the Duke of Cambridge, and our Army would, I believe, have been very shortly, for its size, the best in the world in every respect. It ought to be so, but it is not, and no one knows that better than the Duke of Connaught.

You can therefore understand how it is and why

it is I am down in my luck about this decision of the Cabinet regarding the Duke of Connaught, quite apart from our own warm feeling for him personally. Sincerely yours, WOLSELEY.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 4th Aug. 1890.—Arthur was off early to go with Bertie to meet William. All was *attente*. Before breakfast we heard that the *Hohenzollern* was sighted at Spithead, but she was coming slowly. Went a little in the pony chair, Jane C. walking. Then changed my dress and waited in the Drawing-room. Alix and her girls, and Marie and hers came. The Guard of Honour and band were there, and after waiting some time, William at length arrived, with Bertie, Henry, and Arthur; Christian, Liko, and the suite following. Affie had been obliged to go to Plymouth. The gentlemen were all in undress uniform. The suites and Hatzfeldt then came in and were presented. Bertie and Arthur took William to his rooms, and I went upstairs. Resting and writing. William, Henry, Arthur, Louischen, Christian, Beatrice, Liko, and little Daisy and Arthur at luncheon, during which William's excellent band, which he brought before, played beautifully. We remained downstairs listening to it for some time afterwards, and some walked about on the terrace. William was very friendly. We dined *en famille*.

7th Aug.—Saw Lord Salisbury, who had just arrived. We had much talk over William's visit, etc., Mr. Smith's state of health, and the fear that he may not be able to go on—who should succeed him? Mr. Goschen would have to be tried, though he was not generally popular, and if he should fail, I urged Mr. Balfour, who out-and-out would be the best, though he would be much missed in Ireland. Lord Salisbury is averse to bringing him forward now, if possible. Sir M. Hicks Beach's health would not admit of his leading the House. I pressed in the strongest manner the removal of Mr. Matthews

from the Home Office, which Lord Salisbury promised should be done, and spoke of the best and easiest way of doing it. He also spoke of the possibility of moving Mr. Stanhope, who does not do well. He had seen Lord Hartington about the leadership, and the latter wished for Mr. Balfour. Lord Salisbury spoke much of the difficulty with Germany about Africa, and also France.

Viscount Wolseley to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT, 7th August 1890.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—Before I for ever relinquish the subject referred to in my last letter to you, I wish to fire one more shot in what I believe to be the interests of the Duke of Connaught and of the Army. If what I say is high treason I hope I may be forgiven. I may as well be hanged as high as Haman as on an ordinary gallows. In writing this note I wish above all things in the interest of the Army and therefore of the State to adopt some line of conduct that will secure us in the future as in the past a Commander-in-Chief.

To secure to any future Commander-in-Chief the powers which the Duke of Cambridge inherited from the Duke of Wellington, I am well aware the Duke of Cambridge has himself rendered impossible.

No Government of any shade of politics would ever or could ever again allow anyone to be able to prevent nearly all reform in our military organisation as the Duke of Cambridge has done for years past; as you know that his action has more than once produced between the Queen and her Cabinet a strained condition of things that was to be deprecated on every ground.

In our endeavours to retain the post of Commander-in-Chief in the Army, this fact must be recognised, for I am sure it was in the minds of many who sat upon Lord Hartington's Commission. If we succeed in retaining the post at all, we must be prepared to see it shorn of much of its present

importance. I know privately that it is Mr. Stanhope's wish to retain the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief for another two years longer. He will then be seventy-three years of age. The idea is then to get rid of him and to have no successor to his office, but instead to have a Chief of the Staff to the Secretary of State for War. In other words, some political creature of his own.

The Duke of Cambridge says many times every week that he will at once resign and consults me and Harman as to the propriety of doing so. Between ourselves, I don't think he has the least intention of ever doing this until he receives a hint from the Queen that he should do so.

Now I come to my proposition: Why should not Lord Salisbury allow the Duke of Connaught to succeed him at once? If necessary make the tenure of that office seven, or even if necessary five years. Many events will take place in the next five years, and when they are over, it is more probable the Government of the day would sanction the Duke holding the office for another term.

My own selfish object in bringing this forward is, that under the Duke of Connaught the Army would be brought up to date in all matters of military instruction, organisation, and tactical efficiency. Personally, I like the Duke of Cambridge so much that I hate saying this, but it is well known to all the rising officers in the Army that, as long as he continues to be Commander-in-Chief, this much wished for condition of things is impossible, is not to be thought of. It is not the Duke of Cambridge's fault: he was educated in a bad military school, and cannot forget the lessons it taught him, nor can he take in and learn those which modern war has taught all foreign nations.

I hope it may not be thought that it is from any ill-feeling towards the Duke of Cambridge I write this. In my heart I entertain strong feelings of personal attachment to him. No one can know

him, and see him daily as I have done for years, and not admire his amiable qualities. But in the interests of the Army I would like to see him replaced by the Duke of Connaught *at once*.

Firstly, because that arrangement would secure the permanence of the office of Commander-in-Chief. Secondly, because it would give us a member of the Royal Family in that position which I believe to be most important; and thirdly, because I know the Duke of Connaught would make the Army a fighting reality, make it an efficient military machine, which it is not at present, and which I don't see how it ever can be made under present conditions.

If my views meet with approval, the one point—the only one point—to settle in order to give effect to those views is that Lord Salisbury should consent to allow the Duke of Connaught to be made Commander-in-Chief at once for a term of (say) seven or five years, seven of course for choice.

As a punishment for my treason don't send me an ultimatum of "resignation or of compulsory removal." I give my views for what they are worth. They may be foolish, they are certainly honest. Sincerely yours, WOLSELEY.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Viscount Wolseley.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 8th August 1890.

MY DEAR WOLSELEY,—The question you have raised cannot be disposed of in a few lines, but furnishes food for grave consideration.

The first person who would be immediately benefited by the change would be the Queen's son, and she could not therefore herself originate a move which would promote the Duke of Connaught.

Indeed, in any circumstances the matter would have to be taken in hand by her responsible Ministers, and it is more than doubtful whether they would undertake this important reform at the present moment, and yet the essence of your suggestion is that we have arrived at the time when the

opportunity should be seized. Her Majesty is told that the Duke of Connaught should fill other commands before reaching the highest step on the ladder, and that he would find himself in an anomalous position if he jumped into power by what may almost be termed violent means.

I do not write this as a conclusive answer to your letter, but to show you what is passing in our minds on this important subject. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Cypher Telegram.]

11th Aug. 1890.—There is an impression among military men that whenever the Duke of Cambridge resigns the Government intend to make considerable alterations in the powers of the Commander-in-Chief which would practically abolish the office. As you assured me there was no such intention, I presume I am justified in saying that the alarm expressed rests on a false foundation.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, 12th Aug. 1890.—The Queen thinks it would be very important if Sir H. Ponsonby could go up to town any day convenient, and would try and see Lord Hartington and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, so as to be able to hear *what* they want, and to point out what she has written to Lord Salisbury to-day. She suspects that the Government think (most foolishly) Arthur would be as retrograde and old-fashioned as the dear Duke of Cambridge, whereas he is the very reverse, and it is too shameful keeping him out of all important places on account of his birth. Were he no child or even relation of the Queen's she would advocate his appointment to important places, and it is this which should be known.

When Lord Salisbury talked of Mr. Smith going to the War Office, the Queen asked how Mr. Smith could go there with his views. He laughed and said

they did not signify, as he had never attended the Commission!!

[Copy.] *Sir Henry Ponsonby to Viscount Wolseley.*

16th August 1890.

MY DEAR WOLSELEY,—Ministers have assured the Queen that no plan has yet been considered by them relating to the office of Commander-in-Chief, and strongly advise her to accept the lower appointments that may be suitable for her son. I do not mean she is quite satisfied, for Lord Salisbury said that, whenever question of Commander-in-Chief was raised, he expected changes would be suggested. But in the face of the advice of her Government the Queen could take no steps in the matter at present. H. P.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

18th Aug. 1890.—The Treaty defines the boundaries of British and Portuguese influence, and binds the Portuguese not to make over their territories to any other Power without the consent of Great Britain.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

OSBORNE, 20th Aug. 1890.—The Queen is anxious to write to Lord Salisbury about the bishops who are about to resign, and their successors.

She has understood from Lord Salisbury that there is a great want of a good and able speaker in the House of Lords; and the Bishop of Winchester goes at once to the House of Lords. Lord Salisbury said he thought of appointing the present Bishop of Rochester to Winchester, and then appointing the Dean of Windsor to Rochester.

Now the Queen would observe that this would not be an arrangement to give strength and assistance to the Church; for the Bishop of Rochester is old and not strong, and would be of no use as a speaker, and probably would not continue long at his post. What the Queen would suggest (and she need not say she has not breathed a word

of it to the Dean himself, and has only mentioned it to Sir H. Ponsonby), and she suggests it very earnestly, is that the Dean should go to Winchester, which would she thinks even seem rather natural, for part of Windsor and Osborne, with the whole of the Isle of Wight, are in the diocese of Winchester, and the bishop is Prelate of the Order of the Garter. In this way the loss of the Dean would be less felt, as he would be near at hand and in communication still with the Sovereign. Besides this, he would at once be available for the House of Lords, and a great help there in every way. If he were merely made a junior bishop, like Rochester, his power of help would be wasted, and it would perhaps be years before he got into the House of Lords.

Everyone in the Church, High and Low, has confidence in Dean Davidson's great intelligence, knowledge, and straightforwardness, and *all* desire his promotion. Of course he will be a serious loss to the Queen in many ways; but she would feel consoled if he were placed in a *post* of real usefulness, which in a small bishopric like Rochester he would not be.

Lord Salisbury may be sure that this appointment would be highly approved by the Archbishop and the present Bishop of Winchester, and many many others, both laymen and Ecclesiastics.

The Bishop of Worcester is also going to resign.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

LA BOURBOULE, 23rd Aug. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's letter of the 20th.

He has carefully reflected over the proposal to make the Dean of Windsor Bishop of Winchester directly, without any intermediate step. He cannot recommend it for your Majesty's adoption. The Dean is an able man, and is highly appreciated by those who know him; but he is not, as yet, a distinguished man. If he were advanced suddenly to so high a dignity as the See of Winchester, it

would be generally felt that excessive favour had been shown to him; and that his merit, so far as known to the public, did not correspond to it. Another, but secondary, objection would be that the Low Church party would not receive that satisfaction which would result from the promotion of Dr. Thorold.

If the See of Worcester were more acceptable to the Dean than the See of Rochester, Lord Salisbury does not see that any inconvenience would result from making that arrangement.

[*Draft.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL, 27th Aug. 1890.—. . . The Queen thinks Lord Salisbury scarcely understands her object in pressing upon him the several ecclesiastical appointments that she has lately done, and especially this one of the Dean of Windsor.

It was no private friendship for Canon Westcott that induced the Queen to recommend him for Durham, but because she knew he was manifestly fitted for that post; and Lord Salisbury ultimately concurred in this view, and received the general approbation of the Church and the laity for this selection. Bishops Festing and Lloyd,¹ though worthy, cannot be called eminent men.

The Queen does not now urge the appointment of Dean Davidson to Winchester on account of her personal regard for him, but because he fulfils the requirements put forward by Lord Salisbury, and will be an active occupant of the Bishops' Bench, which requires an energetic and able addition to it.

If Lord Salisbury will enquire among the leading men of the Church, he will find that the appointment of Dean Davidson will be almost universally welcomed; and the Queen maintains that the welfare of the whole Church and not the sentiments of a particular party should be considered in making these high and important appointments.

¹ The other two recently appointed bishops.

The Queen cannot help reminding Lord Salisbury that, when she urged strongly on Lord Beaconsfield the appointment of Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, he objected strongly. She however insisted from a sense of duty for the good of the Church, and Lord Beaconsfield appointed him, and he was universally considered to have been one of the best Primates ever known. The Dean of Windsor is his son-in-law, and was for many years his right hand.¹

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Archbishop Benson.*

Very Confidential. BALMORAL CASTLE, 1st September 1890.

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I have been remiss in thanking you for your last kind letter acknowledging the copy of the Archbishop of Chambéry's address, in which you speak so kindly of the irreparable loss I have sustained in the death of my beloved friend Lady Ely; and I do so now most sincerely. But I have another object in writing to you to-day, and that is with respect to Dean Davidson. You, and I believe many others in the Church, are very desirous that he should be promoted to the Episcopate. Of course he will be a very serious loss to me at Windsor; at the same time I quite feel the great necessity of having able, young, good, courageous, and large-minded men on the Episcopal bench.

Now two vacancies are likely to occur soon by the resignations of the Bishops of Winchester and Worcester. Lord Salisbury, I know, wishes to place the Bishop of Rochester at Winchester and the Dean of Windsor to go to Rochester or Worcester. I had, however, thought (of course *without any* consultation with the Dean *himself*) that it would have been such a good thing to promote him at once to the See of Winchester,

¹ Lord Salisbury in his reply on the 30th August, while maintaining his view that Dr. Thorold should go to Winchester, protested that "it did not enter into his mind to harbour the idea that your Majesty was influenced by any other consideration but the public good. But he was anxious that no step should be taken which would cause your Majesty's motives to be extensively misunderstood."

as Windsor¹ and Osborne are in the diocese, the Bishop of Winchester is Prelate of the Order of the Garter, and the connection with the Royal Household would thus be maintained, besides the great advantage of his entering at once into the House of Lords.

I have pointed this out in two strong letters to Lord Salisbury, but he won't agree; and says if the two great bishoprics were given to Broad Churchmen it would be thought by the two parties of the Clergy, High and Low Church, that we were rationalising the Church. A very extraordinary idea, I must say. I am not aware what your feelings on this subject are, but, should you agree with me about Winchester, I think a letter from you, as from *yourself* and *without mentioning* me, to Lord Salisbury recommending this, would have much weight; and perhaps others, Dr. Vaughan for instance, and anyone else of weight writing in the same way to Lord Salisbury, might remove the prejudice in his mind. He seems to undervalue the talents and power of Dean Davidson, and thinks he is unknown. . . .

Believe me always, my dear Archbishop, Yours very sincerely, V. R. I.

Archbishop Benson to Queen Victoria.

RIEDER FURCA, VALAIS, 8th September 1890.

MADAM,—Your Majesty's goodness in being ready to surrender the Dean of Windsor is very great. I know what it means. It is far more important that he should go to Winchester than to any other See. He would serve your Majesty far better there than elsewhere, and he ought to continue to do so.

The Bishop of Rochester is too frail in health to cope with all that the long indisposition of the good bishop² has accumulated. His own diocese is

¹ This is a mistake. Windsor is in the diocese of Oxford.

² Dr. Harold Browne.

heavy, but it is a very different thing to undertake a new diocese of that importance.

The Dean is now *very well known*, and the appointment would be well received. His practical good sense, unsparingness of self, and earnest purpose, are appreciated by the clergy of both sections; and he is just the person whom the laity will like. He makes himself felt when he speaks.

Indeed, we must have in the House of Lords men who see, and will care to use, its great opportunities, and have the power to do so. We must have in London men who will enter into the great social questions which are stirring, with sympathy, and yet with a good sense which will not be run away with by mere cries of uninformed sympathy. All this requires judgment, intelligence, vigour and, I should say, youth. I know *no one* so well adapted as the Dean for these works. Our system of succession to the House of Lords keeps our junior bishops so long in the dioceses that when, after some years, they are called there they have become engrossed with very useful diocesan work, but not for the whole body, and they do not know how to give it up or find time for both. They ought to learn earlier. The evil is at present conspicuous, and it is most desirable that a capable man should go direct to Winton and into the House, and measure the *whole* of his work. When I say "*we must*" have such men, I mean that, if we do *not*, if we are to have tired, gentle, good men, uninterested in social questions, the Church *cannot* do her duty, or fill her position as a National Church.

I have written to Lord Salisbury, and have asked Dr. Vaughan to write (I have written only as from myself). If I can find anyone else likely to be effective I will write to them.

I am very much honoured by your Majesty's letter. Your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful servant, EDW. CANTUAR.

Dean Davidson to Queen Victoria.

DEANERY, WINDSOR CASTLE, 12th September 1890.

MADAM,—. . . The sudden death of Canon Liddon¹ removes one who has held a foremost place in the admiration of very many. He is a real loss to the ranks of great preachers, of whom we certainly have not too many, and it has seemed to me that, with advancing years, he has been less bigoted and more tolerant than in former days. He is to be buried in St. Paul's Cathedral next Tuesday. . . . I have the honour to be, Your Majesty's obedient humble servant, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Queen Victoria.

[Cypher Telegram.]

ZANZIBAR, 15th Sept. 1890.—Your High Majesty knows of the order about slaves which I made and your Majesty approved. Now the Germans at Bagamoyo have made a decree contrary to my decree, and all men now buy and sell slaves here, and this is a great insult and disgrace to me; and I beg your assistance, for surely the German Emperor does not know what is done. May God keep your Majesty, our only friend, in health! Out of your kindness I beg your Majesty to answer this. Your friend, Sultan ALI BIN SAID.

Lord Stanley of Preston to Queen Victoria.

CITADEL, QUEBEC, 17th Sept. 1890.—Lord Stanley of Preston with his humble duty to your Majesty has the honour to say that he received yesterday your Majesty's telegram enquiring about an assault alleged to have been made on Prince George of Wales (and others) whilst the *Canada* and *Thrush* were at Montreal. He telegraphed in reply to say that the report was wholly without foundation, that he understood that a prosecution would be instituted against the sender of the false news, and

¹ Dr. Liddon died on 9th September.

that Prince George was at the Citadel, in good health, and making himself very popular with everyone.

It is unfortunately the case that in the United States a large portion of the daily press rival one another in their desire to reproduce anything which may be read to the disparagement of English people, and that when the correspondents cannot otherwise find materials they do not scruple to invent stories altogether. All respectable journalists are naturally very indignant about this abuse, and in this instance the Press Association are doing their best to aid the prosecution.

The writer of the telegram was arrested yesterday, and held to substantial bail. It is said, Lord Stanley does not know with what amount of truth, that it was the same person who originated a number of stories in disparagement of the Fleet when they were down at Newport, U.S., a little while ago, and again when Prince George first went to Halifax.

Lord Stanley encloses an article which appeared in the *Quebec Morning Chronicle* of yesterday, and which was probably written by Dr. Stewart, LL.D. It is a fair sample of the line taken by other papers throughout the Dominion. He also encloses a cutting from an evening paper, giving an account of the arrest which was made. He had had thoughts of telegraphing to your Majesty when the report first appeared two days ago, but such untruths are so common in some of the newspapers that he considered that it would be giving the matter undue importance, especially as all telegrams, other than those in cypher, become generally known. In that respect, your Majesty's loyal Dominion of Canada resembles the United States.

Your Majesty hardly requires to be told that Prince George has succeeded here, as elsewhere, in making himself universally popular. All the officers and men of the Fleet seem very devoted to him, he wins golden opinions when on shore, and he is thoroughly master of his duties or, to use

Admiral Watson's own phrase, "the Prince is quite Captain of his own ship." His Royal Highness has been staying at the Citadel whenever his duties admitted of it, and Lord Stanley need not say what a sincere pleasure it has been to himself and to Lady Stanley to receive him there, and to do the best that they can for him. One word should be added as to the care which Admiral Watson seems to take in all matters connected with his Royal Highness. Without in the slightest degree waiving his proper rank as Admiral when on board, he is watchful that the Prince should have his own proper position, and he looks after him and his ship, it is quite plain, with the most sincere personal regard. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

23rd Sept. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that the choice of the Sees of Rochester and Worcester be given to the Dean of Windsor.

[Draft.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 27th Sept. 1890.—The Queen was much surprised to receive from Lord Salisbury yesterday the accompanying submission. Did Lord Salisbury never receive the last letter she wrote to him on the 3rd on this subject? In this letter she put forth very strongly before him the reasons why, if the Dean of Windsor is to be of use, which Lord Salisbury and the Church expect him and want him to be, he should at once be brought into the House of Lords instead of an old frail man, of no particular talent, as the present Bishop of Rochester. The Archbishop wrote to the Queen in the very strongest terms on the subject, and the Queen thinks he must also have written to Lord Salisbury. She is quite at a loss to know why he rejects such advice and the opinion of the First Dignitary of the Church. She fears that Lord Salisbury has been

much misinformed on the subject; for the Dean is certainly particularly well known, and has taken part in many important occasions like the Church Conference of last year, and is about to publish (this winter) the life of Archbishop Tait, which he has written. As, however, unfortunately as the Queen must think, Lord Salisbury persists in taking a contrary view, she will no longer withhold her consent to the appointment of the Bishop of Rochester to the See of Winchester, and the choice of Rochester and Worcester being offered to the Dean, who will be a very serious loss to the Queen at Windsor. She cannot help reminding Lord Salisbury that, when the question of naming a bishop for the Diocese in which Hatfield is situated arose, the Queen, out of consideration to Lord Salisbury and to what might be agreeable to him, made no objection to what was proposed whatever, though Canon Liddon was one mentioned. But in this case of Winchester, which borders on Windsor and includes Osborne, the Queen's personal wishes and convenience are overlooked.

It is painful to the Queen to say all this; but Lord Salisbury knows that she is always frank in all her dealings with him.

Dean Davidson to Sir Fleetwood Edwards.

HULL, 1st October 1890.

MY DEAR EDWARDS,—Sir Henry has sent me, in accordance, as I understand, with the Queen's desire, the very important draft letter¹ herewith returned. I fear my absence this week from Windsor may have caused an inconvenient delay.

I cannot tell you [how] much I am touched by the Queen's kindness to me in all this matter, and by the considerateness with which her Majesty has kept the discussion, until now, from myself, so as to avoid placing me in what would have been so delicate and

¹ Presumably the draft of the immediately preceding letter, written by the Queen to Lord Salisbury on 27th September.

difficult a position. I earnestly hope Lord Salisbury does not suppose I have been cognisant of all these negotiations, of which, of course, I knew nothing.

I am sure the Queen knows that, *for myself*, I would not wish to exchange my present position for any other post whatever in the whole Church of England; and that if the Queen were now to say to me that she wished me to remain at Windsor, her wish to me would be an absolute law which I would obey with something more than gladness.

But, so far as I understand it, the Queen's kind expression of an opinion that I ought to decline one of the vacant bishoprics, if it were offered to me, rests not upon any such wish, but upon the fact that a removal from the Deanery of Windsor, say to the Bishopric of Rochester, would not really be *promotion* in the ordinary sense. The Bishopric of Rochester, however, though not what would popularly be regarded as promotion for me, is yet a post of perhaps the highest and most responsible work to be found in and near London. It includes all South London,¹ with a population of nearly two million souls, and it is work which, in the opinion of the Archbishop, I ought not to decline to try, however inadequately, to perform. Worcester is, I think, quite out of the question, owing, in part, to its great distance from Windsor and Osborne; and I quite understand that the Queen would not wish me to go there.

But if I now decline Rochester, it must, I think, mean that I remain permanently at Windsor, and I do not understand this to be what the Queen desires. Short of one of the three Bishoprics (London, Durham, Winchester), the holder of which goes straight into the House of Lords, there is no diocese in England more important than Rochester, though it is neither rich nor easy.

I am, of course, anxious to be guided largely by the Queen's own wishes; and, as I have said, I feel

¹ South London has now been separated from the Diocese of Rochester, and become the Diocese of Southwark.

her kindness quite overwhelmingly. But I incline to think that it would not be right, if I am to go away at all, that I should decline Rochester, especially since the Queen has so kindly said that she would appoint me to be Clerk of the Closet, a post of very high honour. . . .

I am, Ever yours very truly, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 2nd Oct. 1890.—I was delighted to see the Queen [of Roumania] again, which I had not done since '63. She has the same charming smile and bright eyes she always had, but her hair is very grey, and she wears it cut short. We took her into the Drawing-room, where her ladies were presented: Mlle Hélène Vacaresco (a bright little person of twenty-four, a poetess, very oriental-looking), Madame Mielisco (very delicate), and Mlle. Zoe Vacaresco, sister to Hélène Vacaresco. After talking a little while we took the Queen to her rooms. Lunched at half-past one, and Bertie, Alix, Eddy, and Victoria were there. Bertie was staying at Sinaia with the King and Queen two years ago. She came up afterwards to my room, and sat some time talking with me. She is so full of cleverness and charm. She writes a great deal, poems, prose, plays, and all under the name of Carmen Silva. Her writings are immensely thought of. She spoke a great deal of her stay in Wales, with which she is delighted, and which she says has done her health so much good. She is full of sympathy and kindness, and takes a keen interest in everything. Drove to the Garrawalt and had tea at Dantzig. Before dinner there was a torchlight procession, and reels were danced in front of the castle. Helen dined. Besides her and the Queen of Roumania, there were the three Roumanian ladies, the Queen's Secretary, an Alsatian, Emily A., Lord Cross, and Major Legge. The other ladies and gentlemen came into the Drawing-room afterwards. The Queen, who speaks English without any accent,

fascinated everyone. Little Mlle Hélène Vacaresco also speaks English and French well. The Queen is very fond of her, and she has been with her since a child, and helps the Queen in her writings. Her poems, written in French as well as Roumanian, are "couronné par l'Académie Française," which is a very rare distinction for so young a person. Mlle Hélène Vacaresco spoke of the terrible misfortune of the poor Queen losing her only child, not yet three years old. She has never really got over that sorrow.

3rd Oct.—The dear charming Queen came to luncheon with us three, and was much amused with the children. Drove with the Queen (whom I call Elisabeth *tout court*) in the victoria, to Birkdale, Beatrice having gone on with Alix, Victoria, and Liko. After taking tea with Helen, the Queen read to us some of her charming little sonnets. It was quite dark when we got back. We talked a great deal on the drive home, and I just alluded to her one great sorrow. She spoke with resignation and courage of her many trials and difficulties, but she did not mention the child. Before dinner the Queen came up to my room in her beautiful national dress, which suits her so well, and I gave her a Celtic brooch and Balmoral shawl, also some books. After [dinner], when the other ladies and gentlemen had joined us in the Drawing-room, the Queen read to us one of her plays, an ancient Greek story, very tragic. She read it to us most wonderfully and beautifully, and had quite an inspired look as she did so. She sat at the round table and we all opposite to her. Many could of course not understand, as she read in German, but all were interested.

4th Oct.—A beautiful morning. While we were at breakfast the Queen came in and sat with us. At eleven she took leave of us, and we were so sorry she could not stay longer. She expressed herself so gratefully, and so happy to have been here, her ladies too. Elisabeth is certainly a wonderful and charming personality, unlike other people, but yet not eccentric

in her manner. She is also not in good health, and overtires herself, but her highly strung nerves prevent her resting. She suffers from the climate in Roumania, and constantly has fever, but the quiet, good air and sea baths at Llandudno in Wales, she says, have quite set her up again. Helen, who is Elisabeth's first cousin, had also come over, and she, Liko, and Eddy accompanied her to Ballater. We were all, including Alix and Victoria, *sous le charme* of the dear charming Queen.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

Puys, 3rd Oct. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's letter with respect to the Bishopric of Winchester.

He is much grieved that he should be thought to have been indifferent to your Majesty's comfort in the submission which he has made with respect to that See. He felt that Windsor was in no way directly affected, as it is in another diocese; and that if your Majesty ever wished to see Dr. Davidson, Rochester is by rail not materially farther, if at all farther, than Farnham. He feels confident that your Majesty will suffer no inconvenience by the arrangement. His motive for pressing the appointment of Dr. Thorold is one of a public kind, as he hardly knows him. Lately a cry has been raised among the Evangelicals that Lord Salisbury has a prejudice against Evangelicals, and will not recommend them for promotion. To Lord Salisbury himself this impression is immaterial; but, for the moment, he represents a political cause of singular importance, and the alienation of so large a section of the Church as the Evangelical section would be unfortunate on that ground, as well as on many others. But the difficulty is that men of eminence in the Evangelical school are not easy to find. Lord Salisbury has made two efforts this year to satisfy the claim of this section to promotion. He recommended the Bishop of Ripon for Durham; and he recommended Canon Fleming

for a bishopric; but your Majesty was pleased to decline both recommendations. The present is another opportunity; and in Bishop Thorold we fortunately have an unexceptionable candidate. Lord Salisbury fears that, if during one year both these great prizes in the Church, Durham and Winchester, are given to a Broad Churchman, there will be a painful feeling among the Evangelicals.

The fact that Dean Davidson's high qualities are not known much outside his own acquaintance, and that he has no celebrity as a preacher, an author, or a parish priest, and is still young would tend to aggravate the disappointment, as his promotion would seem forced and unnatural. His moral strength in the Church would not be increased by an unexplained rapidity of promotion.¹ If he distinguishes himself, as he probably will, in one of the ordinary Sees, he will have a claim to promotion to the highest offices, which any Minister will be glad to press upon your Majesty.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 4th Oct. 1890.—The Queen omitted in her last letter to say that she had a good deal of conversation with Sir E. Malet the other day, and that, with respect to African affairs, he thinks we have it all in our hands. But *he* thinks that Col. Euan Smith did not manage well about the Slavery Proclamation; he has always taken a *parti pris* against the Germans.

The Queen feels *very* anxious about Portugal, lest we should upset the dynasty, which would be dreadful, and would be followed by a revolution in Spain. This we *must* avoid, and find some means of helping the Portuguese Government out of it. The poor King's Government wish to do what is right by us, but they *cannot* go *against* their own country.

¹ This letter was forwarded, by the Queen's direction, to Dean Davidson, who wrote to Sir Fleetwood Edwards on 9th October: "I am bound in fairness to say that in Lord Salisbury's personal remarks about myself, from first to last, I entirely concur, and think he has stated the facts very correctly."

We often use this argument ourselves against other countries.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 5th Oct. 1890.—. . . With respect to Mr. Matthews, Lord Salisbury expressed a hope that he might be able to devise some arrangement which should lead to the appointment of another Home Secretary by Mr. Matthews's own voluntary action. He spoke to the Lord Chancellor, who is Matthews's friend; and has not yet heard whether the Lord Chancellor has been able to arrive at any result. At present Lord Salisbury does not think that a bare dismissal would be admissible. It would be looked upon as very harsh, and would beget numberless intrigues. When Mr. Gladstone got rid of Mr. Bruce, who was also an unsuccessful Home Secretary, he put him into another office, the Presidency of the Council. Mr. Walpole resigned in 1867, at a time when he was very unpopular on account of the mistakes he had made; but his resignation, to all appearance, was quite voluntary. There is no instance of dismissal; and it would require some open and palpable error to justify it.

The Queen of Roumania to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

LONDON, 7th Oct. 1890.—How can I thank sufficiently for the truly motherly care with which you have surrounded me, to the last moment! Dear England and its most beloved Queen are good to me, so that body and soul alike are strengthened to new and old tasks. Your deeply grateful niece, ELISABETH.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 7th Oct. 1890.—The Queen thanks Lord Salisbury for his two last letters. She is not anxious to prolong the discussion about the vacant bishoprics, which she *has* approved now; but must just make two remarks.

Firstly, as regards the expectations of the Evangelicals to have promotion, as they think the High Church have had too much. This the Queen thinks is *not* a good *principle* or rule to act upon, for it only perpetuates the two rival and antagonistic parties in the Church, which we are all so anxious to obliterate, as it weakens the Church so very much; and we want to *strengthen* it.

Secondly, it is a complete error that the Dean of Windsor is not known. He is better known than most clergymen are.

The Queen much regrets that Lord Salisbury does not yet know if the Chancellor can persuade Mr. Matthews (whose health she hears is very indifferent) to retire. It is not from the least personal dislike to Mr. Matthews that the Queen presses this so strongly, but from a conviction, entertained by so many besides, that he is a weakness to the Government; and still more from the alarming fact of the loss of so many votes which, with a view to the next election, must not be neglected. Altogether the Queen fears the Government are not near so active as they ought to be, and as the Opposition are, in preparing for the contest, whereas every nerve should be strained and not a thing left undone to bring about the desired end.

The Queen hopes Lord Salisbury has arrived safely.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 11th Oct. 1890.—After dinner, the other ladies and gentlemen joined us in the Drawing-room, and we pushed the furniture back and had a nice little impromptu dance, Curtis's band being so *entraînant*. We had a quadrille, in which I danced with Eddy!! It did quite well, then followed some waltzes and polkas.

Dean Davidson to Queen Victoria.

GALA HOUSE, GALASHIELS, N.B., 14th October 1890.

MADAM,—Now that I have received Lord Salisbury's formal letter offering me, in your Majesty's

name, the choice of the See either of Worcester or Rochester, and have replied to him accepting the See of Rochester, I am not, I hope and believe, acting wrongly in writing, with my humble duty, direct to your Majesty, to express, with my whole heart, the grateful sense I entertain of the immense kindness and consideration which has, from first to last, been shown to me by your Majesty in this matter, to me so momentous as to be almost overwhelming.

Your Majesty will, I hope, believe me when I say that nothing in my life has ever affected me more deeply than this characteristic evidence of the gracious readiness of your Majesty to consider the interests of others, whether public or private, rather than your Majesty's own personal convenience and comfort. It is thus that your Majesty has, for fifty years, whether in joy or sorrow, won the *hearts* of those whose privilege it has been to be among your Majesty's more immediate servants.

For myself, I can say in all sincerity that my desire to serve your Majesty with loyal honesty and devotion has gone on, steadily increasing, during each year of my Windsor life, and I do most earnestly trust that our removal to London, where my home as Bishop of Rochester will probably lie, will not prevent your Majesty from exercising to the fullest extent whatever claim upon my personal services may be to your Majesty's convenience in any way whatever. . . .

I trust your Majesty will pardon the freedom of this letter, which comes from a full heart, and will believe that I am at all times, Your Majesty's most obedient, loyal, and humble servant, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Dean Davidson.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 17th Oct. 1890.—The Queen has been much touched by the kindness of the Dean of Windsor's letter. She is naturally much grieved that he should leave Windsor, where she hoped he would and could have remained and been of such use

to herself and others. But, when she saw and heard how useful he would be to the Church in another position, she felt she had no right to be selfish ; and therefore gave her consent to a bishopric being offered to him. The Queen must honestly confess that she has (excepting in one case, the Bishop of Ripon) never found people promoted to the Episcopate remain what they were before. She hopes and thinks this will not be the case with the Dean. Many who preached so well before did no longer as bishops, excepting the Bishop of Ripon. The whole atmosphere of a cathedral and its surroundings, the very dignity itself which accompanies a bishopric, seems to hamper their freedom of speech. The Dean must not [be] discouraged or hurt by what she says here, but she cannot help just mentioning this, as it strikes her from experience.¹ She feels sure that the Dean will not let himself be hampered by his future position, and most truly and sincerely does the Queen wish him all possible success and happiness in his new elevation. The Queen's only fear is that the work may be too much for his health, and she trusts he will ask for assistance if that should be the case. He must take exercise, and try and get out of London as much and as often as he can. . . .

Dr. Cameron Lees² to Queen Victoria.

33 BLACKET PLACE, EDINBURGH, 23rd October 1890.

MADAM,—Your Majesty wished me to let you know how Mr. Gladstone is getting on here.³ There is a distinct diminution of enthusiasm about him, and there was nothing like the old cordiality at his reception on arrival. He has made one speech, and I find many of his supporters are very much disap-

¹ In his reply on 20th October, Dean Davidson wrote :—"I can promise to be on my guard against any such danger as your Majesty's experience suggests."

² Minister of St. Giles's, Edinburgh, and Dean of the Chapels Royal for Scotland.

³ In view of the next General Election, due in 1891 or 1892, Mr. Gladstone had undertaken another comprehensive campaign of speech-making in Midlothian.

pointed at it. It was just a reiteration of what he had said often before and with nothing new in it whatever.

A very large portion of his constituency are wild at him for the attitude he has taken about the Church.¹ He is not to speak of this question till on the eve of his departure, and until he has taken the "opinions of Scotsmen regarding it." What he may do is uncertain; but it is generally thought he will adhere to his old position, telling the people that they have nothing to fear for the Church, and that any disestablishment measure from him will be of the most generous kind towards the Church.

I saw him driving out yesterday. He looks well, but is aged a good deal since I saw him last, and he gets, when he drives about, nothing like the ovation he used to receive. I hope your Majesty is well, and am, Your Majesty's faithful servant, J. CAMERON LEES.

The King of Portugal to Queen Victoria.

LISBONNE, ce 23 Octobre 1890.

MADAME ET TRÈS CHÈRE TANTE,—Je viens vous importuner aujourd'hui pour une question qui est bien sérieuse pour mon pays et pour moi. Il s'agit de la malheureuse question que nous avons avec votre gouvernement.

Nous venons d'envoyer à votre gouvernement une note exposant ce que nous demandons pour le moment. Comme vous pourrez le voir, c'est bien peu, mais pour nous c'est beaucoup; car, si votre gouvernement l'accepte, c'est la tranquillité interne presque assurée; s'il nous refuse ce peu que nous demandons, c'est notre stabilité compromise, et, qui sait, très probablement celle de l'Espagne aussi, car tout mouvement républicain ici en amènerait un autre en Espagne immédiatement.

Notre situation ici est extrêmement grave. C'est pourquoi, ma chère Tante, je vous prie d'influer sur votre gouvernement, pour que cette fois au moins nos

¹ Mr. Gladstone had accepted this year for the first time the policy of disestablishing the Church of Scotland.

modestes prétentions soient écoutées, et de vous souvenir que qui vous demande cela est votre neveu très dévoué qui vous baise la main, CARLOS R.

Sir Philip Currie to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

30th Oct. 1890.—Lord Salisbury desires me to inform you that it is proposed to attach Mackenzie Wallace¹ to the Cesarewitch² in order to counteract M. Onou's influence.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 31st Oct. 1890.—Highly approve appointment of Mackenzie Wallace to attend Cesarewitch, but think *one* person is not enough. Could not young A. Hardinge³ also have been attached to this party or Mr. Condie Stephen? The Russian party will have to be very carefully watched and not left alone.

Russian proceedings in Persia not satisfactory. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

31st Oct. 1890.—Humble duty. I have telegraphed to Mr. Arthur Hardinge to ascertain whether he can come.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

4th Nov. 1890.—Letters from the King of Portugal to me and the Prince of Wales implore me to urge you to accept the condition for a treaty in the Note you will have received from Portuguese Government.

If refuse, fear overthrow of Portuguese monarch. Will send letters. What answer should be given?

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

6th Nov. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully thanks your Majesty for the letters from the King of the Belgians and that from the

¹ Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, author of *Russia*; Foreign Correspondent, and eventually Director of the Foreign Department, of *The Times*.

² Who was about to pay a visit to India.

³ Afterwards Sir Arthur Hardinge, and Ambassador.

Prince of Wales and the King of Portugal, which he encloses in this box.

The Portuguese question stands thus. The Government say they cannot prevail on the Cortes to ratify the Treaty of last August, which consequently falls to the ground. We have consented to renew negotiations for a new Treaty ; but the Portuguese, while accepting this offer, evidently do not mean to conclude any Treaty for a considerable period of time. Therefore they propose a *modus vivendi*, which apparently does not require the consent of the Cortes. The three first proposals are unobjectionable, and we have accepted them. The fourth proposal would impose upon this country the duty of protecting the (alleged) Portuguese territory at Manica from the gold diggers who are beginning to overrun it, and who are largely of British nationality. We have no power to do this ; we have no force in the country, and it is the business of the Portuguese to protect their own territory. We have therefore couched the fourth article of the proposed *modus vivendi* in different language. We are willing to consent, during the six months that the *modus vivendi* will last, that Great Britain shall not exercise any act of sovereignty, or negotiate any fresh treaties within the territory which the Treaty signed last August (but now lapsed) recognises as Portuguese. But they must defend it themselves. We are now waiting for answer.

*Queen Victoria to Mrs. Lewis Dawnay.*¹

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 5th November 1890.

DEAREST VICTORIA,—I write to you as the *eldest*, and for you all *three*, to express, as well as poor words can, my *deep* and *true* sympathy with you and Albert in the terrible loss you have all sustained. No loss is, in many ways, *so irreparable* ; for what can ever replace the love of a mother² so indulgent, so

¹ Afterwards Lady Victoria Dawnay.

² Mrs. Grey, the widow of General Grey, the Queen's Private Secretary from 1862 to 1870.

unselfish, so self-sacrificing ? One feels so poor without that love. I know too well by experience, and your beloved mother was so loving, so kind and devoted ; how proud she was of her dear children ! To me also it is a personal sorrow, for it brings back so many sad and dear memories. It was a great blessing that you could be all with her and that she knew all in happy homes. I had such kind letters from her, only quite lately, rejoicing at dear Louisa's¹ appointment. I fear the wedding of her granddaughter, which gave her such real pleasure, was too much for her.

May I ask for the last photograph taken of her ? and will you not have one taken of her now, or a drawing ?

It is peculiarly gratifying to me now to feel that the link with the past still remains by dear Louisa's becoming one of my Ladies. I trust dear Mary Melgund² will not suffer from all she has gone through. How I grieve for her losing that tender love and help at that trying time !

With renewed expressions of truest sympathy with you all, Ever yours affectionately, VICTORIA R. I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 9th Nov. 1890.—Dear Bertie's birthday. May God bless and preserve him ! He has always been a very good affectionate son to me.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BALMORAL CASTLE, [? 11th Nov.] 1890.—Pray say to Lord Salisbury that the Queen would on no account receive King Milan, whose conduct to his wife and generally is very disreputable.

Queen Victoria to the King of Portugal.

[Copie.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16 Novembre 1890.

MON CHER CARLOS,—Je vous remercie bien affectueusement de votre bonne et aimable lettre que M. de Soveral a remis à Bertie pour moi et dans

¹ Countess of Antrim.

² Now Countess Dowager of Minto.

laquelle vous me parlez des différences, malheureusement bien graves, qui existent entre nos deux Gouvernements. Elles m'ont causé à moi aussi de vifs soucis, car vous devez savoir combien je tiens à ce que les relations intimes et amicales qui subsistent depuis des siècles entre le Portugal et l'Angleterre, augmentées par notre proche parenté, se resserrent, au lieu qu'il survienne, comme à présent, de pénibles refroidissements.

Mais mon Gouvernement a des droits à protéger, et quoiqu'il désire sincèrement montrer tous les égards possibles envers le vôtre, il est forcé de regarder à ce que les droits de mes sujets ne soient violés d'aucune manière.

Heureusement, depuis que vous avez écrit votre lettre, les deux Gouvernements se sont entendus sur un *modus vivendi* qui, je l'espère, aura le résultat d'adoucir l'état d'irritation dans laquelle se trouve le Portugal, et d'amener la solution de la question disputée.

Soyez certain que je ne cesserai de faire mon possible pour terminer cette affaire si pénible, et laissez-moi vous prier d'en faire de même de votre côté. . . . V. R. I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

IN THE TRAIN, 19th Nov. 1890.—Received a telegram from Lord Rosebery, saying his poor wife had expired peacefully early this morning. She was ill fifty days, quite unusual for typhoid. She will be a great loss to him, for she was a most devoted and excellent wife, a very good mother, and very charitable and active in all charities.¹

¹ In answering at some length a letter of sympathy from her Majesty, Lord Rosebery concluded thus :

"Perhaps the nearest thought to a bereaved soul is contained in the lines your Majesty wrote in my wife's album, and the lighting upon which has given me the desire to write to-night.

" ' I hold it true whate'er befall,
I feel it when I sorrow most,
'Tis better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all.'

" I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for allowing my pen to run on. For this once, however, I cannot but see in your Majesty less my

23rd Nov.—Received a telegram from Queen Emma, announcing the death of her husband, the King of the Netherlands, who has been very ill for the last two months, and the accession of her daughter Wilhelmina, for whom she is Regent. Sent for Helen, who was much upset when she heard the news, as she feels so much for her poor and much tried sister, who was greatly attached to the King.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 25th Nov. 1890.—Mr. Smith presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

The House was crowded on both sides when the hour for public business arrived, and Mr. Parnell was in his place supported by his faithful followers. . . . To Mr. Smith's great surprise, the Address was voted at quarter-past ten. It is the first time for many years that it has been agreed to in one short night's debate.

The explanation is alleged to be great disorganisation in the Opposition.

Mr. Gladstone is stated to have written a letter to Mr. Justin McCarthy for Mr. Parnell's information, stating that unless Mr. Parnell withdrew from the lead of the Irish Party, he, Mr. Gladstone, must withdraw. A meeting of the Irish Members was held, and this letter it is alleged was not read by Mr. McCarthy or Mr. Parnell to them. They renewed their expression of confidence in Mr. Parnell, and at four-thirty he appeared in the House with his supporters around him.

This, it is stated, greatly incensed Mr. Gladstone, and he has written a second letter more angry than the first, saying that he really will retire from the lead if Mr. Parnell does not, and the Irish Members are now meeting to consider this letter. Under any

Sovereign than the wife who has known the same sorrow and deigns from the sad summit of her experience to associate herself with those that grieve below."

circumstances bad blood has been set up, and there will be difficulty in any harmonious co-operation between the English and Irish Home Rulers for some little time.¹

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26th Nov. 1890.—For the first time for twenty years the Address was voted without an amendment the very first night. The cause of all this is the result of a scandalous trial and divorce case in which Parnell did not attempt to defend himself, but is shown up as not only a man of very bad character, but as a liar, and devoid of all sense of honour or of any sort of principle. The Irish nation at large will be furious, and Mr. Gladstone is put into great difficulties by it. Lord and Lady Cranborne (Alice Gore that was), Ismay S[outhampton], the Ponsonbys, Horatia S[topford], Ina McNeill, Victor Churchill, Sir J. McNeill, and Col. Clerk dined. Lord Cranborne,² Lord Salisbury's eldest son, is very agreeable and clever, and reminds me in his voice and manner, though not at all in appearance, of his cousin Arthur Balfour. Talked a great deal of the state of affairs.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 26th Nov. 1890.— . . . The Parliamentary business of to-day was confined to the introduction of Bills of which notice was given yesterday, but there was much excitement about the House on the Parnell question.

A meeting of the Irish Party was held, and in consequence of the letter from Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Barry, the Member for Cork, moved, and Mr. Sexton and Mr. Justin McCarthy supported, a proposal that Mr. Parnell should retire from the leadership. It is stated that 16 voted with them in favour of Mr. Parnell's retirement, but the great majority were

¹ For Mr. Gladstone's action after the decision against Mr. Parnell in the Divorce Court, in the case of *O'Shea v. O'Shea and Parnell*, see *Gladstone*, book x, chap. 5, and Introductory Note to this chapter.

² The present Marquis of Salisbury.

against it. There was great excitement in the meeting, some of the Irish Members declaring that they would not be dictated to by English or Scotch Radicals, and that the Liberal Party could not do without them.

The cooler heads among them proposed an adjournment until five this evening, and they are now sitting in a Committee Room upstairs to determine upon their course; but it is understood Mr. Parnell has declared he will not retire voluntarily, nor unless he is displaced by the majority of the Party. . . .

27th Nov.— . . . Mrs. Peel is, Mr. Smith regrets to state, in a most precarious if not hopeless state. A consultation took place yesterday, and Mr. Thornton, the surgeon, who was called in, took an exceedingly gloomy view of Mrs. Peel's condition. The Speaker is greatly depressed. Mr. Smith has not seen him to-day, as he was unprepared for a visit, but Mr. Smith has taken means to convey to him the expressions of your Majesty's gracious sympathy. Mr. Smith himself is certainly stronger and better.

The House was again crowded this evening, and Mr. Parnell was in his place. The Tithe Bill was brought in and read a second time with very few observations.

Mr. Balfour then introduced the Land Purchase Bill, explaining that it had been simplified and reduced in bulk; and, referring sympathetically to some suggestions made last year by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Parnell and others, he explained the length to which he had gone in meeting them, and why he could not wholly adopt their proposals.

Mr. Labouchere objected that Land Purchase, involving Imperial credit, ought to be considered by the electorate in a general election before it was sanctioned. A curious division took place; Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. John Morley walked out and would not vote.

Mr. Parnell led twenty-four Irish Members into the lobby voting with the Government for the Bill;

and although there were 194 Radicals and Irish Members in the House, only 117 voted *against*, while 268 voted for the Bill, which was brought in and read a first time, the Second Reading being fixed for Tuesday.

The split of the Irish, led by Parnell, from the Radical Party is therefore declared; whether it will be lasting, it remains for the meeting of Irish Members, adjourned to Monday, to decide.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th Nov. 1890.—Tea with Lenchen and Beatrice. The former and Christian, Ismay S., Marie A[deane],¹ Mr. and Mrs. Smith, Lord Hartington, Victor Churchill, and the Bishop of Peterborough dined. Of course there was a great deal of talk with Lord Hartington and Mr. Smith about the collapse of Parnell's Home Rule and the quarrel with Mr. Gladstone. Lord Hartington, in his curious gruff way said, "I never thought anything in politics could give me as much pleasure as this does." He thought it was an immense advantage to the Government. The differences between Parnell and Mr. Gladstone could never be healed. Lord Hartington spoke of Ireland and its improved condition, of Mr. Gladstone, who, in spite of his letter and declarations, he doubts would have expressed them so strongly, had not the Nonconformists taken up such an indignant attitude against Parnell. Mr. Smith, who looks very ill, though he says he is better, spoke upon the extraordinary exposure of Mr. Gladstone's intentions in Mr. Parnell's manifesto, which was a terrible show-up. Sir William Harcourt, on seeing the Government Whip, said, "We are playing your game," to which the latter replied: "I think you are." Altogether, Mr. Smith considers what has occurred as one of the most extraordinary events in political history.

30th Nov.—Writing, and afterwards saw Mr. Smith for more than an hour, and had a very long

¹ Now the Hon. Lady Mallet, wife of Sir Bernard Mallet.

and interesting conversation with him. I have known him long, but somehow or other never had so much confidential conversation, and I must say I thought him most pleasant, kind, and sympathetic, a man to whom one could speak very openly. He talked of the failure of the Barings, what great danger there had been if the Bank of England had not stepped in, of all the banks failing, and numberless people being ruined. As it was, no one was ruined, but temporarily the partners, Lord Revelstoke and his brother-in-law Mr. Mildmay, would suffer heavily. The former had rashly and credulously put all he had into these Argentine mines or works, and had been cheated by the Argentine agents who had come to him. Mr. Smith thinks that there will be a surplus, and that they will recover.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 2nd Dec. 1890.—. . . No Irish Member appears in the House for more than a moment. There is an entire absence of rowdyism and of interruptions, and the very atmosphere is relieved. They are fighting out their own quarrels in the Committee Room upstairs on the proposal of Colonel Nolan that the decision as to their leader shall be considered at a meeting to be called in Dublin; and Mr. Smith is informed that this motion was rejected by 44 against 29, and this may be taken as the proportions against Mr. Parnell in the Irish Party.

Queen Victoria to the Queen Regent of the Netherlands.
[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st December 1890.

MY DEAREST SISTER,—This letter is entrusted to Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, whom I send over to represent me at the last sad ceremony, and whom I have especially chosen from his near connection with the Netherlands and the Royal Family, as well as from his high rank in my Army, as a mark of respect to the King and his ancient and distinguished ancestors.

Let me here repeat my sincere sympathy and the

earnest wishes I form for your welfare as well as for that of your dear daughter, the young Queen. Your task is an arduous one, but everyone has the greatest confidence in you, dear sister, who have given such proofs of the highest sense of duty and devotion; the position of your beloved daughter is full of anxiety and trials! May God support and guide you is my earnest prayer! Dear Helen was here when the sad news arrived, and would have wished to hasten to you at once, but we understand and appreciate your wishes that she should delay doing so at present. Believe me always, Your very affectionate sister, VICTORIA R. I.

I sincerely hope that your health has not suffered from all you have had to go through, and that the young Queen is well.

The Queen Regent of the Netherlands to Queen Victoria.

THE HAGUE, 5th December 1890.

DEAREST SISTER,—I wish to express my sincere and heartfelt appreciation of your kindness in the sympathy and good wishes you have offered in this sorrowful time for my child and self. I acknowledge too most gratefully your kindly consideration for the King's memory in sending as your representative Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, who deposited your wreath at the King's feet.

I am thankful to say that, though my daughter and myself are both sadly depressed and overstrained by our late bereavement, our general health has not suffered.

The difficulties and responsibilities of my life are, as you say, many and weighty, but I trust that by God's blessing I may be enabled to bring to a happy issue the grave and difficult task entrusted to me. Believe me always, dear sister, Your very affectionate sister, EMMA.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

7th Dec. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that he

has not troubled your Majesty with any letter on the Gladstone-Parnell business, because he has been unable to obtain any reliable information beyond what appears in the newspapers. There are many rumours, but none very trustworthy. . . . Lord Salisbury is disposed to think that the effect which the incident is likely to have is rated rather too highly. It will weaken the Irish Party and make their action in the House of Commons confused and irregular. But on the other hand, it may strengthen Mr. Gladstone with the Nonconformists, and with the more moderate section of his own Party. On the whole, Lord Salisbury does not expect much change in the balance of forces till Mr. Gladstone has retired. Lord Salisbury hopes to communicate with Mr. Matthews tomorrow, if nothing occurs to prevent it; but he finds his colleagues very anxious on the subject of seats. . . .

[*Later, same day.*].—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that the news received by him to-day makes the policy of removing Mr. Matthews a matter of serious doubt. The case stands thus. *Bassellaw*, now pending, is doubtful, though we hope to win it—*Birmingham*, Mr. Matthews's seat, we shall certainly lose. Mr. Matthews's vacancy in the Cabinet will have to be filled up. Supposing Mr. Ritchie takes his place, Sir John Gorst will have to take Mr. Ritchie's place; and, by the present law, Sir J. Gorst must be re-elected. But the agent who has been sent down to Chatham, Sir J. Gorst's seat, gives a very doubtful report. If by ill luck we should lose these *three* seats all together, at this time, it would produce a very bad result. It might demoralise our men, and produce an adverse division on a vital point.

Lord Salisbury has written this hasty note, because this is the first moment he has at all shared the apprehensions of his colleagues on this matter. He will submit another communication to your Majesty as soon as he is able to tender any definite advice.

He should add that Sir E. Bradford now gives a

totally different account of Mr. Matthews's relations to the police, and says that, under the new financial arrangements, the difficulty has passed by.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 8th Dec. 1890.— . . . Mr. Balfour moved the second reading of the second part of his Land Bill calling it the Land Department Bill. It was met by Mr. Healy first by a motion for the adjournment of the debate, and then rejection altogether, in a wild discursive speech which threatened at one time a night's debate; but, although Sir George Trevelyan tried to throw heat into it, and adjured everyone on both sides of the House to vote against the Bill, there was no life in the discussion, and the House divided shortly before seven, giving the Second reading by a majority of 62, and it shortly afterwards adjourned until to-morrow, when Mr. Smith will move a further adjournment until 22nd January.

The Irish benches were filled for the first time this Session very early in the evening; and Mr. McCarthy, as leader of the majority, was cheered by his friends on giving notice of a motion challenging Dillon's and O'Brien's conviction and threatened imprisonment.

Mr. Parnell looked pale and determined, and sat in his old place next to Mr. McCarthy. He and his friends, as well as the other Irish Members, voted against the Bill so as to show his independence; but the quarrel is a very pretty one, and it seems for the present to have taken the heart out of the Opposition.

A Bill to limit the duration of speeches was on the paper, and Mr. Healy remarked that this Session, so far, had shown it was unnecessary. It certainly would be so if anything like the progress of the past fortnight, which is quite unprecedented in modern Parliamentary history, was continued after the holidays.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13th Dec. 1890.—Terribly shocked at the news that good, excellent, talented

Sir Edgar Boehm had died yesterday.¹ What a dreadful irreparable loss! He was a delicate man, suffering much from asthma and bronchitis, and had often to go abroad for rest and change of air. How many of his beautiful works do I not possess, and how kind and obliging he always was! In my opinion he was one of the greatest sculptors of the day. His last work was the statue of dear Fritz, which was to be unveiled on the 15th.

The Earl of Rosebery to Queen Victoria.

MENTMORE, *Christmas Eve 1890.*

MADAM,—I could not resist telegraphing my gratitude for your Majesty's gracious letter received this morning. How well your Majesty understands the wounds of the heart! Nothing since my great calamity has touched me so profoundly as that at a time when there are a thousand claims on your Majesty's attention, innumerable private and public and family interests, as well as the constant pre-occupation of Empire, your Majesty should deign to recollect this desolate home.

And there is so much sorrow now. Three of the friends who grieved with me have themselves passed away—Mrs. Mundella, Sir Edgar Boehm, and Mr. Belmont of New York. The procession passes swiftly on from the seen to the unseen; and, while we are still straining to catch the last glimpse of one we loved, another has gone; and we begin to feel that our hearts and our interests are not here, but in the great silence.

This time of proverbial joy is, as I know, one of the deepest sorrow to your Majesty: it is shadowed by the great sadnesses of your Majesty's life—when the beloved associate of the first grief was taken away on its anniversary. But it is inspiring to others to see that, dark as the path has been, your Majesty has never flinched from treading it, and that your Majesty's

¹ He collapsed suddenly in his studio, while shifting heavy busts. Princess Louise was there, and ran to get assistance. ¶

soul, full of melancholy memories, has yet room for the sufferings of others. And, on the other hand, to how many thousand homes does Christmas come every year associated with the thought of your Majesty's Christmas of 1861 ! I can never forget the sudden wave of emotion when the honoured name associated with your Majesty's was omitted from the prayers that Sunday morning, the first announcement that the end had come ; and well do I understand how the solitude of the throne has consecrated that grief as unsurpassed and perpetual. But indeed the sympathy which your Majesty so abundantly gives is constantly and universally returned, by none more humbly or more sincerely than your Majesty's obedient servant and devoted subject, ROSEBERRY.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

27th Dec. 1890.—I am rather troubled about the Cesarewitch's journey and reception. The Viceroy and Lord Harris¹ seem (doubtless advised by the intensely red-tapists out there) to keep to the cut-and-dried old rules ; and he is a guest, and as such should be treated with the civility shown to all guests here and everywhere. Arthur is very strong upon this, and says he always made his guests go before him. I, the same to every King or Queen.

It will be taken very ill if this is *not* done. The Prince of Wales was the Empress's son, but not a *guest*.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

HATFIELD, 28th Dec. 1890 (10 p.m.).—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty. There is some conflict between the considerations of Indian and European policy. As a guest of your Majesty the Cesarewitch should be treated with the utmost honour. Yet it should be so done as not to give natives the idea that it is a tribute to his superior power. The blunder of

¹ Governor of Bombay 1890–1895 ; the cricketer.

the Bombay Government¹ has aggravated the difficulty. As the matter now most concerns the internal affairs of India, Lord Cross will take your Majesty's pleasure if further orders are necessary.

Viscount Cross to the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Private. [Telegram.]

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, S.W., 29th Dec. 1890.
—Your telegram 26th. Have consulted Lord Salisbury and taken Queen's pleasure. As Foreign Office repeated to Russian Ambassador here; and also to Russian Government at St. Petersburg, that precedent of Prince of Wales would be followed, impossible change now, however inconvenient. So should therefore place Cesarewitch on right, following precedence of Prince of Wales as a guest. Of course you take precedence on all occasions, in your official position as direct representative of Queen Empress, and I feel sure that in doing so you will act with greatest courtesy; but it will be necessary to impress on others necessity of treating Cesarewitch with all honour. Please order accordingly, through D. Wallace or otherwise, as you think best. Must leave you discretion as to details, but they should be carried out on side civility and respect.

The German Emperor to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 25th December 1890.

DEAREST GRANDMAMA,—Let me thank you from all my heart for your kind letter sent through General v. Wittich and the presents, which I brought to Dona at Christmas Eve. I am deeply touched by the kindness you so graciously showed to my envoy, and he himself cannot enough express his gratitude for all you did for him. It must have been a fine and imposing ceremony, the more so [as] the much lamented sculptor was so suddenly called away. What a great loss he will be to you all! Wittich thinks the statue the very best likeness he has ever seen of dear Papa, and was quite full of its beauty.

¹ By whom the Cesarewitch was placed on the left.

As there are only a few days left before the New Year arrives, I beg you to kindly accept my most hearty and best wishes for the New Year, which may bring you happiness and success in every way. My prayers are that the Lord may keep His watchful hands over you night and day. The end of '90 is indeed on the whole the most peaceful we have had for a long time. Especially in England, the sudden fall of Parnell and the exposure of the plans of Gladstone are [such] a piece of good fortune, as seldom falls to a statesman, and right glad am I for Lord Salisbury and you! Here we are getting on very well with Caprivi, who is already adored by friends and revered by his Opposition. I think he is one of the finest characters Germany ever produced, and am sure you would immensely like him as soon as you saw him. . . .

I end my letter with my sincerest wishes for a happy New Year and a Merry Christmas, and kiss your hands, remaining your most devoted and affectionate grandson, WILLIAM I. R.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 27th Dec. 1890.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty respectfully submits, in answer to your Majesty's note, that it never entered his head to recommend your Majesty to give back the Elgin marbles. It is the fancy of a few fanatics. . . .

30th Dec.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty craves your Majesty's pardon for not having written sooner concerning the Archbishopric of York; but he has been unwell and unable to work for two or three days.

He would not recommend Dr. Westcott¹ to your Majesty. There is not only the objection arising from his very recent promotion, but a much more serious one arising from the Socialist tendencies of

¹ In a letter on 29th December, the Queen had suggested, in a tentative fashion, the names first of Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, and then of the Bishops of Lichfield, Wakefield, and Manchester.

the speeches he has made since he became a bishop. The Archbishopric is a great political as well as ecclesiastical position; and to confer it on Dr. Westcott at this time, when Socialism is so burning a question, would in Lord Salisbury's humble judgment be a grave mistake, and likely to do much harm.

The other men mentioned by your Majesty are men of lesser note. Lord Salisbury would submit that, if possible, a position of this kind should be conferred on a man possessing high eloquence and intellect; and who, on political as well as polemical questions, is of moderate and safe opinions. With this standard in view Lord Salisbury would respectfully submit the name of the Bishop of Peterborough [Magee] to your Majesty's consideration. He is far the most eloquent preacher and speaker on the episcopal bench. His intellect is fully recognised and respected by those who stand outside the circle of purely ecclesiastical interests. He has done good service to the Party which now enjoys your Majesty's confidence; and that service has been done in the most legitimate way, by the defence of his own Church. His ecclesiastical proclivities were at one time Evangelical; but they are so ill-defined that his elevation would give offence to no party in the Church. The fact that during twenty years no scandals have come from the diocese of Peterborough shows that he can keep the Church in peace. Lord Salisbury recommends him very confidently to your Majesty's favour.

The Earl of Onslow¹ to Queen Victoria.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, WELLINGTON, 26th December 1890.

MADAM,—I have not ventured to trouble your Majesty, further than by acknowledgment to Sir Henry Ponsonby, with any communication since receiving from your Majesty photographs of yourself and of your grandchildren, the children of their

¹ 4th Earl (1853–1911). Governor of New Zealand 1889–92, President of Board of Agriculture 1903–5, and Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords 1905–10.

Royal Highnesses Prince Henry and Princess Beatrice. I have to express my humble and sincere thanks to your Majesty for all four. They have been the subject of much interest to all who have seen them at Government House, and have served to keep alive the never-failing interest which is taken by all your Majesty's subjects at the other end of the world, who have never visited England, in all that concerns your Majesty and the Royal family personally. . . .

I now have to return my thanks for yet another mark of your royal favour in regard to the little son¹ whom Lady Onslow gave birth to last month. I should not have ventured on my own account to solicit such a favour at your Majesty's hands, but the Chief Magistrates of the four principal cities of New Zealand, Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin, and Christchurch, made a joint representation to the Premier that the honour would be highly appreciated by the whole Colony. . . .

We have just had a General Election following upon the strike: the questions at issue, though nominally political, were really a fight between Capital and Labour: the strike is transferred from the financial to the political arena, and the strikers, who in the former case were compelled to surrender at discretion to the employers, completely routed their victors at the polls. I have summoned Parliament at the earliest possible date. . . . If, as seems probable, the first trial of strength is a victory for the Labour Party, I shall summon to my Councils the first avowedly Labour Government which the world has seen. Some of them will be labourers in actual receipt of daily wages; and it will be interesting to the rest of the world to see what use they will make of their power, and in what form Capital will have to pay for the defeat it inflicted on Labour in the autumn. . . .

I have the honour, Madam, to be, Your Majesty's obedient subject and servant, ONSLOW.

¹ To whom the Queen had consented to be Godmother.

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